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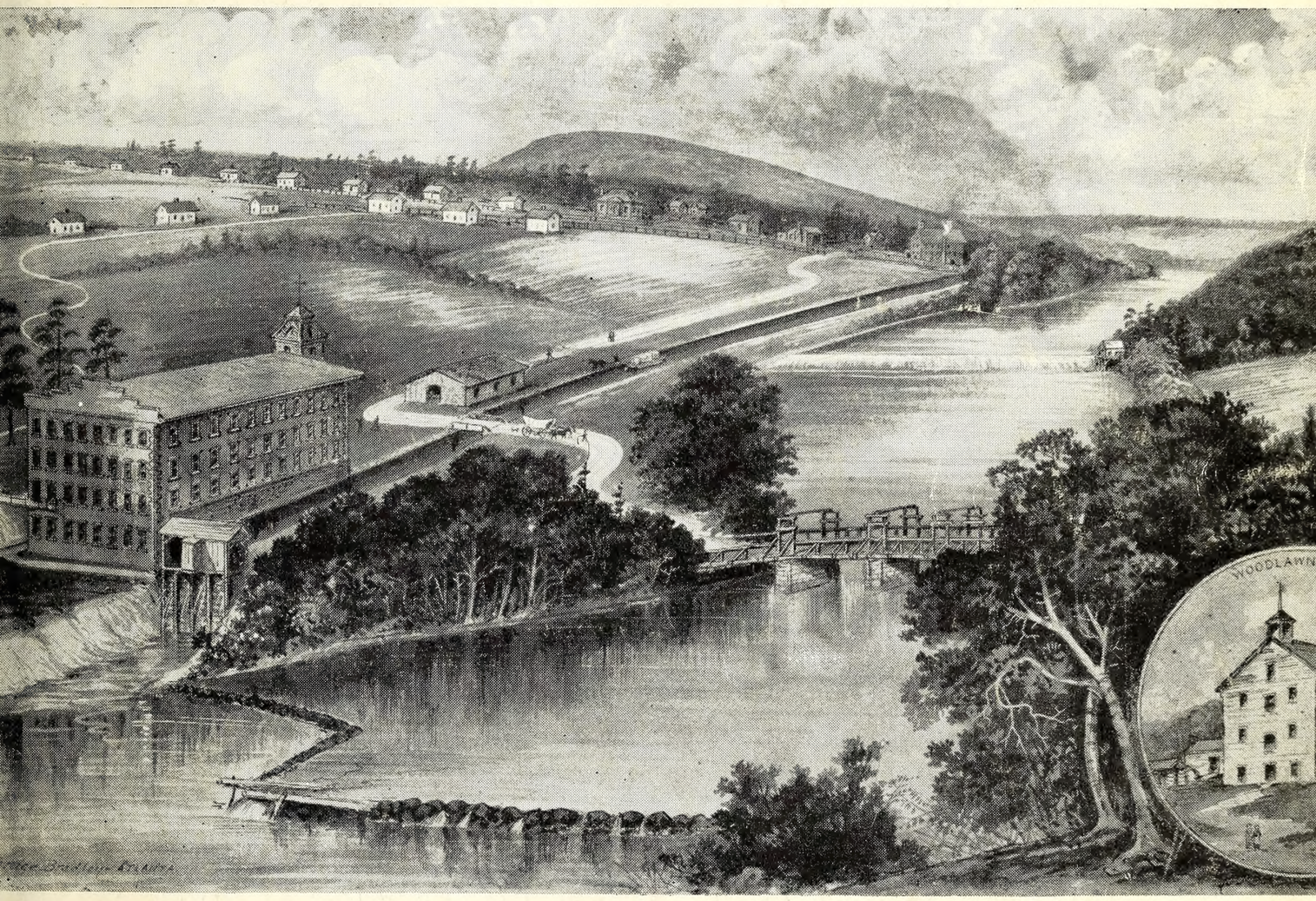
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COVER—The Woodlawn Factory, or "Old Pinhook," as it was known in the neighboring territory, was a pioneer cotton mill of Gaston County. Built by Caleb Lineburger on the Catawba River in 1848, the original wooden building (inset) housed excellent machinery purchased in England and Philadelphia and manufactured yarn sold throughout the ante-bellum South. The older mill is shown again in the larger picture at the head of the millrace which operated the newer Lawrence Mill, built after the Civil War as an expansion of the Woodlawn Factory. See pages 15-35 for an article on the early textile industry in North Carolina.

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## CHEROKEE-WHITE RELATIONS ON THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY*

By HENRY T. MALONE

The early nineteenth century was a period of tremendous adjustment for the Cherokees, an era characterized by contrasting relationships with white men.

The belligerent, relentless push of pioneers, the infiltration of friendly traders and artisans, and the constructive guidance of able Indian agents and missionaries made inevitable far-reaching changes in both Cherokee mores and relations with the whites. After a crippling defeat by American forces in the Revolutionary War, the Cherokees were slowly confined by a series of treaties into a tightly encircled area in the southern Appalachians. Forced into a new type of existence by sharply reduced hunting grounds and exposed to the more comfortable agrarian economy of the white man through the example and teaching of traders and Indian agents, the tribe began a change in its pattern of life. The alteration was alluring to many. During the several decades between eighteenth century frontier-fighting and the removal agitation of the 1830's thousands of Cherokee red men made great strides along the white man's path. Largely peaceful relations on the frontier underwrote the success of this remarkable Indian development.

Cherokee progress was enormously abetted by the United States government, through several measures designed to promote Indian welfare. None of these had more social sig-

* This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Knoxville, Tennessee, November, 1952.

nificance for the Cherokee Nation than the Fourteenth Article of the Treaty of Holston, which was written in 1791 in an effort to establish peace between Cherokees and pioneers. In this provision the American government guaranteed aid in leading the Cherokees "to a greater degree of civilization," and promised to send both tools and agents to implement the program.[1]

Cherokee reaction to this strange new attitude of the white man was both skeptical and receptive. The favorable attitude was perhaps best expressed by a Town Chief named Bloody Fellow, who in referring to the Holston agreement, told the Secretary of War:

> The treaty mentions ploughs, hoes, cattle and other things for a farm; this is what we want; game is going fast away from us. We must plant corn, and raise cattle, and we desire you to assist us. . . .
>
> We wish you to attend to this point. In former times we bought of the trader goods cheap; we could then clothe our women and children; but now game is scarce and goods dear, we cannot live comfortably. We desire the United States to regulate this matter.[2]

Apparently the United States was willing "to regulate this matter." Continued sporadic warfare in the Cherokee country during the 1790's, however, forced Territorial Governor William Blount—serving also as Superintendent of Southern Indians—to concentrate on the achievement of peace rather than improvement of the red man. His successor as Indian Superintendent was Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, long an outspoken advocate of Indian progress along the white man's pattern. During two short years Hawkins stimulated numerous Cherokees toward agriculture and domestic industry; but

[1] "Art. 14. That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will, from time to time, furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful implements of husbandry. . . ." *American State Papers, Class II, Indian Affairs* (Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States, Dec. 4, 1815-March 3, 1827. Washington, D.C., 1834), I, 125, hereinafter cited as *American State Papers, Indian Affairs.*

[2] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* I, 205.

his greater interest in Creek Indians confined his efforts largely to that group.[3]

In 1801 the appointment of an agent especially for the Cherokees brought the first real opportunity to put the government's civilizing program into operation. The man chosen by the War Department for this important post was a sixty-year-old veteran of Revolutionary War and Ohio Land Company experience named Return Jonathan Meigs. For twenty-three years Meigs working in the interest of both Indians and whites performed yeoman service in the maintenance of peace. He was particularly solicitous of Indian welfare, and served his Cherokee wards variously as parent, adviser, doctor, lawyer, and agricultural agent.[4] He carried out the provisions of Article Fourteen by distributing farming implements and domestic utensils, along with expert advice on how to use them. From the government's viewpoint, his principal duties were to keep the Cherokees peaceful along the frontier and be able, when desired, to persuade them to make further land cessions.

Meigs received official support in maintaining peace from Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, who told his agent to prevent disturbances by "the licentiousness of daring and unprincipled men." The menace of these objectionable persons was clearly described by a group of Georgia commissioners to the Cherokees who stated: "There are Numbers of white people in the Nation who have wives among the Natives, Carry on a Triffling Commerce with them and are averse to any further, or better understanding between whites

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[3] Records of William Blount's service as joint Territorial Governor and Superintendent of Southern Indians are available in Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Volume IV, *The Territory South of the River Ohio, 1790-1796* (Washington, D.C., 1936), *passim*. For the work of Benjamin Hawkins, see *The Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806* (Savannah, 1916, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society, Volume IX); and Merritt B. Pound, *Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent* (Athens, Georgia, 1951).

[4] Dumas Malone and others (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928—), XII, 508-509, hereinafter cited as Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*. A voluminous record of Meigs's service as Cherokee Indian Agent from 1801 to 1823 is found in the Cherokee Agency Files, Bureau of Indian Affairs Records, National Resources Records Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C., hereinafter cited as Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records.

and Indians than now exists. Several of these characters have fled from punishment."[5]

This attitude toward white people residing in the Cherokee Nation largely reflected the bias of native white inhabitants of the surrounding states. To them, the traders and artisans and missionaries in the Cherokee country were dangerous renegades who might easily encourage resistance to further land grants or road privileges. But from the Indian's viewpoint, most of the white residents brought a wholesome and constructive influence. From the middle of the eighteenth century traders, itinerant artisans, and even escaping Tories had found commercial and political freedom in the Indian territory, and had settled and married there. Many of the mixed-breed descendants of these white-red families became leaders among the Cherokees, and were of considerable importance in the civilizing process. Born into comparative wealth, many of them capitalized on Anglo-Saxon know-how in agriculture and commercial ventures. But their leadership was not restricted to the economic realm. When the Indian nation exchanged its time-honored tribal government in 1817 for a representative republic, approximately forty per cent of the new office-holders were mixed-bloods whose names predominated among the top incumbents.[6]

Among the most outstanding examples of this mixed-blood leadership during early nineteenth-century Cherokee history were three unusual personalities: James Vann, Charles Hicks, and John Ross. The contrasting careers of these Indians demonstrate three different types of native leadership in an era of increasing inclination toward the white man's ways. James Vann, a descendant of a white trader named Clement Vann, was a prominent Town Chief during the first decade of the century. A peculiar combination of rip-snorting hoodlum and benevolent leader, Vann was a constant trouble-

[5] Dearborn to Meigs, June 25, 1801, Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records; Journal of Georgia Commissioners to the Cherokees, January, 1803, in Cherokee Letters Collection, Georgia Department of Archives, Atlanta, hereinafter cited as Cherokee Letters, Georgia Archives.

[6] From "List of Officers in the Cherokee Nation [c. 1822]," in Records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge Mass., 18.3.1., II, no. 174-175. This reference hereinafter cited as Records for Foreign Missions.

maker. Yet on several occasions he used his local and tribal influence to benefit the Cherokees. When Moravian churchmen sought to bring a mission to the Cherokees in 1800, Vann's aid to them was outstanding. After helping to gain Council approval for the mission station, he gave generously of his time, advice, and property when the mission station was begun at his home (in present-day Murray County, Georgia). He was a wealthy man, owning a two-story brick house, slaves, and considerable other property, including a ferry on the Chattahoochee River and some business property in Jackson County, Georgia. In spite of his interest in general Cherokee betterment, however, James Vann remained a constant source of difficulty. The missionaries, who described him as "a half-breed with two wives, very dissipated and drunken," worked in vain to convert him to a better life. Vann continued to drink, exhibiting an excessively cruel nature when intoxicated. His sins finally caught up with him, and he was shot by his son-in-law in February, 1809, at the age of forty-one.[7]

A mixed-breed Cherokee of more stable influence in promoting the Indian development was Charles Hicks, son of a tradesman named Nathan Hicks. Like many of his colleagues in the Indian country, the elder Hicks saw to it that his sons learned some of the white man's ways, including a knowledge of the English language. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Charles had become an interpreter for the Cherokee Council and was increasing his education by attending the Moravian Mission School. As he grew in stature and experience, he became a spokesman for the tribe and probably one of their principal advisers as well. He was not only one of the first to attend the Moravian school, but in 1813 he became their second Indian convert and was baptized Charles Renatus Hicks.[8]

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[7] Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 8 volumes, 1922-1955), VI, 2759, 2799; VII, 3704, hereinafter cited as Fries, *Records of the Moravians*; Buckner Harris of Jackson County, Georgia, to Meigs, Feb. 22, 1808, and Dearborn to Meigs, May 7, 1808, Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records and Cherokee Letters, Georgia Archives, *passim*.

[8] Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, VI, 2798-2799; VII, 3435; numerous communications by and concerning Charles Hicks may be found in Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records.

A striking description of Charles Hicks was recorded in 1817 by a missionary from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. While visiting in the Hicks home, the clergyman wrote:

> He is a half-breed Cherokee, about fifty years of age. He has very pleasant features and an intelligent countenance. He speaks the English language with the utmost facility, and with great propriety. . . . As a man of integrity, temperance, and intelligence, he has long sustained a most reputable character.

A staunch advocate and a living exemplar of Cherokee progress, Charles Hicks rose to a high place in the Indian government. In 1827 he was elected Principal Chief, a position which he held until his death a year later.[9]

The third of these notable mixed-breeds was a one-eighth Cherokee named John Ross. Indeed, John Ross was one of the greatest of all Indian statesmen. Both his maternal grandfather, John McDonald, who had been one of the earliest white traders to settle in the Chickamauga country, and his father, Daniel Ross, had become popular and trusted advisers to the tribe. John Ross was a younger contemporary of Charles Hicks, and like Hicks, became prominent in Indian affairs. In the 1820's he was President of the National Committee and Assistant Principal Chief. In 1828 he was named Principal Chief under a new Cherokee constitutional government. The skillful, effective, and occasionally absolute leadership of this man, whose blood was predominantly white, graphically represents the complexity of Cherokee-white relationships. For although John Ross spoke the white man's tongue and wore the white man's clothes, he preferred to call himself a Cherokee. Throughout the later periods of Indian removal and resettlement, and until his death in 1866, white men found Principal Chief Ross an implacable advocate of Indian rights.[10]

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[9] B. S. Edwards (ed.) *Memoir of Elias Cornelius* (Boston, Mass., 1833), 75-77; numerous references to the public career of Charles Hicks may be found in Records for Foreign Missions; Fries, *Records of the Moravians*, VI and VII; and Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records.

[10] Rachel C. Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians* (Menasha, Wis., 1914); Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 178-179; Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, "John Ross" (Edinburgh, Scotland, reprinted edition, 1933), III, 293-296.

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The influence in Cherokee deliberations of mixed-breeds like Ross and Hicks was a prime factor in the growing difficulty of white men seeking to extend land cessions and commercial privileges. During the first two decades of the century a number of land grants had been obtained. These cessions, which scissored away Cherokee borderlands in areas claimed by Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, had been secured largely through the efforts of Return J. Meigs on the insistence of the surrounding states, and also through the reprehensible practice of secret concessions to certain chiefs. In the last of this series of grants, which occurred in 1817 and 1819, thousands of acres on the northern, southern, and eastern boundaries were relinquished, chiefly because a conservative minority was persuaded that western tracts offered in exchange were richer in game than the eastern areas coveted by the whites.[11]

Progressive Cherokees, largely under mixed-breed influence, denounced the minority treaty of 1817 and led the way in a reorganization of the Indian government designed in part to prevent such defections in the future. After 1817 white men seeking land grants were probably surprised and chagrined to discover that treaties no longer could be obtained from a tribal gathering consisting of an indeterminate number of local Town Chiefs. Instead, the Cherokee government had become a near republic similar in its pattern to the white man's own government. The Council created a national bicameral legislature. The upper house, called the "Standing Committee"—later the "National Committee"—was chosen by the Council from its own membership. The Council itself was continued as a lower house. The Committee consisted of thirteen members elected for two-year terms and eligible for re-election. This group was given chief responsibility for "the affairs of the Cherokee Nation," including negotiations

[11] The various Cherokee treaties for this period may be found in Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, D.C., 1904), II; and *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, II. A Cherokee chief who took advantage of the secret-concession arrangement once too often was Doublehead—his continued efforts to secure personal gain at the expense of the nation resulted in his assassination by appointed executioners. James Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1897-1898*, Part I (Washington, D. C., 1900), 85, hereinafter cited as Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee."

with the United States Agent and with land-seeking treaty commissioners. The Council, however, retained reviewing power over the actions of the Committee. Three years later the nation was divided into eight districts, each of which was to send four elected representatives to the National Council.[12]

The creation and operation of this unusual Indian development in political science reflects much of the confusion of Cherokee-white relationships. Clearly the new government was inspired by white suggestion and influence; but it was also designed to halt further land cessions to white men. After 1819 it did so very effectively for nearly twenty years, despite a rising tide of complaints from surrounding states. Further efforts toward land cessions were led by two locally interested successors to Return Meigs (who had died in 1823). These agents were former Governor of Tennessee Joseph McMinn and a Georgian named Hugh Montgomery.[13] But these and other land-seekers were unsuccessful until 1835, when the minority Treaty of New Echota became the instrument of Cherokee removal. That Cherokee resistance to further cessions lasted so long must be attributed in large degree to the efforts and influences of white men and their descendants in the Indian country. Even the former Agent Meigs had an indirect part in this stiffening Cherokee resistance, for he had encouraged the reorganization of tribal government.[14] The greatest influence by far, however, came from the descendants of white men who seemingly preferred their own Cherokee connections and despised the idea of any further land grants to their racial relations in surrounding states.

[12] *Laws of the Cherokee Nation: Adopted by the Council at Various Periods* (Tahlequah, C[herokee]. N[ation]., 1852), *passim*. The native term for the Cherokee legislature was "Tsaligi Tinilawigi." *Preservation and Civilization of the Indians* (Washington, D.C., 1826, 19 Congress, I Session, House Executive Document No. 102), 19.

[13] McMinn died November 17, 1824; Montgomery's letter of appointment as Indian agent is dated April 23, 1825, Cherokee Letters, Georgia Archives.

[14] Shortly after his arrival in the Cherokee country Meigs suggested a reorganization of government to the Council as follows: "Form the whole [nation] into civil divisions, creating officers in each, to attend to the manners, employments, Virtues, & Vices,—to advise, instruct, & encourage virtuous actions—discourage and apprehend vice. . . ." Meigs to Dearborn, Oct. 4, 1801, Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records; Journal of Occurrences in the Cherokee Nation (a manuscript record kept by Meigs from 1801 to 1804), Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

The ill-feeling generated by land controversies was the chief cause of irritation between red men and white men during these years of comparative peace on the Cherokee frontier. That this smouldering antagonism did not flare out into open conflict early in the nineteenth century was due in large measure to the efforts of Return J. Meigs, who was able to maintain a generally friendly Cherokee attitude toward his government. The value of his placating influence was effectively demonstrated during the War of 1812, when hostile Indians went on the warpath against the United States. Those nearest the Cherokees were the Upper Creeks, whose desires to destroy white supremacy in the South had been drummed up earlier by Tecumseh and other agents of his short-lived Indian confederacy. When this neighboring branch of the Creeks launched raids against American posts in 1813, the Cherokees were showered with requests for assistance, not only from the United States and the hostile Indians, but also from the Lower Creeks, who desired to crush the revolt. Reactionaries within the Cherokee Council advocated abandoning the white man and joining the attacking Creeks. This proposal was defeated by the influence of Meigs and the active opposition of Cherokee mixed-breed progressives. A force of Cherokee volunteers was quickly organized, which fought along with the United States and the friendly Lower Creeks under the joint leadership of Andrew Jackson.[15]

Altogether some eight hundred Cherokees participated in the Creek War, but the struggle had unfortunate accompaniments for their nation. American troops marched through Cherokee lands going to and coming from the Creek country and inflicted serious depredations on property. Miegs' office received many complaints about these unwarranted losses, which became sources of contention in subsequent treaty

[15] Major John Lowery [a Cherokee Chief] to Meigs, Feb. 1, 1813, Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records; Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," 88-96. Meigs himself urged the War Department to use Cherokees against the hostile Creeks. Not only did Meigs believe that many Cherokees were anxious to fight for the United States, but he thought it was their duty in view of the advantages and opportunities for improvement given them by the white government. Meigs to Dearborn, July 30 and Aug. 6, 1813, Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records.

discussions. Although a treaty of March 22, 1816, promised justice for the damage, no serious attempt to repay Cherokees was made until the 1830's.[16]

Except in the matter of further land cessions, the growing influence of mixed-breeds and the growth of white institutions among the Cherokees may have sponsored a better feeling toward whites. In numerous ways during the early nineteenth century had these red men advanced along the "white man's path." By the 1830's they had become a nation of farmers. Approximately 93 per cent of the 2,700 families possessed at least one farm, while total ownership of cattle, horses, swine, and sheep numbered each in the thousands. On the Cherokee farms were 2,450 plows, 700 looms, and 120 wagons. Business men operated 12 saw mills, 20 grist mills, 55 black-smith shops, 6 cotton gins, 10 ferries, 9 stores, a dozen turnpike toll-gates, and even a threshing machine. Comparable progress was made by Cherokee women, who probably grasped eagerly the white man's inventions to facilitate their household duties. Spinning wheels and weaving paraphernalia became commonplace articles among the Indians' possessions; when cotton became a staple crop, the distribution of thousands of cotton cards by the Indian Agent helped in the process of making cotton fibers ready for spinning and weaving.[17]

Indians of initiative and energy improved their farms, and some became country gentlemen with plantations and slaves. Indeed, an increase in Negro slavery accompanied agrarian progress in the Cherokee country. By 1824 more than one thousand Negro slaves were owned by Cherokees, and within a decade the number of bondsmen had increased to nearly

[16] On January 15, 1814, a "Claims Journal," written by Charles Hicks, containing more than seventy claims for damages, was presented to Colonel Meigs. The total amount represented was $5,885, mostly for stolen and butchered livestock. This document is among the Cherokee records in the collection of Mrs. Penelope J. Allen, Chattanooga, Tennessee. For other Creek War Claims filed by the Cherokees see "Cherokee Claims Papers" in the Allen collection and in Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records.

[17] "Cherokee Census," *Cherokee Phoenix* (New Echota [Georgia], 1828-1834), May 14, June 11, 1829, hereinafter cited *Cherokee Phoenix*. This was the official organ of the Cherokee Nation and was published in Cherokee and English. See also the manuscript, "Census of the Eastern Cherokees, 1835," Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records, hereinafter cited as "Census of the Eastern Cherokees, 1835."

sixteen hundred. It should be noted, however, that less than four per cent (or 101) of the 2,700 Cherokee families possessed any slaves at all, and that while the average number of slaves held by any one family was fifteen, only eleven families listed that many.[18]

The presence of Negro slaves on Cherokee farms led to some curious relationships, especially in connection with white men living in surrounding states, or on the Indian borders. In 1808, for example, the Cherokee Council ordered a white man named Evans Austill to give up

> . . . a woman and her Children which you have in your Posession which appears to be one of our own people and you can not have any objection to Deliver up as she is free born as any White women — although you have paid for her as a Slave . . . you must have a recourse to the Man you bought her of— [19]

Another curious instance was noted a decade later by a missionary who learned that among the more devout Negroes attending services at Brainerd Mission in Tennessee were two slaves who were teaching their Cherokee mistress "to read in the bible." [20]

A case of inter-marriage created one of the most unusual problems. The Cherokee Town Chief Shoe Boots married a white woman, by whom he had two children. Later his white wife deserted him, taking the children with her. Shoe Boots thereupon married his favorite Negro slave, a girl named Lucy. When two black-red children had been born from this marriage, the chief petitioned the Council to grant the children free status. This request was granted, but the Council cautioned Shoe Boots against "begetting any more such legal problems." [21]

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[18] *Cherokee Phoenix*, June 11, 1828; "Census of Eastern Cherokees, 1835," 66.

[19] Principal Chief Black Fox to Evan Austill, Sept. 12, 1808, Cherokee Files, Indian Affairs Records.

[20] Journal of the Mission Station at Chickamauga, June 7, 1818, Records for Foreign Missions, 18.3.1, II. In August, 1818, a full-blooded Cherokee youth applying for admission to Chickamauga Mission was found "able to spell correctly in words of 4 & 5 letters. He had been taught solely by black people who had received their instruction in our sunday-school." Records for Foreign Missions, Aug. 7, 1818.

[21] Marion L. Starkey, *The Cherokee Nation* (New York, 1946), 18-19.

One evidence of increasing white influence on Cherokee affairs was revealed in the native slave codes, which during the 1820's began to show prejudice against Negroes. Two laws in 1824 required free Negroes to secure a permit from the Cherokee government to remain in the nation, and banned slaves from possessing livestock. When the Indian constitution was written in 1827, "negroes and descendants of white and Indian men by negro women" who had been set free were denied the right to vote. Furthermore, Negroes and their descendants were held ineligible to "hold any office of profit, honor, or trust under this government." When the National Council resolved the following year to punish individuals who might disturb any religious services, it was announced that "if any negro slave shall be convicted . . . he shall be punished with thirty-nine stripes on the bare back." [22]

A group of whites having especially close relationships with the Cherokees were itinerant farmers and laborers known as "croppers." By 1828 Indian Agent Hugh Montgomery reported to the Governor of Georgia that more than two hundred white farmers were in the Indian country, as well as a considerable number of licensed traders, millers, ferrymen, blacksmiths, masons, carpenters, and mechanics. In addition, numerous missionaries from several denominations were busy at more than a score of mission stations. With all these white residents in their nation, the Cherokee government early began to restrict their activities. In 1819 it was ruled that white teachers and artisans could remain in the Cherokee Nation only if their Indian employers procured permission from the National Committee and Council and became responsible for their conduct. As a gesture of friendship and appreciation for their services, however, the Council made the following offer: "that blacksmiths, millers, ferrymen and turnpike keepers, are privileged to improve and cultivate twelve acres of ground for the support of themselves and families, should they please to do so." In the same year white merchants were forbidden to establish stores within Cherokee

[22] *Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 37, 39, 107; Article III, Cherokee Constitution, *Cherokee Phoenix*, Feb. 21, 1828.

borders, and a strict order was issued against the sale of whisky by or to any white man.[23]

The excessive consumption of liquor was a constant source of friction between Cherokees and whites. Since early days traders had found it profitable to haul in liquor, legal or otherwise. Sometimes unscrupulous treaty commissioners weakened Indian opposition with "fire-water." The menace of strong drink was a great concern to Cherokee leaders, and rightfully so, for liquor was often a cause of trouble with whites. Frequently, Indian officials complained to the agent about the constant introduction of liquor by white men. The Cherokee government sought to correct part of the evil by legislating against it. One regulation forbade the presence of liquor "within three miles of the General Council House," or at Cherokee courthouses. A subsequent amendment specifically banned liquor from public gatherings under penalty of "having it poured on the ground." But the Council did not attempt to institute prohibition throughout the nation. Perhaps the Indian leaders felt that it would be extremely difficult to enforce. Besides, the nation was receiving some taxes from whisky sales, and the owners of public houses and general stores sold it freely.[24]

One group of whites in the nation was as anxious as the Cherokee leaders to bring an end to the whisky menace. These were the missionaries, a group of hard-working, self-sacrificing Christian men and women. Their influence on Cherokee development was perhaps greater than that of the Indian agent, for the mission stations were scattered about the length and breadth of the land, and thousands of Cherokees were exposed to their religious, educational, and cultural teachings. The chief influencing factor came in the education which Christian mission schools offered to young and old. Indeed, most churches found far more success in their teaching program than in conversions.[25]

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[23] Montgomery to Governor Forsyth, May 18, 1828, in Cherokee Letters, Georgia Archives; *Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 6-7.

[24] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I, 655; *Laws of the Cherokee Nation*, 6-7.

[25] For a brief summary of this mission work, see Henry T. Malone, "The Early Ninteenth Century Missionaries in the Cherokee Country," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, X (June, 1951), 127-139.

All in all, white and red relationships in the early nineteenth century Cherokee country were varied and complex, and hence they are difficult to assess. It is especially noteworthy that relations were generally peaceful during this period of enormous Cherokee development, a period which came between frightful frontier warfare of the previous century and the devastating shock of removal in the late 1830's. In this halcyon era Cherokees made giant strides toward the white man's way of life, and in the process were aided by friendly agents, tradesmen, and missionaries. An even greater impulse toward such progress came from descendants of white men within the tribe, who emerged as leaders in what became almost a nation-wide attempt to secure the white man's agricultural and commercial security. This occurred despite the efforts of some white men to destroy that security through theft, persuasion, treaty, or the illegal use of liquor.

Thus to the early nineteenth-century Cherokee Indian the white man appeared as a paradox—offering both friendship and hostility, guidance and abandonment, inspiration and degredation.

# THE COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN ANTE-BELLUM NORTH CAROLINA

By DIFFEE W. STANDARD and RICHARD W. GRIFFIN

## Part I

### ORIGIN AND GROWTH TO 1830

The potentialities of the South for the development of a major cotton textile industry were noted even as early as the colonial period. In 1775 Alexander Hamilton wrote that the construction of cotton mills in the southern states, where planters were already increasing their annual production of cotton, was not only feasible but indeed inevitable. Advancing an argument that would be repeated in North Carolina and throughout the South for the next hundred years, Hamilton advocated the manufacture of the staple in the region where it was grown and the distribution of finished textile products to the other colonies.[1]

Despite the disruption of southern economy during the Revolutionary War, a few pioneering planters now began a shift in textile manufacturing from the older domestic system to the factory method in much the same way that it had been accomplished earlier in England. In 1776 Daniel Heywood, a tidewater South Carolina planter, began working thirty slaves at spinning wheels and handlooms in a primitive mill, where he achieved a weekly production of 120 yards of cotton and woolen cloth.[2] With the conclusion of the war and the establishment of the federal government, a stabilized domestic economy encouraged the development of more advanced types of factory construction and the installation of more modern equipment. The first real cotton factory in the South was built in 1789 near Statesboro, South Carolina, by

[1] Henry Cabot Lodge (ed.), *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, I (New York, 1885), 157-158.

[2] Ernest M. Lander, "Manufacturing in Ante-Bellum South Carolina" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, the University of North Carolina, 1950), 48.

an English mechanic who received financial backing from local planters. This factory received widespread notice in the local and national periodicals of the time and undoubtedly came to the attention of North Carolinians.[3] At least one state newspaper, the *Fayetteville Gazette,* reflected this natural interest in the cotton industry by reprinting articles of national industrial news. In 1789 the Fayetteville editor commended the legislature of Massachusetts for subscribing five hundred pounds to aid in the establishment of a cotton factory at Beverly which was to use "Arkwright's machines."[4]

This initial interest in the building of factories seemed to languish in the South during the 1790's as men with capital continued to place their faith in agriculture as the basis for southern prosperity, but the development of extensive domestic manufactures continued to give some impetus to the infant idea. Increased home production of cotton and woolen fabrics, especially in the relatively isolated upland areas, was to provide a basis for later factory development in North Carolina.

In 1794 Tench Coxe, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, wrote that the backcountry regions of all the South Atlantic states produced textiles in greater quantities than they imported from abroad, and that "family manufactures in *cotton* are much greater in the four southeastern most states, than in the four eastern states." Coxe urged the people of the South to take advantage of the possibilities for profit and to capitalize on the value of these home products by expanding them further. Reflecting current Hamiltonian doctrine, Coxe believed that manufacturing would not interfere with agricultural pursuits but rather would provide an increased demand for farm products.[5] In confirmation of Coxe's contentions, the Census of 1810 reported that the annual amount of North Carolina domestic textiles was 7,376,154 yards, valued at $2,989,140; while those of Massachusetts, more open to foreign importations, totaled only $2,219,279, and those of

[3] *The Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 22, 1790; *The Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine* (Philadelphia), V (July, 1790), 61; *The American Museum* (Philadelphia), VIII, Appendix IV (1790), 1.

[4] *Fayetteville Gazette,* September 27, 1789.

[5] Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1794), 274, 298, 304, hereinafter cited as Coxe, *View of America.*

North Carolina State Library
Raleigh



all New England totaled $460,000 less than the textiles produced in North Carolina.[6]

The domestic weaving of cloth was an inextricable factor in the rise of cotton mills in North Carolina. The Revolutionary War accentuated colonial home industry and brought on an increase in home spinning and weaving that continued largely unabated through the following years of peace.[7] Domestic industry had arisen as a natural result of the lack of commerce in the state caused by poor transportation facilities and a general shortage of capital with which to purchase imported wares. In 1790 less than one-fifth of North Carolina's commerce was with foreign countries and the amount decreased until brought to a virtual halt by the War of 1812.[8]

The influence of these wars and the shortage of imported cloth served as irresistible pressures for the establishment of factory industry in many of the southern states, and eventually this pressure exerted its influence even in agriculturally-minded North Carolina. Initial efforts in the field of manufacturing caught the interest of all the nation, while Coxe's report called special attention to such budding enterprises in Virginia, South Carolina, and Kentucky:

> An association in Virginia, another in the territory south of the Ohio, and a company in the western district of South Carolina, have provided themselves with carding and spinning machinery on the British plans to manufacture their *native* cotton. The planters in the southern states raise great quantities of this raw material, unthought of before the war, and until this discussion of the subject of manufactures, which took place some time after the treaty of peace. . . . An association containing forty of the most respectable planters of South Carolina, has been established within a few years for the promoting of manufactures, and agriculture. A subscription to the amount of about 25,000 dollars, has been made in the territory manufactory.—An indication of the zeal not equalled in any middle or northern state.[9]

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[6] Tench Coxe, *A Statement of the Arts and Manufacturers of the United States of America for the Year 1810* (Philadelphia, 1815), 87, hereinafter cited as Coxe, *Arts and Manufacturers.*

[7] Allen H. Eaton, *Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands* (New York, 1937), 40-43.

[8] Coxe, *Arts and Manufacturers,* 87.

[9] Coxe, *View of America,* 303, 305.

Although the North Carolina legislature displayed a more consistent interest in agricultural improvement than in industrial growth throughout the ante-bellum period, the legislators were aware of various other needs of the state and occasionally endeavored to aid manufacturing. In the 1790's the General Assembly extended a loan to be used for the establishment of a paper mill in the thriving Moravian settlement of Salem, a village already known for the manufacture of woolen hats and later to be the site of a successful cotton mill.[10]

With the single exception of Georgia every state bordering North Carolina had a cotton factory of some sort in operation in the eighteenth century. In Tennessee John Hague began the construction of spinning frames for his factory near Nashville in 1791. Most of the machinery, all of which he was building, was reported finished by a visitor to the mill in the autumn of that year. This primitive factory was on the hostile Indian frontier, and one employee fell victim to the scalper's knife, an unusual occupational hazard which must have seriously hampered the operation of this most western factory in the country.[11] While rudimentary mills such as this were being constructed in states surrounding North Carolina, the bulk of cotton and woolen textiles continued to be made in the home. In the families of small farmers and among slave women on the larger planters' holdings, the manufacture of yarn and cloth was carried on in an excellent though piecemeal fashion.[12]

Any industry in the South was confronted during this period by a degree of hostility from a planter class prejudiced in favor of an exclusively agricultural economy; but of all the possible types of industry open to southern development, the most logical and the least antipathetic to southern feeling was the manufacture of cotton. In the backcountry especially, a variety of newer settlers, largely unaffected by the planter philosophy and cut off from cheap and convenient transpor-

[10] Coxe, *View of America*, 303, 305-307; Rolla M. Tryon, *Household Manufacturers in the United States, 1607-1860* (Chicago, 1937), 309.

[11] *The Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), April 5, 1792; July 18, 1793; *The Gazette* (Knoxville, Tennessee), June 16, 1793.

[12] Holland Thompson, *From the Cotton Field to the Cotton Mill* (New York, 1906), 250-251.

tation, found it necessary to retain their trades and arts and produce at home what they needed. As the Piedmont progressed from the pioneer stage of settlement, increasing demands for more finished products led to the development of small industries in many towns and villages. Thus in the early nineteenth century industrious people of this region, less susceptible to sectional suspicion of industry, began to devote their skills and energies to more complex manufacturing enterprises.[13]

The mounting fury of the Napoleonic struggle in Europe and the effects of non-intercourse, non-importation, and the embargo acts of the national government forced the planter of North Carolina to develop an interest in manufacturing a variety of articles which he had been long accustomed to receiving from Great Britain. This wartime pressure was also felt by the energetic citizens of small backcountry towns like Salem, and no doubt this emergency need accounts for the early experiment in Salem in the mill manufacture of cotton yarn and cloth. Realizing the increased demand for these items, a Moravian tradesman in that settlement planned to install textile machinery which would be more productive than the community-sponsored sisters' house. The village burgers of Salem, resisting another threat of private enterprise, made arrangements in 1808 for the community to purchase spinning and weaving machines. Thus Salem, already producing hats and paper, was extending and widening its manufacturing interests.[14]

The cotton factory interest in Salem and that of a group of coastal planters was of sufficient importance to capture the eye of one of North Carolina's earlier historians. Hugh Williamson was intensely interested in the progress of the state and took special note of the industrial beginnings in his own times:

> It is hardly necessary to observe, that they raise, or can raise, in every part of the state, all the cotton they can use in the most extensive manufactories. It is certainly to be presumed, that

[13] Coxe, *View of America*, 303.
[14] Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, VI (Raleigh, 1943), 2929.

people who live in a healthy climate where provisions are remarkably cheap, who are well supplied with good streams of water that are easily managed, and who have an ample supply of all the raw materials, will avail themselves of these advantages. It is to be presumed, we say: for the Moravians, who are remarkably prudent, have lately made considerable progress in the manufacture of cotton; and in the course of last year [1811], several gentlemen in the low country, where they work under great disadvantages, have introduced machines for spinning cotton. This spirit, as we infer from the manner in which it spreads, will soon pervade the community: a circumstance that must produce a balance of trade in favor of the state. [15]

The period from 1807 to 1816 was one of widespread interest in the field of manufactures due primarily to the dual necessity of consuming cotton formerly sent to England and supplying the demand for manufactured textiles earlier furnished by British mills. In state after state throughout the South entrepreneurs began the establishment of small, inefficient, but temporarily profitable cotton factories, while in the few urban areas there was an increasing demand for the establishment of permanent factories.

Maryland, a state half-southern and half-northern in its industrial character, was the center of the largest and most complete factory development in the South. In Georgia small factories were placed in operation in 1810 and 1811, in Alabama a spinning mill was established in the fertile and populous Tennessee Valley in 1809, and according to the census of 1810, a total of twenty-two small spinning mills of varying capacity had been built in the Mississippi territory. The industrial spirit was perhaps most pronounced in Virginia, and public meetings were frequently held in the state to secure the support and cash of patriotic citizens. At one such meeting, held in Richmond in 1809, an attempt to stimulate the interest of the community met with little success. According to a later published account of the proceedings, "the patriotic fervor over flowed in frothy speeches, but when it subsided it left little residium in cash." This barren meeting led Parson Blair of Virginia to write a piece of doggerel to show his scorn for such nonsense:

[15] Hugh Williamson, *The History of North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1812), II, 221.

I've seen with pleasure in your patriot city
The appointment of a most august committee,
To encourage manufactures of our own,
And bring Old England to her marrow bone,
To spoil her commerce, since she's made us wroth;
And bring her pride down with Virginia cloth. [16]

In spite of much lukewarm feeling the industrial beginnings in Virginia were stimulated by the public interest aroused at such meetings. More tangible results were obtained when factories were started at Petersburg in 1810 and at Winchester in 1811.[17]

The editor of *The Minerva* was quite interested in the effort made in Richmond to promote the establishment of a cotton factory and published in full the activities of the meeting. The governor of Virginia served as the chairman, and the group resolved to establish cotton mills in order to free the state from dependence upon European powers who were ignoring the rights of neutrals. Stating in their resolution that "it is highly expedient, that the people of these United States should rely upon those internal resources with which they are so amply supplied," the members of the committee agreed to be present at a meeting on July 4 and would "as far as practicable, appear clothed in articles of the Manufacture of Virginia, or of some one of the United States." [18]

The outbreak of the war with Britain had introduced a sense of urgency into the issue of North Carolina's need for manufacturing. In 1813 a group of citizens of Hillsborough and Orange County, North Carolina, held an organizational meeting "for the purpose of establishing a COTTON and WOLLEN FACTORY in the town of Hillsborough, or its vicinity. . . ." The proposed company was to be a joint stock enterprise with at least one hundred shares valued at twenty-five dollars each, and its officers were to be elected as soon as

[16] *DeBow's Review* (New Orleans, La.), XXVIII (February, 1860), 187-188, hereinafter cited *DeBow's Review.*

[17] *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), June 18, 1811, hereinafter cited *National Intelligencer*; *The Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), January 31, 1810.

[18] *The Minerva* (Raleigh), June 9, 1808. This newspaper appeared under several titles such as *The Minerva, North Carolina Minerva and Raleigh Advertiser*, and *The Raleigh Minerva.*

a minimum amount of capital was in hand. Adopting the name The Hillsborough Manufacturing Company, the stockholders drew up company rules providing "for one share, and not more than two shares, one vote; for every two shares above two, and not exceeding ten shares, one vote . . ." with a proportional decline in voting powers as the number of shares held increased. The gentlemen who organized this company came from several different parts of North Carolina,[19] but perhaps the most significant leader of the group was Michael Holt, father of Edwin Holt who later was the cotton mill promoter of Alamance County. There is no indication that this company ever went beyond the organizational stage, and this may well account for Michael Holt's desire in the 1830's to discourage his son from a similar enterprise at a time when conditions seemed even less propitious for success in this field.[20]

The motives for founding the four cotton mills in North Carolina before 1830 are not difficult to discover. In converting raw cotton into cloth the most laborious step is carding the cotton and spinning the yarn which was then woven on hand looms. Much of the time consumed in making cloth could be saved by purchasing yarn at the local store. It seems only natural then that the first mills were built by the men who wanted most to meet this demand for yarn—the merchants of town and crossroad stores. The first cotton mills in the state were begun as another adjunct to a general store that probably already operated a grist mill and tanning yard on the premises. The merchant sold the yarn in his store, and

[19] *The Raleigh Minerva*, June 18, 1813. "John Umstead, Ch. John Taylor, Jr., Sec. Subscription books shall be lodged in the hands of the following gentlemen, viz. James Mebane, John Craig, Michael Holt, and Duncan Cameron, Esq'rs of Orange; Frederick Nash, Wm. Whitted and John Taylor, Jr. of Hillsborough; Edward Jones and John J. Alston, Esq'rs of Chatham; Samuel Ashe of Halifax; Col. Sam'l Ashe of New Hanover; Alex Murphey, Esq., Caswell; Col. R. Atkinson, Person; Joseph Gales of Raleigh; Wm. M. Sneed, Esq., Granville; A. McBryde, Esq. of Moore; Gen. Alex Grey, of Randolph; Hance McCain, Esq. Guilford; and Wm. B. Grove, Esq. of Fayetteville, for the purpose of giving an opportunity of subscribing to all those who may wish to be concerned."

[20] Edwin Michael Holt, Diary, June 8, 1846, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Holt, Diary.

if his milling operations were successful, he would send bales of the yarn by wagon to stores in nearby settlements.[21]

Ante-bellum cotton mills in North Carolina were generally located in rural areas of the Piedmont section, and often the mills and their stores became local social centers, while the merchant owners were frequently the most civic-minded men of the county.[22] These mills became the setting for many political meetings, as the county people gathered to memorialize the legislature to pass bills they desired or to protest the passage of bills they disapproved.[23]

The first mill of any permanence in North Carolina was that of Michael Schenck of Lincoln County in the Piedmont section of the state near the South Carolina state line. Here the typical meeting place developed and here emerged the pattern of growth through which many mills would soon evolve. Already a successful merchant of the county, in 1814 Schenck began his cotton mill by ordering spindle machinery from Providence, Rhode Island, and having the gears and shafting made in a local iron forge by his son-in-law Absolom Warlick and Michael Beam, two skilled iron workers of the community. Schenck's first mill was located about one and one-half miles from Lincolnton on Mill Branch, but after the first dam was swept away by a flood in 1816, the mill was moved downstream and reopened. Soon the enterprise was prosperous enough to attract additional investors, and the capital furnished by John Hoke and Dr. James Bevens in 1819 was spent on new machinery and a new building on the south fork of the Catawba River, two miles south of Lincolnton. The rechristened Lincoln Cotton Factory operated machinery, variously estimated at between 1,284 to 3,000 spindles, for the production of coarse yarn, which by 1840 was valued at $21,373 annually. Although its yarn was sold throughout an

[21] Holt, Diary, March 4, 1845; William Turner to George W. Johnson, May 14, 1836, in George W. Johnson Papers, Flowers Collection, Duke University; *The Greensboro Patriot*, February 18, 1843.

[22] This seems to have been generally true in all parts of North Carolina. Among these owners were Charles P. Mallet of Fayetteville, John M. Morehead of Leaksville, Henry Humphreys and Charles Benbow of Greensboro, and the Trolingers, Gants, and Holts of Orange County. *The Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, July 16, 1838; April 18, 1849, hereinafter cited as *Raleigh Register*.

[23] Holt, Diary, *passim; Raleigh Register*, June 1, 8, 1839.

area of a one hundred mile radius of the mill, lack of additional capital kept this first mill relatively small until after the Civil War.[24] However, when a superintendent from Lowell, Massachusetts, was placed in charge of the company in the late 1840's, an industrial community sprang up near the mill. A blacksmith shop, producing iron bedsteads and axes, a brass foundry, a cotton gin, and a shingle factory were built around the inevitable large dry-goods store and brought prosperity to the company.[25]

While the western edge of the Piedmont was experiencing this embryonic development of the cotton textile industry, there were other primal stirrings at the eastern edge. In 1817 Henry A. Donaldson, a New England manufacturer, immigrated from Rhode Island expressly to establish a cotton mill, and indeed by 1830 this talented organizer had been instrumental in the incorporation or operation of three of the four cotton mills built in North Carolina before 1830.[26] Soon after his arrival in the state, Donaldson met Joel Battle, a wealthy and energetic planter of Edgecombe County. Battle owned a flourishing flour and grist mill on the Tar River and had accumulated $25,000 in capital with which he wished to construct a cotton mill. The combination of Donaldson's technical skill and Battle's available capital led to the organization in 1817 of the Rocky Mount Mills at the falls of the Tar River in Nash County. Donaldson went to Rhode Island, purchased machinery, supervised its installation and taught the slaves secured by Colonel Battle to operate it.[27] Equipped with two thousand spindles, this early factory produced throughout the 1820's a daily allotment of twelve to fifteen hundred pounds of coarse cotton yarn, packaged in five pound skeins for the local market.[28] It was the early career of this mill that

[24] David Schenck, *Historical Sketch of the Schenck and Bevins Families* (Greensboro, 1884), 14-16; William L. Sherrill, *Annals of Lincoln County North Carolina* (Charlotte, 1937), 83, 102; Michael Schenck Papers, Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[25] *Carolina Republican* (Lincolnton), April 10, 1849; April 3, 1851.

[26] *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore, Md.), XXVII (February 5, 1825), 352, hereinafter cited as *Niles' Weekly Register*.

[27] *Raleigh Register*, December 17, 1833; September 23, 1834.

[28] The Rocky Mount Mill in the 1820's was also sending shipments of cotton goods to the markets of New York, Philadelphia and Boston and in 1828 sent one shipment of twenty bales to New York alone. *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXIV (May 10, 1828), 175, citing the *Tarborough Free Press*.

prompted magazine editor Hezekiah Niles to express the hope in 1828 that the South would soon "join in the scuffle" with the North to satisfy the demands of the domestic cotton market.[29]

Although the early years of the Rocky Mount Manufacturing Company do not seem to have been ones of unalloyed success, by 1833 the mill was apparently booming. In that year Colonel Battle advertised in a Raleigh newspaper, "After struggling for fifteen years against the most adverse circumstances, the cotton factory at the Falls of the Tar River is in a state of successful operation." He called upon all patriotic citizens to support what he termed "the oldest Cotton Factory in North Carolina."[30]

The "state of successful operation" that the mill had reached by 1833 was probably the result of hiring a trained cotton mill superintendent from Massachusetts in 1830 and making him another partner in the factory. John Parker brought new machinery with him and apparently did such a thorough job in teaching the slaves and Colonel Battle and his son William the operation of the mill that the Battles felt secure enough to buy out his partnership in 1833, as they did the partnership of the errant Henry Donaldson the same year.[31]

Joel Battle retired in 1839, and the young William had ambitious plans for the Rocky Mount Manufacturing Company. He sold the family's turpentine holdings along the coast and persuaded several other planters to join him in recapitalizing the mill for $500,000, which would have made it one of the largest in the South. But in 1839 the price of cotton rose two cents a pound, and the eager planters invested their money instead in more cotton lands and slaves. The mill continued to operate on its $50,000 capitalization until 1860, and the yarn it produced above the local demand was occasionally

[29] *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXIV (May 10, 1828), 175.

[30] *Raleigh Register*, August 20, 1833; December 31, 1833. This may have been a case of trying to secure the patronage of a wider market by equivocation, for Battle had been sufficiently successful by 1828 to be joined by a group of investors who tried to raise $100,000 for a cotton factory in Edgecombe County. *Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, 1828-1829* (Raleigh, 1829), 39, hereinafter cited as *Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1828-1829*.

[31] *Raleigh Register*, September 23, 1834; July 28, 1835; *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXVII (February 5, 1825), 352; XXX (July 1, 1826), 321.

shipped to New York and Philadelphia. After its successful operation during part of the war years, the mill was destroyed by a calvary raid from New Bern in 1863. *The Daily Journal* of Wilmington carried a series of four feature articles on the Rocky Mount Mills after the war, three in 1867 and another in 1869:

> The Federals visited this place during the war—in 1863, I believe—and cavorted around considerably. They tore up the track, burnt the depot, burnt Battle's Cotton Factory and mills, at the falls, and appropriated all the hams, niggers, jewelry and chickens they could carry off. . . . After their destruction the third year of the war, nothing was done toward rebuilding . . . these valuable and important works. . . .[32]

Perhaps the "adverse circumstances" of the Battle mill in the 1820's were a result of Henry Donaldson's interests having wandered afield from the growing Rocky Mount community. While retaining his partnership in the first mill, Donaldson had joined forces with an industrially-minded North Carolinian, George McNeil, and together they constructed the first of many mills that were to make Fayetteville an important urban textile center of the ante-bellum South. Their choice of location was a wise one, for Fayetteville had already become a thriving cotton trading center. It was the transfer point for cotton brought from the farms by wagon to the river boats that would carry it to Wilmington for shipment to England and the North.[33]

The Fayetteville mill was completed in 1825, and although an article in *Niles' Register* described it as "capable of containing 10,000 spindles," it probably contained closer to the 1,200 in Joel Battle's mill since each was capitalized at $50,000. Like Battle's, this mill employed slave labor until the late 1830's. Despite the apparent success of this factory, Donaldson and McNeil sold the property in 1834 to the owner

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[32] *The Daily Journal* (Wilmington), May 14, 1867; July 12, 1867.

[33] *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXII (April 21, 1837), 131, XXXV (October 11, 1828), 97. This river traffic continued throughout the ante-bellum period. In 1853 nine steamers and twenty-two barges operated between the two river ports. *DeBow's Review*, XIV (June, 1853), 611-612.

of the fourth and last cotton mill built in the state before 1830, Henry Humphreys of Greensboro.[34]

First built in 1818, Humphrey's Mount Hecla Mill had two distinct periods of operation, the first from 1818 to about 1825 and a second and more prosperous period after 1830 when plans were made for the use of steam power. The original mill was built on a stream outside Greensboro and employed the waterpower of a dam Humphreys had constructed earlier to operate a grist mill. The first frame structure apparently excited little interest in the 1820's, for it was listed in a newspaper article as merely "one of the four mills in the state." But from this humble start, the second largest mill in ante-bellum North Carolina soon developed.[35]

In North Carolina the establishment of four modest mills was a comparatively small beginning for the years preceding 1830, during which the New England textile industry seemed to blossom overnight into full flower. Yet there are compelling reasons why the South and North took divergent paths. New England's commercial prosperity passed away rapidly with the War of 1812, and her only recourse was to industrial expansion. The South, however, was on the eve of a boom era of cotton planting for geographic and climatic conditions militated in favor of exclusively agricultural pursuits. North Carolina, with an area almost as large as all the New England states combined, possessed an infinitely superior soil and climate, and the growth of cotton, rather than the manufacture of textiles, seemed to offer the natural road to prosperity.

The correspondence, diaries, and ledgers of the ante-bellum mill owners give ample and repeated reasons why men of prudence might well hesitate to embark on the money-consuming scheme of cotton manufacturing, in which many failed and few became wealthy. The chief factors working against cotton mill expansion in the state were the high price and great demand for raw cotton until 1824, the inadequacy and expense of transportation in the state which limited the market for the mills' products, the shortage of capital among

[34] *Raleigh Register*, September 23, 1834; *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXVII (February 5, 1825), 352.

[35] *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXX (July 1, 1826), 321, citing *The Newbern Spectator and Literary Journal.*

men long accustomed to investing all profits in more land and slaves and the lack of managerial experience by even the ambitious and willing.[36]

The philosophic atmosphere created by the major planters and by their economic satellites was not conducive to the establishment of industry in the period before 1830, and any support planters gave was seldom more than grudging throughout the period before the Civil War. North Carolina landholders might be persuaded to adopt temporarily any expedient, even manufacturing, to revive declining farm revenues, but whenever there was a slight increase in the price of cotton they would revert to the old patterns of plantation investments. Writing in 1848, a Salisbury editor recalled quite clearly that throughout the 1820's and early 1830's "manufactures were so odious" that planters or any gentleman scoffed at the idea of investing in cotton mills.[37] J. D. B. DeBow well understood the deep-seated prejudice against manufacturing held by men "accustomed to the respectable gaining of wealth from the land." The New Orleans editor wrote of the damage done in 1835 by Nathaniel Macon, one of the most respected and venerable citizens of the state, who declared in a speech in Raleigh that North Carolina would never become a commercial state.[38] Before this feeling even slightly abated during the mill building era of the 1840's, many such editorial cries as this from the *Raleigh Register* in 1833 would be heard. "Away then you people of the South with an ill-founded prejudice, which stands in the way of your prosperity, and open your eyes to your true interest."[39]

Many early efforts to construct profitable cotton mills did not meet with a sufficient degree of success to encourage other investors to put their capital in similar ventures. Recognizing this fact, one mill owner wrote to a merchant that the dry weather of North Carolina summers created such hardship

[36] *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine,* (New York), XV (October, 1846), 380; (November, 1849), 496-497; *DeBow's Review,* XXXVI (January, 1867), 90; William Turner to George W. Johnson, May 14, 1836, George W. Johnson Papers, Flowers Collection, Duke University.

[37] *The Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), May 18, 1848.

[38] *DeBow's Review,* XXXVI (January, 1867), 90.

[39] *Raleigh Register,* December 17, 1833.

for grist and saw mill operators that he was not surprised that so few people built cotton mills.[40] Yet despite the failure of several early cotton mills and the sometime indifferent success of those that continued to operate, the enthusiasm of a few determined North Carolinians and the effects of an agricultural depression presaged a period of active mill building in the years after 1830.

Under the pressure of declining farm prices in the 1820's and the ensuing unrest in western North Carolina, the legislature began seeking means for stemming the growing tide of emigration and for making the state prosperous again by encouraging both diversified agriculture and industry. To investigate the possibility of more widespread construction of woolen and cotton mills in the state, the General Assembly established a select committee under the chairmanship of Charles Fisher of Rowan County, who was an ardent advocate of this program.[41]

After conducting a series of public hearings and listening to experienced local manufacturers,[42] the committee presented an exhaustive report for the consideration of the legislature. The report dealt with many facets of the problem and enumerated the obvious advantages that would accrue to North Carolina by the introduction of manufactures. The committee foresaw the widespread ramifications that such a plan would have in presenting new economic opportunity to the poor, in encouraging and reviving agriculture, and in introducing general prosperity to all North Carolinians.

The Fisher committee believed that the citizens of North Carolina must determine to divert a part of their labor and efforts to other pursuits than agriculture or face ruin as a community. The depressed state of cotton prices had caused a decline in property values and resulted in such a shortage of money that existing farm debts were comparatively double their actual figure. The competition in the world market for cotton was keener than ever before as new areas of production were opened in Greece, Egypt, India, and South America.

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[40] William Davidson to William H. Horok, July 14, 1832, William H. Horok Papers, Flowers Collection, Duke University.

[41] *Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1828-1829*, 78.

[42] *Raleigh Register*, March 18, 1828.

Competition from farmers on the new rich lands of the southwest was even more pressing, for they were now able to raise more cotton at less expense. The crisis facing agricultural interests thus appeared acute. Unless North Carolina cotton growers could create a greater local demand, many planters would be driven from its production by low prices.

As part of its attempt toward a solution of the state's problems, the committee pointed out that, although North Carolina had all the facilities for manufacturing, the people ignored these and purchased millions of dollars worth of foreign articles manufactured of materials exported from the state. There was no reason why increased manufacturing could not supply many more of the consumers' demands at home. Annual cotton production of North Carolina in 1828 was eighty thousand bales valued at two and a half million dollars. The committee believed that if the entire crop were manufactured locally the income of the residents of the state would be increased by some seven million dollars and make a total annual income of ten million dollars from cotton alone. Only by a marked increase in the domestic manufacture of cotton could its full value be restored. "As it is now, we lose it, and the profits are enjoyed by Old and New England." [43]

With cautious optimism the Fisher committee advanced a plan for diversifying the state's economy. The introduction of manufactures would

> . . . build up flourishing villages in the interior of our State, and improve not only the physical but the moral and intellectual condition of our citizens. . . . But it may be asked are the circumstances of our state such as to render practicable the introduction of the system among us? The hand of nature itself seems to point out North Carolina as a region of country well adapted to manufactories. Cut off from the ocean by a sand bound coast, her rivers filled with shoals and obstructions along the whole extent, and their mouths inaccessible to large vessels, she can never be greatly commercial. On the other hand, her

[43] Charles Fisher, "A Report on the Establishment of Cotton and Woolen Manufactures and on the Growing of Wool," Legislative Papers, 1828. North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Fisher, "Report."

climate and soil are equal to those of any of her sister states, and she abounds with all the facilities necessary to the manufacturing arts.[44]

The committee's report analyzed each of several elements necessary for "sustaining manufacturing establishments" and pointed out their application to the natural situation of North Carolina. With an abundant supply of local cotton available, savings on transportation to other markets was estimated at twenty-five per cent of the total cost of finished cloth. The southern manufacturer gained an advantage in having the cotton fresh from the seed, which was the best time for it to be spun, and he would save the cost of bagging, roping, and waste, estimated by Henry Donaldson, the Rocky Mount manufacturer, to be ten per cent of raw material costs of the northern and European manufacturer. Abundant water power, a mild and healthful climate, inexpensive food for workers, and a convenient home market would assure the prosperity of new mills.

This unique and significant report on southern industrial potential concluded:

> The Committee have thus, at greater length than they could wish, presented their views on the policy of introducing the Manufacturing System into North Carolina. They firmly believe that it is the only course that will relieve our people from the evils that now so heavily press on them. They have nearly reached the lowest point of depression, and it is time for the reaction to begin. Our habits and prejudices are against manufacturing, but we must yield to the force of things, and profit by the indications of nature. The policy that resists the change, is unwise and suicidal. Nothing else can restore us.
>
> Let the Manufacturing System take root among us, and it will soon flourish like a vigorous plant in its native soil! It will become our greatest means of wealth and prosperity; it will change the course of trade, and, in great measure, make us independent of Europe and the North.
>
> Nature has made us far more independent of them then they are of us. They can manufacture our raw material, but they cannot produce it. We can raise it and manufacture it too. Such are our superior advantages, that we may anticipate the time, when the manufactured articles of the South will be shipped

[44] Fisher, "Report."

North, and sold in their markets cheaper than their own fabrics, and then the course of trade and difference of exchange will turn in our favor. The committee, at this time, are not aware that it is within the powers of this General Assembly, by any act, to forward the introduction of the system into North Carolina. They however recommend the granting of acts of incorporation to companies for manufacturing purposes as often as suitable applications may be made. [45]

The insight shown in this statement influenced the governing body of North Carolina to take its first notice of an issue of overwhelming importance to its citizens. *Niles' Register* wholeheartedly endorsed this valuable report and expressed the wish that it would receive wide circulation and be seriously considered by North Carolinians, for the great natural resources of the state should be used for the general welfare. "With the growth of manufacturers, causing the circulation of much money, will cease the present *rickety* state of banks, and rather render North Carolina a creditor than a debtor state, in her domestic and foreign commerce," Niles urged North Carolinians to take advantage of the highly protective Tariff of 1828 and secure the benefits anticipated from the American System, "and buffet the Northern manufacturer with their own weapons." [46]

The circulation of the Fisher report by the newspapers of the state excited editorial approval and stimulated reader interest in a program of cotton industry for the state. The reorganization of the Mt. Hecla Mill of Greensboro, begun during this period, was hailed as a forward step.[47] John M. Morehead, who had extensive investments in manufactures at Leaksville, became an ardent supporter of the report and within ten years built a successful pioneer cotton mill.[48] Charles Fisher and John Morehead were among the foremost promoters of a progressive program of industrial, agricultural, and educational improvement in North Carolina, and from them the cotton textile industry in this formative stage re-

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[45] Fisher, "Report."

[46] *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXXIII (January 19, 1828), 346; XXXIV (May 10, 1828), 175.

[47] *National Intelligencer*, May 3, 1828.

[48] Burton J. Konkle, *John Motley Morehead and the Development of North Carolina, 1796-1866* (Philadelphia, 1922), 103.

ceived incalculable assistance in its permanent establishment.

The year 1828 saw attempts to establish five cotton manufacturing companies.[49] The Leaks and Crawfords were given a charter for the Richmond-Rockingham Company at Rockingham, and the Randolph Manufacturing Company was incorporated by Hugh McCain, Jesse Walker, Benjamin Elliot, and Jonathan Worth. A charter for the Belfort Cotton Manufacturing Company was issued to W. A. Blount, John Myers, and William Ellison, while Henry A. Donaldson and a group of prominent residents of Fayetteville secured the fourth charter of 1828 for a cotton factory in that city. In Edgecombe County Joel Battle and a large group of investors organized the Edgecombe Manufacturing Company. These five projected cotton factories were capitalized at a total of $350,000 and were given the right to manufacture a variety of fibers —cotton, wool, flax, and hemp. Despite the wave of editorial enthusiasm in 1828, the incorporators apparently had considerable difficulty in raising the necessary capital, for there is no evidence that any carried their ideas to fruition before the middle 1830's.

Thus the cotton mill campaign begun by Charles Fisher and endorsed by newspapers throughout the state has continued to the present day, a century and a quarter later. Although its momentum faltered under the impact of the sectional crisis of the fifties and suffered during the lethargic years induced by defeat and radical Reconstruction, even in these periods new cotton mills were built, old ones modernized, and still others projected.

Born of crisis and necessity, these early industrial plants were truly pioneers, and their existence was far from assured in the critical years ahead. Perhaps their greatest service was merely offering proof by their existence that cotton manufacturing was practical in North Carolina, but only new problems in the 1830's would stimulate mass momentum in the cotton mill movement.

The years 1828-1830 mark the turning point for North Carolina's industrial future. With both encouraging and discouraging signs on the eve of a new era, the work yet to be

[49] *Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1828-1829*, 39, 41, 46, 59, 60, 65.

done for the success of this new type of enterprise was the challenge facing advocates of industry in a traditionally agricultural state.

## APPENDIX

### COTTON MILLS PROJECTED AND BUILT IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1800-1830

| | |
|---|---|
| Beam Cotton Factory, Lincoln County [1] | 1804* |
| Moravian Cotton Mills, Salem [2] | 1808* |
| Planters' Cotton Mill, Coastal Plain [3] | 1811* |
| Hillsborough Manufacturing Company, Hillsboro [4] | 1813* |
| Lincolnton Cotton Factory, Lincolnton [5] | 1813 |
| Rocky Mount Mills, Rocky Mount [6] | 1817 |
| Mount Hecla Mill, Greensborough [7] | 1818-1822 |
| Reorganized and enlarged | 1828-1830 |
| Moved to Lincoln County | 1848 |
| McNeil and Donaldson Mill, Fayetteville [8] | 1825 |
| Richmond-Rockingham Manufacturing Company, Rockingham [9] | 1828** |

* Cotton mills that probably did not progress beyond the organizational stage.

** Mills that were not completed until after 1830.

[1] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, October 9, 1881, quoting *The Aurora* (Shelby).

[2] Adelaide L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 8 volumes, 1922-1954), VI, 2929.

[3] Hugh Williamson, *The History of North Carolina* (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 2 volumes, 1812), II, 221.

[4] *The Raleigh Minerva*, June 18, 1813.

[5] Michael Schenck Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh; David Schenck, *Historical Sketch of the Schenck and Bevens Families* (Greensboro: Thomas, Reece & Company, 1884), 14-16.

[6] *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXVII (February 5, 1825), 352; XXXIV (May 10, 1828), 175.

[7] *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXX (July 1, 1826), 321; *Raleigh Register*, July 5, 1836; *The Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), March 29, 1849.

[8] *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXVII (February 5, 1925), 352; *Raleigh Register*, September 23, 1834.

[9] Burton J. Konkle, *John Motley Morehead and the Development of North Carolina, 1796-1866* (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1922), 103.

| | |
|---|---|
| Randolph Manufacturing Company, Randolph County [10] | 1828** |
| Belfort Cotton Manufacturing Company, Fayetteville [11] | 1828** |
| Fayetteville Manufacturing Company, Fayetteville [12] | 1828** |
| Edgecombe Manufacturing Company, Rocky Mount [13] | 1828** |

*[To be continued]*

[10] *Raleigh Register*, July 16, 1838.
[11] *Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1828-1829*, 39, 41.
[12] *Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1828-1829*, 46, 59; *Raleigh Register*, December 17, 1833; September 23, 1834.
[13] *Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1828-1829*, 60, 65; *Raleigh Register*, August 20, 1833.

# ORGANIZATION AND EARLY YEARS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA BAR ASSOCIATION

By FANNIE MEMORY BLACKWELDER

Though the present North Carolina Bar Association dates only from 1899, the roots of the organization are to be found some fifteen years earlier. In July, 1884, the editor of the *Asheville Citizen* commented on the first annual meeting of the Bar Association of Western North Carolina, which had been held in Asheville on July 9. The editor made it known that his paper was in sympathy with the aims of the Association when he wrote, "If made to embrace the entire profession of the State, we regard it as capable of becoming one of the most useful, as well as potential agencies for the welfare of the commonwealth." He continued by mentioning the growth which was occurring in North Carolina and by indicating the necessity for new laws to meet changed conditions. The legal profession was the group to lead in these changes. Such an organization as that meeting in Asheville could do much to insure the speedy administration of justice. "To nobody can we look with more propriety for measures to correct . . . [abuses] than members of the Bar," wrote the editor.[1]

Whether or not the Asheville meeting inspired a committee of Raleigh lawyers to act in 1885 is only a matter of surmise. T. M. Argo, J. B. Batchelor, D. G. Fowle, T. C. Fuller, and R. H. Battle, all of Raleigh, issued a call to lawyers of the state inviting them to a meeting in the capital city on January 28 at noon. The call, issued January 8, 1885, stated that the lawyers should study imperfections in the judicial system of the state and should come together to make "common stock of our information and experience. . . ." It emphasized the need of the support of a large number of lawyers and of the most experienced in the profession if the plan was to be

[1] *Asheville Citizen*, July 17, 1884. See also Edwin Godwin Reade, *Address Delivered by the Hon. Edwin Godwin Reade, LL.D., before the Convention of the Legal Profession of North Carolina, at Asheville, N. C.*, July 9, 1884 (Raleigh, 1884), 1-16.

successful.[2] The men who issued the call were themselves leaders of the profession. For example, Argo was described by the editor of the Raleigh *News and Observer* as "brilliant and original to a degree that made him easily the foremost man as an advocate at the Raleigh bar."[3] Fuller, a notable trial lawyer, served as associate judge of the United States Court of Private Land Claims from 1891 until his death in 1901. Fowle was a judge of the North Carolina Superior Court and was later chosen governor of the state.[4] Battle was described as a "laborious and painstaking" lawyer, accurate in his knowledge of the law and eminent in his profession.[5] Batchelor, attorney general of North Carolina in 1885, was an "able and fearless lawyer. . . ."[6]

The lawyers who responded to the call met in the Raleigh courthouse on January 28, with representatives of the nine judicial districts present. Argo, chairman of the committee, read the call and address and moved that J. J. Davis be made temporary chairman. Davis was elected to the position; B. F. Long and Samuel A. Ashe were made secretaries.[7] The first point of business was the appointment of a committee, one member from each district and six from the state at large, to which suggestions could be referred.[8]

John W. Hinsdale moved that the temporary organization be made the permanent one, a motion which was carried. Davis was thus made president of the organization for the year 1885. *The News and Observer's* account stated that "Mr. Davis in a few well chosen words said he would undertake any duty that the bar might desire to impose upon him.

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[2] *Constitution and By-Laws of the North Carolina Bar Association, Together with the Proceedings of a Convention of the Bar of the State, Held in Raleigh, the 28th of January, 1885* (Raleigh, 1885), 3, hereinafter cited *Proceedings of January, 1885.*

[3] *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), January 15, 1909, hereinafter cited *The News and Observer.*

[4] Ernest Haywood, *Some Notes in Regard to the Eminent Lawyers Whose Portraits Adorn the Walls of the Superior Court Room at Raleigh, North Carolina* (n. p., 1936), 10-11.

[5] Samuel A'Court Ashe and others (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, 1905-1917), VI, 41.

[6] J. Crawford Biggs (ed.), *Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Bar Association held at Morehead City, N. C., July 1, 2, 3, 1903* (Durham, 1903), 71-72, hereinafter cited Biggs, *Bar Report, 1903.*

[7] *The News and Observer,* January 29, 1885.

[8] *Proceedings of January, 1885,* 4.

He only wished that his capacity and experience were such as would enable him the better to serve the cause which the association had at heart." The organization voted to call itself "The North Carolina Bar Association." [9]

Several matters of business were discussed at this initial meeting. The Charlotte bar, at a meeting held January 24, had passed resolutions to be introduced at the Raleigh meeting. These dealt with the need of separating civil and criminal dockets in many counties and pointed out the fact that an increase in the number of superior court judges would not solve the problem. W. W. Peebles recommended the establishment of courts of pleas and quarter sessions.[10] The subject of county courts evoked considerable discussion, J. B. Batchelor speaking with "unusual eloquence" on the matter.[11] Still another resolution dealing with judicial improvement was introduced by R. H. Battle, who thought that judges should be appointed by the governor and his council, with ratification by the Senate, rather than a continuation of the elective system.[12]

In the evening session, the resolutions, which had been studied by the committee on the judicial system, were reported. The suggestions included the recommendation of a Constitutional amendment for appointment of judges by the governor and his council with Senate ratification, a Constitutional amendment to increase the number of judges of the Supreme Court to five, and an increase in the number of Superior Courts in the counties which needed additional facilities, with the provision that some terms be designated for civil cases only. The further recommendation was that the number of judges should be increased to fifteen. These resolutions were adopted.[13]

The adoption of these resolutions is evidence that the North Carolina Bar Association began by carrying out its

[9] *The News and Observer*, January 29, 1885. Davis was, in 1887, made associate justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court. See Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, *North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth* (Chicago, 1928), II, 436, hereinafter cited as Connor, *North Carolina.*

[10] *Proceedings of January, 1885*, 5-6.

[11] *The News and Observer*, January 29, 1885.

[12] *Proceedings of January, 1885*, 8.

[13] *Proceedings of January, 1885*, 10.

object of improving the judicial system. It is doubtful that any direct results followed the adoption of the resolutions since the 1885 Association dissolved shortly. The object of the Association, as set forth in its constitution, was full of lofty ideals. It would endeavor to

> . . . cultivate the science of jurisprudence, to promote reform in the law, to facilitate the administration of justice, to elevate the standard of integrity, honor and courtesy in the legal profession, to encourage a thorough and liberal legal education, and to cherish a spirit of brotherhood among the members thereof. [14]

Following a resolution of T. R. Purnell, a committee of nine had been appointed by the chairman to inquire into the propriety of a permanent bar association. The committee, including Purnell, Frank Vaughn, C. C. Lyon, J. S. Henderson, B. F. Long, and W. H. Malone, was charged with the duty of drafting a constitution and plan of organization for the Association. The constitution, as adopted by the Association, provided for a president, vice president from each judicial district, and various committees. Any lawyer in good standing was eligible to membership, provided that he paid his dues and subscribed to the constitution. There was to be a committee on admissions. Meetings were to be held in Raleigh in July, 1885; all subsequent annual meetings were to be held at such place and time as the Association should determine by a three-fourths vote of members present.[15]

All was not work at the first meeting of the Bar in January of 1885. On the evening of the 28th the Raleigh bar entertained at the Yarborough Hotel. *The News and Observer* waxed eloquent in its description of the occasion:

> The gathering of legal luminaries was a notable one; so excessively brilliant in fact that it looked as if half a dozen electric lights were in the dining room[.] There were eating and drinking and speeches galore. . . . The banquet was certainly a handsome affair and very greatly enjoyed by the visitors and their hosts. The speeches were capital. [16]

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[14] *Proceedings of January, 1885*, 11.
[15] *Proceedings of January, 1885*, 9-13.
[16] *The News and Observer*, January 29, 1885.

Seventy-five attended the banquet. Unusual toasts, such as "Our Present Judicial System, and How it Should be Corrected," "Marriage License Fees, Ought They to be Reduced?" were given, with proper responses.

Samuel A. Ashe, editor of the Raleigh paper, wrote a long editorial on the organization of the Bar Association. In part, he said:

> The meeting of the North Carolina bar here . . . and the formation of the North Carolina Bar Association mark a step forward in the history of the State. In the olden time when the knights rode in their mailed armor and roamed the world in quest of adventure, their deeds alone were on the tongues of men and it was deemed unfit to sully the historic page with aught but a relation of their achievements on the tented field. Such were the uses of historic lore. But the olden time is gone and a new light breaking through the rift of the clouds illumines mankind and we see more on the face of God's earth than strong men seeking reputation at the cannon's mouth and vigilant and bold is the cause of destruction. We see the teeming millions . . . who live to elevate and ennoble mankind. It is of such now that history takes account, and so it has come to pass that "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," and the life of a people is studied while once only the daring deeds of the few were thought worthy of portrayal.
>
> Among recent events but few will exert a more notable influence upon the people of North Carolina than the organization which has just been perfected. . . . The members of the bar are usually the foremost men in their respective communities and give tone to society while in some measure controlling and directing public sentiment.
>
> It is then of consequence that the bar should . . . possess every requirement necessary to preserve the confidence and esteem of the people. Grave duties devolve upon the profession and in order to discharge them properly its reputation should be kept free from slurs and entirely unsmirched. It is one of the objects of the newborn association to protect the bar from the presence of unworthy men, to seek for it a higher standard of excellence, to enlarge its influence and maintain that popular confidence which its glorious history and achievements in behalf of constitutional liberty have so justly won for it. [17]

The editor's own phrase, "unusual eloquence" would be appropriate comment on his editorial! Ashe rambled on in a

[17] *The News and Observer*, January 29, 30, 1885.

similar vein for several additional paragraphs, emphasizing the idea that the Bar Association and lawyers were a great group.

Though the regular meeting of the Association was scheduled for July, it was not held until October.[18] However, the idea of the Bar Association was in the minds of lawyers in the intervening months. For example, in March of 1885, Francis D. Winston, a Bertie County lawyer, wrote to Walter Clark, saying "You will please enter my name among the members of the State Bar Association."[19] By the time of the October meeting, 131 members had joined the group.[20]

The Association met in the Senate chamber in Raleigh on the evening of October 14, 1885. Judge Edwin Godwin Reade[21] was admitted without the formalities of the sanction of the Commitee on Admissions; he was immediately chosen president for the following year. Thomas M. Argo was elected secretary and W. J. Peele treasurer.[22] Retiring President Davis addressed the group, appealing to members to continue to adhere to high standards and praising lawyers as a group.[23] Reade "made some eloquent remarks on taking the chair."[24] He thanked the members for the honor and confidence shown, encouraging them to exhibit interest in whatever would elevate and purify the honorable profession to which they belonged, and expressing a willingness to contribute his aid in furtherance of so desirable an object."[25]

Various minor constitutional amendments were proposed and adopted. Officers having been elected, the Association adjourned subject to the call of the president and executive committee.[26]

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[18] *Proceedings of January, 1885,* 13.

[19] Aubrey Lee Brooks and Hugh Talmage Lefler (eds.), *The Papers of Walter Clark* (Chapel Hill, c. 1948), I, 222.

[20] *Proceedings of the North Carolina Bar Association, at a Meeting Held in Raleigh, the 14th of October, 1885* (Raleigh, 1886), 13-14, hereinafter cited *Proceedings of October, 1885.*

[21] Reade was elected associate justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court in 1885. See Connor, *North Carolina,* II, 274.

[22] *Proceedings of October, 1885,* 4. *The News and Observer,* October 15, 1855, names Walter Clark as treasurer. From other references in the Bar reports, it is known that Peele was treasurer.

[23] *Proceedings of October, 1885,* 7-12.

[24] *The News and Observer,* October 15, 1885.

[25] *Proceedings of October, 1885,* 5.

[26] *Proceedings of October, 1885,* 6.

Why the Association was not called is not known. As *The News and Observer* put it, "for some reason or other it fell into inocuous [*sic*] desuetude." [27] Finally, February 9, 1899, *The News and Observer* announced a meeting of lawyers to be held the following day to form a bar association.[28] J. Crawford Biggs, professor of law at the University of North Carolina, had decided that a legal organization was needed in the state, though there had been no talk among lawyers on the subject. While the legislature was in session, he went to Raleigh, approached lawyers in the legislature, and procured the signatures of attorneys from all over the state to a call which he had prepared.[29] The call was issued January 21, 1899, with the signatures of 62 interested lawyers.[30] Having taken the initiative it was natural for Biggs to become the father of the Association. The example of leadership was manifested by his father who was the moving spirit in the organization of the North Carolina Press Association.[31] Though the American Bar Association had been organized in 1877,[32] there were no local city or county bar organizations; since the state association of 1885 had perished, Biggs felt that a formal organization would be of benefit to the legal profession, and, through its activities to improve the administration of justice, to the people of the state.[33] The need for such an association was not felt in old circuit riding days, before modern transportation, when the lawyers became acquainted as they traveled from court to court. By the twentieth century the "old companying together" had vanished.[34] Though there was no active opposition to a bar association, there was much indifference.[35]

[27] *The News and Observer*, June 28, 1901.

[28] *The News and Observer*, February 9, 1899.

[29] Interview with J. Crawford Biggs, Raleigh, June 29, 1950.

[30] J. H. Chadbourn, "The Activities of the North Carolina Bar Association in Stimulating Legislation," *North Carolina Law Review*, VIII (December, 1929), 101, hereinafter cited Chadbourn, "Activities of the N. C. Bar Association."

[31] R. C. Lawrence, "The Family of Biggs," *The State* (Raleigh), X (February 6, 1943), 25.

[32] John L. Bridgers, "The American Bar Association," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, I (July, 1904), 335.

[33] Interview with J. Crawford Biggs, June 29, 1950.

[34] "The Bar Association," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, II (July, 1905), 297.

[35] Interview with R. N. Simms, Sr., Raleigh, June 29, 1950. Mr. Simms was a member of the Bar Association in 1899.

The Raleigh paper, announcing the meeting, said:

> There are many reasons why the organization of members of a learned profession is to be desired. It elevates the tone, gives a community of interest, and stimulates the whole membership. The lawyers in all ages have been in the fore-front of struggles for the preservation of liberty regulated by law. In North Carolina they have been the foremost leaders of the people from the days of Iredell. The profession never embraced so many able and learned men as now. Their organization for mutual good will not be confined to the membership, but will have a salutary influence upon the men of all callings.[36]

The call invited lawyers to a meeting in the Supreme Court room in Raleigh on February 10, 1899, at 7:30 P.M. J. Crawford Biggs called the meeting to order and asked J. B. Batchelor, a Raleigh lawyer, to act as temporary chairman. Biggs was made temporary secretary. Charles W. Tillett of Charlotte stated that the object of the meeting was to organize the bar of North Carolina into an association.[37] At the time of its organization, each lawyer in the state had acted for himself alone. The primary purpose of the formal organization was to foster good will among lawyers; work for improvements in the legal system, as by codification of the laws; and to create a feeling of fellowship among lawyers. The fraternal function was one of the main purposes of a bar association.[38] Occasionally, the bar added another function by coming to the rescue of members in distress. For example, in 1901, an appeal was made for an attorney who had lost his library, papers, and other personal property in a flood. The recommendation was made that the organized bar help him.[39]

Biggs had prepared a constitution and by-laws. The suggestion was made that they be read at the February 10th meeting. William R. Allen, a Goldsboro attorney, indicated

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[36] *The News and Observer*, February 10, 1899.

[37] *Charter, Constitution, By-Laws and Proceedings of the Meeting of Organization of the North Carolina Bar Association, February 10, 1899* (Chapel Hill, 1899), 1-2, hereinafter cited *Proceedings of February, 1899.*

[38] Interview with R. N. Simms, Sr., June 29, 1950.

[39] J. Crawford Biggs (ed), *Report of the Third Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Bar Association, Held at Seashore Hotel, Wrightsville Beach, N. C., June 26, 27 and 28, 1901* (Durham, 1901), 24, hereinafter cited Biggs, *Bar Report, 1901.*

that the group should first see which lawyers intended to join. Another member wanted the group to hear the constitution and by-laws first, as no one would want to join without knowing what sort of group he was supporting. This remark elicited from Tillett the observation that the lawyers were starting off with a suspicious attitude and that any member could withdraw if dissatisfied.[40]

A committee on permanent organization was appointed. The constitution was read by the secretary, and officers were suggested by the permanent organization committee. J. Crawford Biggs was made secretary and treasurer; as such, he was to receive the sum of $100.00 per year.[41] At the organization of the new association, W. J. Peele, treasurer of the 1885 association, reported that he had the sum of $80.00 from the group "which was organized a number of years ago and has gone down. . . ." On the motion of T. M. Argo, members of the old organization who were present retired to discuss the relationship between the old and the new associations. The members of the 1885 group decided to dissolve that association, to turn over books, records, minutes and the $80.00 to the new group.[42] *The News and Observer*, commenting on the $80.00 donation, stated that "This generous offer on the part of the members of the defunct association was received with thanks."[43]

Any white member of the bar of North Carolina was eligible to join the Bar Association. An admission fee of $5.00 and annual dues of $2.50 was charged to members.[44]

Platt D. Walker of Charlotte was chosen president; in accepting the office, he was not modest in his statement of opinion as to the meaning of the presidency of such an organization as the North Carolina Bar Association. His opinion that the "highest honor that can come to any man in North Carolina is the expression of confidence of the representatives of the bar of the State,"[45] is a bit astounding.

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[40] *Proceedings of February, 1899*, 3.
[41] *Proceedings of February, 1899*, 4, 10.
[42] *Proceedings of February, 1899*, 6-7.
[43] *The News and Observer*, February 11, 1899.
[44] *Proceedings of February, 1899*, 9, 12.
[45] *Proceedings of February, 1899*, 5.

At the meeting of the organization the bar agreed to have the secretary secure a charter of incorporation from the legislature,[46] a request which was carried out.[47]

Thus was the North Carolina Bar Association officially launched. J. Crawford Biggs probably deserves most of the credit for the beginning of the permanent organization; without his "painstaking and enthusiastic work" the Association would probably not have been born as early as 1899.[48]

The *North Carolina Law Journal,* established in 1900, frequently exhorted lawyers to join their association. The editor wrote, "If the Association is to stand, it should stand as a Profession united." Again, Paul Jones, editor, wrote:

> . . . if previous efforts to establish and maintain a Bar Association have failed of their purpose, we have much now to stimulate and give us courage. Let us not remember the former things, neither consider the things of old, but live and act in the present, and go intrepidly forward to the work that is before us with that kind of will and determination of which success is always the flower and the fruit.[49]

Thanks to the editorials of the *Law Journal's* editor and thanks to the efforts of the lawyers themselves, the Bar Association has held regular meetings and has grown in membership from 1899 to the present.

Big advertisements in *The News and Observer* in the first week of July, 1899, announced that the Atlantic Hotel in Morehead City would give special rates to all members of the Bar Association who attended the first annual meeting.[50] The meeting opened on July 5th, at 10:30 P.M. F. H. Busbee of Raleigh, chairman of the Executive Committee, called the meeting to order and the president, Platt D. Walker, was introduced. Walker very sagely announced that "Owing to the late hour of the night, and to the fact that the train is late . . ." the Executive Committee had recommended that

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[46] *The News and Observer,* February 11, 1899.

[47] See *Proceedings of February, 1899,* 26-29 for the charter of incorporation.

[48] "James Crawford Biggs," *North Carolina Law Journal,* II (October, [1901]), 175.

[49] "The State Bar Association," *North Carolina Law Journal,* I (March, [1900]), 5-6.

[50] *The News and Observer,* July 4, 5, and 6, 1899.

the night's program be postponed until the following day.[51] Walker addressed the body the next day, urging the members to look to the future, not to past failures. He recommended the establishment of local and county bar associations to bring members into closer contact with one another. About one-third of the active practitioners of North Carolina were members of the Association in 1899. Walker urged that the organization consider the problems of congested dockets, the legal condition of married women, revision of the statute law, and other matters needing legal reform.[52] His address was "able, eloquent and . . . enthusiastically received."[53]

The speakers at the early meetings now and then found it impossible to attend at the ninth hour. For example, R. T. Bennett, scheduled to speak in 1899, wrote that he would

> . . . be pleased to be with you on this occasion, but conspiring circumstances prevent it; the heat, increasing infirmities of body, and the demands of my farming work, somewhat in arrear, render my going inconvenient, and a serious tax on my strength.

Though Bennett sent his prepared speech to the Association,[54] it seems peculiar that he did not realize until such a late date that the heat, his farming work, and infirmities would keep him at home.

Various matters of business were taken up at the first annual meeting. A committee which had been appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws reported and those instruments were adopted.[55] The constitution provided that judges should be admitted to the Association as honorary, non-dues paying members. It stated the object of the organization, including such matters as reforming the law, elevating the standard of the legal profession, and fostering a spirit of brotherhood among the lawyers. The constitution provided

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[51] J. Crawford Biggs (ed.), *Report of the First Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Bar Association, Held at Atlantic Hotel, Morehead City, N. C., July 5th, 6th and 7th, 1899* (Durham, 1899), 7, hereinafter cited as Biggs, *Bar Report, 1899*.

[52] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1899*, 16-20.

[53] *The News and Observer*, July 6, 1899.

[54] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1899*, 8-9.

[55] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1899*, 22.

that the president, twelve vice-presidents, and the secretary-treasurer should be elected annually. Standing committees on membership, legislation and law reform, the judiciary, legal education and admission to the bar, memorials, grievances, and legal ethics were to be appointed by the president within ten days after the annual meetings. Those present at the annual meetings were to constitute a quorum. The constitution provided that the president should deliver an address on any subject he chose at the meetings.[56]

A matter of business which concerned the lawyers was the establishment of a law periodical. The idea was presented by Charles W. Tillett of Charlotte, who expressed the opinion that the editor should be a lawyer, but that good lawyers were too busy to edit a magazine.[57] Tillett was firmly convinced that a law journal was necessary, however.[58] Paul Jones of Tarboro spoke, saying that he wanted to publish a legal periodical. The matter was finally referred to a committee of three, which was given full power to act, though not to involve the Association financially.[59]

The Morehead City meeting was not devoid of entertainment. E. C. Smith of Raleigh extended an invitation to the group to go sailing with him, an invitation which was unanimously accepted. The same year, the Association had a long discussion about its proposed banquet. F. H. Busbee told the group of the difficult time he had had with hotel officials arranging for wines to be included at $1.50 a plate.[60]

The 1899 meeting was a very successful one. Charles F. Warren, of Washington, was elected new president.[61] J. Crawford Biggs reported that the total membership, including honorary members, had reached 260; but over 800 lawyers were practicing in North Carolina at the time, therefore, others should join the Association.[62]

[56] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1899*, 10, 91-94.
[57] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1899*, 45-46.
[58] *The News and Observer*, July 7, 1899.
[59] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1899*, 52-56.
[60] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1899*, 23-25 and 44-45.
[61] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1899*, 88. See J. Crawford Biggs (ed.), *Report of the Second Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Bar Association Held at Battery Park Hotel, Asheville, N. C., June 27th, 28th and 29th, 1900* (Durham, 1900), 170, for an account of his administration, hereinafter cited Biggs, *Bar Report, 1900*.
[62] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1899*, 25-26.

*The News and Observer's* special editorial correspondent from Morehead City wrote that the general average of the legal profession in the state was high, though there were no "towering figures." He reported that the speeches were of high quality; "the profession is composed of able men who have the gift of speech as of yore."[63] Likewise, the *North Carolina Law Journal,* in March, 1900, in its maiden number, referred to the summer meeting of the Association in Morehead City. The editor wrote:

> This meeting at Morehead was marked for its enthusiasm, and though the first regularly held, yet it came up to the expectation of all. All the sessions of the Association were perfectly harmonious, and the addresses that were delivered were of the highest order.[64]

In April, 1900, the *Law Journal* announced that the next meeting would be held in Asheville on June 27th, 28th, and 29th.[65] After the meeting had been held, the *Law Journal* stated that there was not enough space to give a full account of the proceedings, but that all lawyers who attended were fully repaid. A member "is benefitted [*sic*]. He is elevated. He makes friends, and he goes away a better and a wiser man."[66] The discussions at the Asheville meeting "were animated, yet no one seemed to lose himself."[67] The meeting of 1901 was held at Wrightsville.[68] Attendance was about average, with nearly every eastern town being represented. The *Journal's* strong opinion was that there was "not in the United States a more successful or stronger association than the Bar Association of North Carolina."[69] The next year Asheville was again the host city.[70] In 1903 the lawyers returned to the

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[63] *The News and Observer,* July 8, 1899.
[64] "The State Bar Association," *North Carolina Law Journal,* I (March, [1900]), 3-4.
[65] See the announcement on page 37 of the *North Carolina Law Journal,* I (April, [1900]).
[66] "Bar Association," *North Carolina Law Journal,* I (August, [1900]), 222.
[67] "Bar Association," *North Carolina Law Journal,* I (August, [1900]), 220.
[68] "Bar Association," *North Carolina Law Journal,* II (May, [1901]), 30.
[69] "The Bar Association," *North Carolina Law Journal,* II (July, [1901]), 65-66.
[70] *Asheville Citizen,* July 8, 1902.

seashore,[71] but in 1904 they held their meeting in Charlotte.[72]

By the end of 1904 the North Carolina Bar Association was a definitely established organization. There was no doubt but that it would live and grow. What did the Association do in these early years of its organization? What was the nature of the programs? What was the significance of the group? A brief summary of the events of these years will answer these queries.

First of all, the legal periodical which had been discussed in the 1899 meeting became a reality. In 1900 the President of the Association reported that a law journal was being published in Tarboro by Paul Jones. Jones announced that he had published four issues; sample copies had been sent to the lawyers; he hoped for additional subscribers.[73] The committee of the Bar Association had studied the situation and had decided that the Association should accept Jones's proposition to publish a journal.[74] The periodical would contain biographical sketches of outstanding lawyers, articles on North Carolina law, digests of court opinions, editorials, selections of wit, book reviews, and similar items of interest.[75] The *North Carolina Law Journal* was published as the organ of the North Carolina Bar Association for approximately two years.[76] At the 1903 meeting, Jones reported that he had discontinued the publication of the *Journal* for reasons he thought proper. His reasons are perhaps understood by his statement that he did not see how he could "in the future issue from 500 to 800 Journals *gratis* in the State year after year." He thought he could carry on, but his efforts would be futile when the support was lacking. A committee was appointed to confer with Jones.[77]

Evidently Jones and the committee were unable to reach any agreement; the next publication, the *North Carolina*

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[71] *The News and Observer*, July 2, 1903.
[72] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, June 21, 1904.
[73] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1900*, 8-9.
[74] "To the Lawyers," *North Carolina Law Journal*, I (March, [1900]), 13.
[75] "The North Carolina Law Journal," *North Carolina Law Journal*, I (March, [1900]), 9.
[76] See issues of the *North Carolina Law Journal* for 1900-1902.
[77] J. Crawford Biggs (ed.), *Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Bar Association held at Morehead City, N. C., July 1, 2, 3, 1903* (Durham, 1903), 42-43, hereinafter cited Biggs, *Bar Report, 1903*.

*Journal of Law,* was issued from Chapel Hill, under the patronage of the North Carolina Bar Association. James C. MacRae served as editor.[78] The Bar Association had agreed to pay MacRae $300 the first year under conditions almost certain to occur.[79] The publication was discontinued after 1905. The editorial of farewell stated that the publication had been established with the idea of turning it over to someone else.[80] However, no other legal journal was published until the establishment of the *North Carolina Law Review* in June, 1922, published by the law school of the University of North Carolina.[81]

Another matter coming before the meetings of the early years was that of legal education and admission to the bar. Albert Coates says that "no one can read the proceedings of the North Carolina Bar Association since its organization . . . without feeling its keen and enthusiastic interest in standards of admission to the bar."[82] In 1900 the committee recommended that two years' study be required for legal education. The opposition favored a more stringent bar examination. They felt that increasing the required time of study would deprive the poor but brilliant from entering the profession. At that time the University of North Carolina's law course was planned for one year preparatory to the bar examination; the LL.B. degree was awarded if a person studied for two years. J. Crawford Biggs' position was that more study would produce better lawyers.[83] The Association agreed with Biggs; the lawyers voted to recommend to the Supreme Court that the requirement for legal study be raised to two years.[84] The following year F. H. Busbee reported to the As-

[78] "The North Carolina Journal of Law," *North Carolina Journal of Law,* I (January, 1904), 34, 30.

[79] J. Crawford Biggs (ed.), *Report of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Bar Association Held at the Colonial Club, Charlotte, N. C., June 20, 21, 22, 1904* (Durham, 1904), 65, hereinafter cited Biggs, *Bar Report, 1904.*

[80] "Farewell," *North Carolina Journal of Law,* II (December, 1905), 553.

[81] See Volume I, Number 1 of the *North Carolina Law Review* (June, 1922).

[82] Albert Coates, "A Century of Legal Education," *North Carolina Law Review,* XXIV (June, 1946), 394.

[83] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1900,* 49-71 includes the discussion on the problem.

[84] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1900,* 71.

sociation that the Supreme Court had acquiesced in the lawyers' recommendation.[85]

In 1903 a discussion of texts used in legal preparation occupied the attention of the lawyers. Many minutes were spent debating the merits of Blackstone versus Ewell's *Essentials*, a book containing some parts of Blackstone.[86] Probably no man was swayed from his original opinion on the matter.

Also in 1903 came the suggestion that the lawyers ask the legislature to make them responsible for the examination of and licensing of new attorneys. Though a resolution to this effect was passed,[87] the matter was held over until the next meeting.[88] In the interim a study was made of means of examination in sister states. Idaho, Montana, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, Alabama, South Carolina, and Virginia followed North Carolina in having Supreme Court examinations. The *Bar Report* for 1904 contained the following statement on the matter:

> . . . it will be seen that outside of our sister southern states, the other states which follow the North Carolina plan are not states that North Carolinians feel a pride in following.[89]

The attempt of lawyers to gain control of the bar examinations was not successful for years to come.[90]

The bar not only wanted to regulate the admission of new members; it wanted power to expel undesirable members. In 1900 the committee on legal ethics reported to the Associa-

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[85] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1901*, 19.
[86] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1903*, 37-38, 20-22.
[87] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1903*, 31.
[88] "The Meeting of the North Carolina Bar Association, July 7, 1905," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, II (August, 1905), 380.
[89] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1904*, 59-60.
[90] Chadbourn, "Activities of the N. C. Bar Association," 105-106. In 1933 the North Carolina State Bar was incorporated and the examination of applicants was turned over to that organization. See A. Hewson Michie, Charles W. Sublett, Beirne Stedman (eds.), *The General Statutes of North Carolina of 1943* (Charlottesville, Va., 1943), Chapter 84, Section 24 and Article VIII of the "Rules, Regulations, Organization, and Canons of Ethics of the North Carolina State Bar," found as Appendix VI in Volume IV of *The General Statutes of North Carolina of 1943*, 55-56. Today, every licensed attorney is automatically a member of the North Carolina State Bar; membership in the North Carolina Bar Association is purely voluntary. See *The General Statutes of North Carolina of 1943*, Ch. 84, Secs. 16 and 35.

tion and set forth rules to guide members in their practice. They recommended that the lawyers refrain from public criticism of judges, that they not seek special favors in court, that they be frank in dealing with one another, that they be punctual, that they control their tempers, that they be faithful to their clients and also the law and to God, and that numerous other rules of ethics be observed.[91] In 1901 a resolution was passed which provided that the Association draw up a bill for the legislature on disbarment.[92] The next year a special committee was appointed to draft such a bill.[93] In 1903 Biggs made the statement that North Carolina had little legislation on the important subject of disbarment; he, therefore, moved that the matter be referred to committee, a step which was taken.[94] A draft of a bill was prepared in 1905 and passed in 1906.[95]

The lawyers frequently expressed dissatisfaction with the crowded dockets and emphasized the need for additional judges. The idea of rotation of judges was introduced and discussed.[96] The efforts of the Association to abolish the rotation system of judges were unsuccessful.[97]

In 1902 a resolution was introduced suggesting that the Supreme Court judges of the state be requested to wear robes as they presided. Such a resolution called forth heated discussions on "democratic simplicity" against the formality of judicial dress. The resolution did pass, however.[98] In 1903 the secretary reported that Chief Justice Walter Clark had replied to the Association on the question of robes. He wrote:

> With the greatest deference to the wishes of your Association, we are constrained to say that we do not feel at liberty to institute such a [*sic*] innovation upon the habits and traditions of the Court. [99]

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[91] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1900*, 87-97.
[92] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1901*, 21-22.
[93] *The News and Observer*, July 11, 1902.
[94] Biggs, *Bar Report*, 1903, 45.
[95] Chadbourn, "Activities of the N. C. Bar Association," 103.
[96] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1900*, 37-48 and *Bar Report, 1901*, 42-47.
[97] Chadbourn, "Activities of the N. C. Bar Association," 103.
[98] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1902*, 62-66.
[99] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1903*, 57.

The Bar Association was more successful in its efforts to bring about the codification of the laws than it was in persuading the judges to wear robes. There had been no codification since 1885. It was because of the efforts of the Association that a revision was begun soon after the bar organized.[100] In 1902 the *Asheville Citizen* went so far as to say that the lawyers were considering the problem of codification because the laws were so intricate that they could not be understood.[101] In 1903 the secretary reminded the members that at the two previous meetings the Association had favored a Code Commission. He announced that the General Assembly had created such a Commission composed of three members, its chairman being the president of the Bar Association.[102] In 1905 a revisal of the laws was issued.[103]

Still another problem which was discussed by the attorneys was that of the jury system. Many people did not agree with Clement Manly of Winston who spoke of the juror as "the most dignified person that God Almighty ever created."[104] They wanted to be exempted from jury service; the question of exemptions, particularly as to ministers and physicians, was discussed at length.[105] The final decision was that the Association would recommend that there be no exemptions, without specific cause, except in the case of ministers.[106]

The discussions mentioned above give a general idea of the problems which confronted lawyers and which they hoped to solve. At the meetings hours were spent listening to speeches, both of North Carolina and of visiting attorneys. The subjects varied widely.

In 1900 Armistead Burwell of Charlotte spoke on the legal rights of married women. He did not feel that there should be any changes which would remove their disabilities, contending that women were content; though they were classed as incapable, they ruled with "almost divine intelligence . . ."

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[100] Interview with R. N. Simms, Sr., June 29, 1950.
[101] *Asheville Citizen*, July 10, 1902.
[102] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1903*, 58.
[103] Interview with R. N. Simms, Sr., June 29, 1950.
[104] *The News and Observer*, June 22, 1904.
[105] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1904*, 16, 21, 23-24.
[106] *The News and Observer*, June 22, 1904.

in their homes.[107] *The News and Observer* called the address "a masterly effort . . . [which] was highly complimented by the members of the association."[108] James E. Shipland's speech on the development of the science of the law "was an able paper, full of thought and information";[109] Charles M. Stedman's presidential address of 1901, "Characterized by deep earnestness and convincing eloquence . . . was an effort not easily to be surpassed!"[110] Though the address of Charles M. Blackford, a visitor from Lynchburg who spoke on "The Influence of the English Speaking Lawyer in Preserving the Liberty of the English Speaking Race,"[111] lasted an hour or over, the audience paid "flattering attention."[112]

In 1902 the Association was enlightened as to the laws of Louisiana by Francis T. Nichols, the Louisiana chief justice. He discussed the history of the state under the domination of France, Spain, and the United States, as well as her laws.[113] Not only did lawyers learn about Louisiana law; in 1904 they heard about the law of Washington state from R. C. Strudwick.[114]

The lawyers never feared broad subjects. James M. MacRae spoke at the 1902 meeting on "The Triumph of Equity," in which he "entertained" the audience for more than an hour. He discussed the history of the early government of the world, not failing to discuss old Roman laws; his remarks "elicited much cheering."[115] George F. Rountree of Wilmington spoke on the Supreme Court of the United States, a history of the court.[116] Also in 1902 came Charles M. Busbee's presidential address, on legal ethics and admission to the bar. He was distressed because the actions of the few lowered the profession in the eyes of the public. The speech was one which would "interest lawyers, . . . business men,

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[107] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1900,* 128-142.
[108] *The News and Observer,* June 29, 1900.
[109] *The News and Observer,* June 30, 1900.
[110] *The News and Observer,* June 27, 1901.
[111] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1901,* 83-114.
[112] *The News and Observer,* June 28, 1901.
[113] *Asheville Citizen,* July 10, 1902.
[114] *The News and Observer,* June 21, 1904.
[115] *Asheville Citizen,* July 10, 1902 and *The News and Observer,* July 11, 1902.
[116] *Asheville Citizen,* July 11, 1902.

farmers and mechanics. . . . It is able, timely and interesting," according to *The News and Observer.*[117]

The next year, 1903, the lawyers heard Seymour D. Thompson of New York on "Twentieth Century Problems," which difficulties included foreign immigration, with emphasis on the problems created by the immigrants' rapid rate of reproduction; the race problem in the South; imperialism of the United States; and the labor problem.[118] The address was "ornate [,] scholarly and eloquent. . . ."[119] Francis D. Winston's speech on "The Historical Value of Our Court Records," was "delivered in his own peculiarly happy and pleasant manner. . . ."[120] The *North Carolina Journal of Law* felt that the addresses of 1903 "were of the highest order of merit. . . ."[121]

At each meeting some local lawyer welcomed the visitors to the host city. The welcoming address of 1900 is evidence that not all was serious business at the legal meetings. The Asheville lawyer said:

> Our customs and usages will not be disagreeable to you, but in order to follow them you need not consult Gould on Waters, but you may casually examine Black on Intoxicating Liquors. All your demurrers to our customs will be overruled, and no devices of yours can change them. . . . We will covenant and guarantee to you a good time, if you will only follow our advice —which, different from our usual custom, we will give you free of charge.[122]

The lawyers thoroughly enjoyed their gatherings. A variety of entertainment was provided for them at their meetings. The afternoon of June 28, 1900, they rode street cars around Asheville and had refreshments at the Swannanoa Country Club. The next afternoon they drove through the Biltmore

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[117] J. Crawford Biggs (ed.), *Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the North Carolina Bar Association, Held at Battery Park Hotel, Asheville, N. C., July 9, 10, and 11, 1902* (Durham, 1902), 113-127, hereinafter cited Biggs, *Bar Report, 1902.* See also *The News and Observer,* July 10, 1902.

[118] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1903,* 95, 102-103, 106-113.

[119] *The News and Observer,* July 4, 1903.

[120] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1903,* 121-139. See also *The News and Observer,* July 4, 1903.

[121] "The North Carolina Bar Association," *North Carolina Journal of Law,* I (January, 1904), 31.

[122] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1900,* 6.

Estate.[123] In 1902 the Asheville bar invited members and their families to a trolley ride to Overlook Hill.[124] The following year they enjoyed a moonlight sail, compliments of the boatmen of Morehead City. That same year some of the lawyers made catches of mackerel at Morehead.[125] On the way to their homes from Morehead, many of the lawyers stopped at New Bern for an excursion down the river.[126] In 1901 the attorneys were invited to inspect Fort Caswell, though generally civilians were not admitted.[127] At the same meeting they heard the secretary announce that a ball game would be played in Wilmington.[128]

Banquets were favorites with the lawyers. In Asheville in 1900 they banqueted at the Battery Park Hotel,[129] where the "toasts were brilliant and the spread luxurious."[130] In 1901 a "brilliant german . . . in the ball room of the Seashore Hotel . . . served as a fitting finale for this occasion. The ball was an elegant affair and was attended by members of the Bar Association and other guests at the hotel and society people of Wilmington."[131] A smoker was held at the Battery Park Hotel at the 1902 meeting in Asheville.[132] In closing that session, the newly elected president of the Association invited the members to adjourn to a cafe downstairs. "This announcement was received with much applause and the invitation unanimously accepted."[133]

By 1905 the Bar Association was well established. Including honorary members the Association had 285 members in 1904.[134] The attorneys who attended the meetings found fellowship and social life, heard profound and lengthy addresses, and discussed serious problems relating to the legal profession and to the relationships of the profession to the

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[123] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1900*, 17, 34-35.
[124] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1902*, 25.
[125] *The News and Observer*, July 4, 1903.
[126] "North Carolina Bar Association," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, I (January, 1904), 33.
[127] Biggs, *Bar Report*, 1901, 41-42.
[128] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1901*, 17.
[129] *Semi-Weekly Citizen* (Asheville), July 3, 1900.
[130] *The News and Observer*, June 30, 1900.
[131] *The News and Observer*, June 29, 1901.
[132] *The News and Observer*, July 12, 1902.
[133] *Asheville Citizen*, July 11, 1902.
[134] Biggs, *Bar Report, 1904*, 49-50.

public. As the editor of the *North Carolina Journal of Law* indicated, the deliberations of the body had borne fruit in that some of the laws had been improved.[135] The members felt the need of their Association and realized its importance. When Charles Price of Salisbury was elected president, in 1902, he said that he appreciated the honor even more than he would the chief justiceship of North Carolina.[136] Perhaps he stated the case more strongly than most lawyers would have done, but there is no doubt but that the Association by 1904 merited the support of lawyers. The organization, according to Paul Jones, was intended "to be of the lawyers, by the lawyers, and for the lawyers."[137] The members of the bar were leaders of North Carolina;[138] the *Charlotte Daily Observer* went so far as to call the profession the "ablest in the State."[139] The organization, according to a *News and Observer* prophecy, was "destined not only to live, but to flourish like a green bay tree."[140] Time has fulfilled this prophecy.

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[135] "The Bar Association," *North Carolina Journal of Law*, II (July, 1905), 295.
[136] *Asheville Citizen*, July 11, 1902.
[137] "The Bar Association," *North Carolina Law Journal*, II (March, [1902]), 317.
[138] *The News and Observer*, July 3, 1903.
[139] *Charlotte Daily Observer*, June 21, 1904.
[140] *The News and Observer*, June 28, 1901.

# THE COLORED INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION OF NORTH CAROLINA AND ITS FAIR OF 1886

By FRENISE A. LOGAN

Among the more important agencies promoting Negro welfare in the South after Reconstruction were Negro sponsored state-wide industrial and agricultural fairs. Although of significance in their day, these efforts for self-betterment by southern Negroes are not well known by present-day historians, perhaps because they have been obscured by more extensive publicity and historical research given to the restoration and consolidation of white supremacy in the South in the 1870's and 1880's. In this article an effort is made to place these fairs in their setting; and those of one state are emphasized: the agricultural and industrial exhibitions sponsored by the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina. The fairs of this State are selected because they, being the first of their kind in the South, most clearly reveal the philosophy and motivations of all such undertakings; they attracted the widest recognition; and they appeared to be the most important and interesting. Rather than recite a year by year account of these annual gatherings, the 1886 exhibition is selected as representative of all fairs preceding and succeeding it.

The Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina was organized in 1879 by a group of twenty-two Raleigh Negroes with a capital stock of $20,000. Its expressed intent was to improve and educate the Negroes of the state as well as to demonstrate at an annual fair the progress and capabilities of that race.[1] Perhaps the clearest statement of the purpose of this organization and its reasons for sponsoring annual fairs was set forth by one of its founders, Charles N. Hunter, on the eve of the first exhibition in Raleigh in the autumn of 1879.

[1] *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, 1879*, 799-800.

Many circumstances combine to render such a gathering not only desirable, but of the highest importance. Fifteen years are on the eve of completion since universal Negro emancipation in the American Republic became a fixed and accepted fact. With keenest interest the world has been watching every indication of progress on the part of the emancipated race. Many regarded the experiment with doubt and anxiety, fearing lest we should prove unequal to the great and grave requirements of independent freemen . . .

Despite all the disadvantages of our surroundings, we have already made advances which give promise of a bright and a happy future. . . . The design of the North Carolina Industrial Association, and the object of the Industrial Fair, is to place before the world every evidence of our progress as a race which it is possible to secure. In this work we call upon our farmers, mechanics, artizans, and educators, to come forward and place on exhibition their best productions.[2]

By 1886 these aims were largely realized. In less than a decade after its inception, then, the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina had become a major force in the economic life of the Negroes of the State. Recognition of this fact came from without as well as from within North Carolina. For example, Blanche K. Bruce, the first Negro elected to the United States Senate, declared that the exhibitions ought to convince the most skeptical that the Negro "had arrived." In 1886 in a letter to Charles N. Hunter, one of the two secretaries of the association for that year, the Senator from Mississippi declared that the fairs organized by the Negroes of North Carolina had conclusively attested to the progress of the Negroes. He went on to say that the Negro expositions in the State proved not only "the hopeful growth of the race, but have supplied the opportunity and the evidence alike of our capacity to conduct such enterprises."[3]

[2] Clipping from the *Journal of Industry* (Raleigh), in the Charles N. Hunter Scrapbook, 1879-1888, Charles N. Hunter Papers, Duke University, hereinafter cited as Hunter Scrapbook and/or Hunter Papers. *The Journal of Industry*, edited by Charles N. and Oliver Hunter, was the official organ of the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina. This writer, unfortunately, has been unable to locate any complete copies of this newspaper. For an interesting eye-witness account of the 1879 fair, see the article "The Colored Fair at Raleigh, N. C.," in Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper*, XLIX (December, 1879), 242-243.

[3] Bruce to Hunter, October 14, 1886, Hunter Papers. See also letter from George Wassom to Governor Alfred M. Scales, September 17, 1886, Governors' Papers, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, hereinafter cited as Governors' Papers.

Having satisfied themselves that the organization was a "growing concern," the Executive Council of the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina was determined to make the 1886 fair "the finest ever." Although not scheduled to open in Raleigh until November 9, plans for the exposition were launched some nine months earlier. The other secretary of the association for 1886, George T. Wassom, writing in the 1886 April-May issue of *The Appeal*, a Negro newspaper, urged all Negroes of the state to support the fair because of "race pride," and because they must "demonstrate to the Southern white people that 'Ethiopia' has put forth her hand in the new world." [4]

The plans of the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina for the 1886 fair, however, called for more than mere appeals to race pride. In order to further interest in and support of the fair among the Negroes, the association organized local committees and contacted prominent Negro leaders in various sections of North Carolina and urged them to "spread the news." Thus on September 10, 1886, John S. Lewis, a Negro lawyer from Lumberton, promising to do all in his power to "work up" an interest in the fair among the Negroes of his section, began a speaking tour which lasted nearly six weeks. With the aid of a pass on the "C. C. R. R.," [5] he canvassed the section of North Carolina between Charlotte and Wilmington, embracing the counties of Union, Anson, Richmond, Columbus, and Bladen. [6] On October 8, as Lewis neared the end of his tour, he wrote Wassom that the prospects for a good representation at the fair from the area he had covered were excellent. [7] From Asheville a Negro, J. E. Thomas, informed the association that the local committee was performing a most creditable job and that "quite an interest is manifested in the fair and from all indications, we should have quite a concourse of people from the 'Land of the Sky'" [Buncombe County]. [8] From Warrenton J. R.

[4] Clipping from *The Appeal*, April-May, 1886, Hunter Scrapbook, 1887-1928, Hunter Papers.
[5] Carolina Central Railroad.
[6] Lewis to Wassom, August 12, September 7, September 10, 1886, Hunter Papers.
[7] Lewis to Wassom, October 8, 1886, Hunter Papers.
[8] Thomas to Wassom, August 21, 1886, Hunter Papers.

Hawkins wrote Wassom that the hand-bills and premium list [9] sent him would be posted in conspicuous places and that he would spare no energy in arousing interest among the Negroes in behalf of the association. He continued:

> I am proud of what has been done, and hope to see greater and grander things accomplished. With the work in the hands of our worthy President, Mr. Leary and yourself as secretary, I am hopeful of success. I feel it a duty that I owe to my race and myself to encourage the enterprise. Whatever I can do to assist you within the bounds of my ability, I am yours to command. [10]

Reports from local committees and speakers in other towns and counties of the State were equally as optimistic, enthusiastic and "dedicated." [11]

The plans for the 1886 fair also included enlisting the cooperation of the railroads of the state, notably the Seaboard and Roanoke and Atlantic Coast Line. In consequence of appeals by the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina, these railroads not only provided members of the association and its speakers with free passes, but they agreed to sell reduced round trip tickets to all Negroes attending the fair in Raleigh.[12] The Atlantic Coast Line and the Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley railroads also agreed to transport articles intended for the exhibition at regular rates one way, and on presentation of certificates from the association that the articles had been on exhibition at the fair, the lines would return the articles to the original shipping point free and refund the amount paid on the articles going.[13] Without this

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[9] A list of the prizes, usually ranging from fifty cents to $25.00, for the best articles submitted to the various departments of the fair.

[10] Hawkins to Wassom, August 23, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[11] See letters to Wassom from Nellie E. Cox, September 4; W. C. Coleman, September 6; J. A. Wright, September 3; Hugh Cale, August 24, 1886, Hunter Papers. Interestingly enough, attempts to arouse interest in the fair was not confined to North Carolina. Oliver Hunter, brother of Charles N. Hunter, and one of the founders of the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina, wrote Wassom from Washington, D. C. that the former minister to Liberia and a Negro, J. Smyth, and "other dignitaries" would be present, Hunter to Wassom, November 1, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[12] See letters to Wassom from L. T. Myers, July 8, 13, 1886; S. Hass, August 11, 1886; F. W. Clark, October 26, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[13] T. M. Emerson to Wassom, October 7, 1886; letter from the Office of the General Superintendent, Cape Fear and Yadkin Valley Railroad to Wassom, October 7, 1886, Hunter Papers.

unselfish support of the railroad companies, the success of these annual gatherings would have been placed in jeopardy. Lack of adequate or even sufficient funds on the part of both the association and the Negroes who desired to attend or submit articles was a perennially vexatious problem. It was, therefore, only through this "outside" assistance that the fairs sponsored by the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina continued to be of such a high order.

That finance was a real and pressing problem can be seen in a letter the president of the association, John S. Leary, wrote to Wassom on October 26, 1886. Leary requested that Wassom itemize the indebtedness of the 1885 fair and the amount of indebtedness anticipated for the 1886 exhibition as well as the "amount of money, if any, secured from all sources for the present fair."[14] While the records do not reveal whether Wassom complied with this particular request of Leary, they do show that the association in 1886 received some financial support from "other sources." Individual donors included some of North Carolina's leading white bankers, businessmen and industrialists.[15] To supplement these private contributions, stock in the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina was sold.[16] However, despite these donations, and if the final report of Wassom can be believed, the total amount of cash received by the association from "all sources" in 1886 was a moderate $598.80.[17] Thus it appears that had the railroad companies not offered their facilities with little or no charge to the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina, it is extremely doubtful if that organization could have survived. Certainly, its effectiveness would have been greatly impaired.

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[14] Leary to Wassom, October 20, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[15] See for example, letters from Julian S. Carr, October 30, 1886; P. Cowper, October 29, 1886; Oliver Hunter, October 21, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[16] Statement by James Young, March 31, 1886, Hunter Papers. It was not until 1887 that the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina received any state support. In that year, at the request of the governor, Alfred M. Scales, the North Carolina legislature granted $1,000. Alfred M. Scales, Letterbook, 1886-1889, 83-84, North Carolina Department of Archives and History. See also *Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, 1887*, 772-773.

[17] Clipping from *The Outlook* (Raleigh), July 28, 1887, Hunter Scrapbook, 1886-1921, Hunter Papers.

Encouraging the submission of articles by the Negro farmers, artisans, and housewives of North Carolina was a vital part of the pre-fair activities of the North Carolina Industrial Association. In reply to letters sent out by the association, the Negroes of the State responded by "promising" items which included homemade boats, needlework, shoes, silk quilts, poultry, crazy-patchwork quilts, a variety of farm products, and one coffin and hearse.[18] Contributions from prominent Negroes from outside the state were also solicited. T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the New York *Freeman,* wrote the association that he was certain his publishers would forward to them a copy of his work, *Black and White.*[19] William Still, author of the *Underground Railroad,* agreed to forward "2 or 3 copies of the U. G. R. R." to the 1886 fair.[20]

Notwithstanding these "herculean efforts" to insure an excellent exhibit and a large attendance, it should occasion no surprise to note that there existed some non-interest among the Negroes of the State toward the fair. For example, a member of the association in Western North Carolina wrote Wassom:

> We have called three mass meetings but have not had, at either, a full attendance though we are not discouraged. I think we shall be able yet to give Western N. C., Buncombe County especially, a full representation, if not in articles or funds, I am certain, almost sure a number of people.
>
> Anything like this doesn't seem to interest our people at first, like many other things of less importance, but if we continue to agitate no doubt we shall bring them out. [21]

A supporter from the eastern part of the State voiced a similar feeling.[22] In one instance a worker of the North Caro-

[18] Letters to Wassom from J. L. Montgomery, October 8, 1886; John A. Strange, Richmond, Virginia, October 28, 1886; L. R. Randolph, October 21, 1886; unidentified writer, New Bern, North Carolina, October 21, 1886; Mamie Alexander, October 27, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[19] Fortune to Wassom, October 16, 1886, Hunter Papers. Fortune's work was published in 1884 and discussed very ably contemporary political and economic problems of the South as they effected the Negro. For a brief but critical appraisal of the book, see Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "Voices of Protests from the New South," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* Vol. 42 (June, 1955), 47-49.

[20] Still to Wassom, October 19, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[21] John A. Love to Wassom, September 19, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[22] Maggie Whiteman to Wassom, October 21, 1886, Hunter Papers.

lina Industrial Association was rebuffed by a minister of the gospel. In an attempt "to get up a meeting" in the Negro Methodist Church of Goldsboro, B. S. Stevens was curtly refused by the minister on the grounds that he did not "want such matters in his church."[23] Despite these occasional instances of disinterest, it is reasonable to assume that interest in and support of the fair by the Negroes was general and widespread throughout North Carolina.

Another important phase of pre-fair planning was the selection of speakers. Excluding state and federal government officials, the association usually sought Negroes of national and international reputation to address the crowds attending the fairs. The exposition of 1886 was no exception to this practice. The governor of North Carolina, Alfred M. Scales, was extended and he accepted the invitation to open the fair on November 9.[24] In spite of a busy schedule, Henry W. Blair, United States Senator from New Hampshire, "gratefully accepted an invitation.[25] Among the Negroes invited to address the 1886 fair was John M. Langston, former United States Representative from Virginia. In his acceptance letter Langston praised the effort of the North Carolina group "to better the condition of our people by stimulating them to habits of industry, economy and progressive enterprise."[26] Of the Negroes who were extended invitations but were unable to attend the 1886 exhibition, T. Thomas Fortune and Booker T. Washington were the most notable.[27] The Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina, in urging Fortune to address the fair, said that he was especially welcome because "we

[23] Stevens to Wassom, October 27, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[24] Wassom to Scales, September 17, 1886, Governors' Papers; C. M. Armfield, private secretary to the Governor, to Wassom, September 18, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[25] Blair to Wassom, August 30, 1886, Hunter Papers. In 1886 Blair's name was familiar to most southerners, Negro and white. Some five years earlier, in 1881, he introduced in the Senate a bill to distribute among the states on the basis of illiteracy $120,000,000 covering a period of ten years. In 1886 the bill was still being debated in the federal congress.

[26] Langston to Wassom, August 17, 27, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[27] Thomas was viewed in 1886 as one of America's foremost Negro newspaper editors. A bitter foe of "second-class" citizenship for his race, he represented the more militant type of Negro leadership. Washington in 1886, though nine years before he was to make his famous Atlanta speech, was rapidly rising to the fore as a Negro leader of the moderate, conservative school.

look upon you as one of the national leaders of the race who dares to utter the truth in the Negroes' behalf. . . ." Fortune replied that because he was an outspoken, militant crusader for Negro rights, the support which his newspaper, *The Freeman,* received would not permit him to attend the fair.

> I have to stand at my post because I cannot go away without positive sacrifice. If I were more of a white man's Negro and less a Negro's Negro, I am sure I would have less cause to complain in matters of support. But I would not do so much good for the race, nor satisfy my own opinion of what is just and proper . . . I am not ashamed to be poor for the reasons that make me so. [28]

Booker T. Washington, Principal of the Tuskegee Normal School, was unable to attend because the Negroes of Alabama were preparing an exhibit to be included in the Alabama State Fair (white) which opened in Montgomery on the same date (November 9) as the Negro fair in North Carolina. Since he was scheduled to take an active part in the proceedings, his presence in Montgomery, Washington informed the association, was imperative.[29]

Despite these disappointments, the fair opened in Raleigh on November 9. The four-day occasion was properly initiated by a procession. At its head were two military bands, the Kinston Band and the Oak City Blues, two fire companies, the Victor and Bucket of Raleigh. Then followed a carriage drawn by "four cream colored horses abreast" which contained the executive officers of the association. Behind the executive carriage was another in which sat the invited guest. The procession moved through the heart of North Carolina's capitol city to the fair grounds where they and the assembled crowd, " a large but orderly multitude," heard an address by John M. Langston.[30] Following the speech of the Negro from Virginia, the crowd turned to view the "best produc-

[28] Fortune to Wassom, October 18, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[29] Washington to Hunter, October 16, 1886; L. Mayo to Hunter, October 20, 1886, Hunter Papers.

[30] Clipping from the *Evening Visitor* (Raleigh), November 10, 1886 in the Hunter Scrapbook, 1886-1921, Hunter Papers. This newspaper title varies (1879 to 1895) as *Evening Visitor, Daily Evening Visitor, Raleigh Evening Visitor* and *Raleigh Times.*

tions" of the Negro artisans, farmers, mechanics, and educators of North Carolina.[31]

The fair lasted four days, ending on November 12. General reaction to it, as evidenced in the Raleigh press, was most favorable. According to one Capital City paper, the 1886 exhibition "not only equals but in many respects excels all that has preceded it." Special praise was given by the editor to the exhibits of needlework, decorative household work, oil paintings and stock and poultry. One of the "curiosities" at the fair was a table which contained 365 squares and was made of seventy-two different kinds of wood collected within a half mile of the capitol.[32] *The News and Observer* was impressed by cotton stalks ten feet tall, corn stalks twelve feet in length, and some collard greens four feet tall. The stock display included "some of the finest hogs in the State . . . ."[33] *The State Chronicle* (Raleigh) declared that the products on exhibition would convince the most skeptical of the progress of the Negro race.[34]

White newspapers in other cities of the State were equally as effusive in their commendations. For example, on November 16 the editor of the *Daily Chronicle* (Charlotte) wrote:

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[31] If the organization of the 1879 exhibition can be taken as representative of the fairs sponsored by the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina, the articles on display at the 1886 fair were divided into thirteen "departments." Over each "department" several judges presided who were appointed by the Association to award premiums, prizes and diplomas for the most outstanding articles in their respective groups. The thirteen "departments" were as follows: Department A: field crops and samples of field crops; Department B: horses, mules, cattle, sheep and swine; Department C: poultry, bees and honey; Department D: household supplies; Department E: horticulture, orchard and wines; Department F: manufacture of home-made articles; Department G: fine arts, painting, drawing, musical instruments; Department H: mechanic arts, carpenter's work, vehicles, cabinet and upholster's work; Department I: agricultural implements; Department J: saddlery, harness; Department K: plowing match; Department L: dairy and vegetable garden; Department M: educational production, map drawing, essays, penmanship. Clipping from the *Journal of Industry* (Raleigh), n. d. in the Hunter Scrapbook, 1879-1888, Hunter Papers.

[32] Clipping from *The Raleigh Times*, November 11, 1886 in the Hunter Scrapbook, 1885-1929, Hunter Papers. See also *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), November 10, 1886, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer*.

[33] *The News and Observer*, November 16, 1886.

[34] *The State Chronicle* (Raleigh), November 11, 1886, hereinafter cited as *State Chronicle*.

The colored people of North Carolina can point with pride to their State and Industrial Fair. It was very successful and displayed great advancement in their industrial pursuits and many of the higher arts. The colored people of this State, those who have shown a disposition to work and take advantage of their opportunities, are progressing as rapidly as any people under the sun and their recent State Fair bears marked evidence of this fact. [35]

Governor Scales and Senator Blair both described the 1886 fair as "most creditable." [36]

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the annual fairs sponsored by the Colored Industrial Association of North Carolina benefitted both the Negro minority and the state at large. There is no question but that the exhibitions promoted a degree of harmony, co-operation and mutual respect between the two races; that they stimulated the Negroes to improve their livestock, farm products, tools and machinery by offering prizes for the superior articles; that they advanced the material interests of North Carolina as a whole by encouraging the development of the educational, agricultural and industrial resources of the Negro people of the State.

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[35] Clipping from Hunter Scrapbook, 1886-1921, Hunter Papers.
[36] Alfred M. Scales Letter Book, 1885-1889, North Carolina Department of Archives and History; *The State Chronicle*, November 18, 1886.

# CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF HENRY W. BARROW TO JOHN W. FRIES

Edited by MARIAN H. BLAIR

*The Peoples Press* published in Salem (Winston-Salem) on Friday, April 26, 1861, carried the following editorial comment:

> With our friend of the *Hillsborough Recorder* we have not changed our opinion as to the impolicy of secession as a measure of redress or a security to our peculiar institution, nor of the value of the Union as the source of the unexampled prosperity of the whole country. But all our fondest hopes for an amicable adjustment of our sectional difficulties have been blasted.[1]

Three weeks later, in the Friday, May 17 issue, the editor states that "Two Volunteer companies formed in this county are now quartered among citizens of Winston and Salem. They are drilled regularly and will soon be thoroughly equipped for the camp when they will offer their services to the Governor." This was three days before the convention meeting in Raleigh approved the secession of North Carolina and "Ratified the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States of America."[2] On June 21 *The Peoples Press* records that "On Monday morning last the First and Second companies of Forsyth Volunteers—the 'Riflemen' and the 'Grays,' took their departure from this place for Danville, Virginia."

One of the volunteers from Salem was Henry W. Barrow whose letters, written from various camps in 1861, 1864, and 1865 and preserved among the papers of John W. Fries, give intimate glimpses of personal experiences during the war. Henry Barrow, son of Moses and Sarah Barrow, was born January 28, 1828, on a farm near Salem. He attended Trinity College for one year, and then came to Salem where for

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[1] From the files in the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem, hereinafter cited as Moravian Archives.

[2] Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina, The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 425, hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina.*

thirty-seven years he was employed by the firm of F. and H. Fries. He became a member of the Moravian Church in 1856, and until the beginning of the War, lived with the family of Francis Fries, senior partner of the firm. In 1861 he enlisted in the Twenty-first Regiment of North Carolina Volunteers, serving as corporal, and was later promoted to regimental quartermaster sergeant. He was one of five brothers, all of whom served in the army and several of whom were severely wounded.[3]

John W. Fries, son of Francis Fries, to whom the letters were written, was, during the Civil War, detailed for service in the mills of F. and H. Fries which were making cloth for Confederate uniforms.[4] He was only fifteen years of age when the war began, but two years later upon the death of his father in 1863, he shared the full responsibility of the mills with his uncle, Henry Fries, and eventually became head of the firm. Supplies were frequently sent from Salem to the men in camp by wagons from the mills, and it is easy to imagine with what anticipation the young soldiers looked forward to the arrival of the wagons bringing word from home—and with what anxious hearts those in Salem awaited the return of the wagons with news from the front.

The letters, written as they were, hurriedly and in poorly lighted tents, have many errors in spelling and punctuation for which the writer frequently apologizes. Yet, although the form is faulty, and although there is no new information about the many battles in which the Twenty-first Regiment fought, the letters are of interest because they make vivid the problems, other than military, with which the Southern army was faced. Barrow writes of the recurring attacks of fever which kept needed men from the battle line, of the totally inadequate provisions for caring for those who were ill, and, in the last months of the war, of the desperate need for shoes, the difficulty of foraging for food, and the growing discouragement in the face of impending disaster.

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[3] From the "Memoir," Moravian Archives (unpublished manuscript). In succeeding footnotes there are a number of references made to "memoirs" of individuals which are housed in the Moravian Archives.

[4] "North Carolina was the only state with the obligation to clothe its own troops in the Confederate armies." Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 430.

Most of the letters were written in 1861. No letters by Barrow written in 1862 and 1863 have been preserved. The spring of 1862 marked the beginning of the Valley campaign, and the Twenty-first Regiment "marched and counter marched up and down the Valley" [5] and took part in some of the bloodiest battles of the war. At Gettysburg Major Beall reports that "all the field officers of the Twenty-first were killed and wounded except Colonel Kirkland" [6] who after the battle was promoted to Brigadier General. Perhaps the rapid march, the shifting lines of battle, and the distance from Salem made the sending of mail impossible. If the letters were received during those years, they must have been destroyed. Early in 1864 the Twenty-first Regiment was moved to North Carolina and most of the letters written by Barrow during 1864 and 1865 were sent from the eastern part of the State. The last days of the struggle are not recorded by him as he was not with the Twenty-first Regiment when, after the fierce combat at Hatcher's Run, it retreated to Petersburg and surrendered at Appomattox.

After the surrender Barrow returned to Salem and resumed his work at the F. and H. Fries mills. In June, 1874, he married Mrs. Nannie Webster Cardwell, sister of Colonel I. R. Webster of Reidsville. They had one daughter. He continued to live in Salem until his death on April 5, 1905. The "memoir" read at his funeral speaks of him as "a good man, kind and upright and faithful in all relations of life." [7]

Camp Hill Danville Va July 4 1861

Mr John W. Fries
Dear friend

Yours of 30th came to hand in due time which was gratifying to me to hear from you all again. I am somewhat low spirited, we have this morning received a Telegrapick Dispatch that we

[5] James F. Beall, "Twenty-First Regiment," Walter Clark (ed.), *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-'65* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 5 volumes), II, 132. This reference is hereinafter cited as Beall, "Twenty-First Regiment," The volumes will hereinafter be cited as Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments.*

[6] Beall, "Twenty-First Regiment," II, 137.

[7] Unpublished manuscript, Moravian Archives.

have to leave here for Richmond as soon as we can get ready. I cant say how soon that will be, but I prosume it will be in a few days; I promise you will hear from the Election of officers over this regiment The election took place on yesterday and resulted in electing a man from Raleigh N. C. by the name of W. W. Kirkland [8] he is a young man I am told a competant man for Colonel, and James M. Leach [9] for Leiutenant Colonel and a man from Hillsboro N. C. for Major [10]

I have nothing to write you that will be interesting Our company are all tolerable well with the exception of a man in our company by the name of Jack Smith and Albert Alspaugh they have both been in the Hospitle for several days I am told they are on the mend. I am looking for your father's Wagon tonight or tomorrow. Mr. Lewis Belo Wm Hauser and Charles Belo are here and tell me that the Wagon started one day sooner then they had expected. I would like very much to come to see you all once more before I have to leave here. I have been building upon some slender hopes that we would stay here a few weeks and I would be able to leave here long enough to come to see you all again but all hopes are blasted at present

I cant learn where we are to go from Richmond I fear we wont find as pleasant a place as we have had here. I have fell very much in love with this place and especially with some of the good folks here in Town they are very clever to us. I want you to show this to your Father I have been preparing and fixing up tricks for the office of Commissary and have got up my recommendation and this morning Telegraphed to Col. Kirkland at Raleigh some of my friends say I will stand a tolerable good chance but I dont think there is any chance for the reason Leach has gone to Raleigh and he will do all he can against me and he had Ham. Sheppard here already to fill the place before the election I will write to you again soon how I came out but I feel like I can tell you now I wont get any appointment with certainty. This will look very bad to give the appointment to a man living in another State but such things go by favors you know. I would like to hear from you soon I will write you when I arrive at Richmond. . . . I must close for it is late and my light is very bad I am lying in my tent writy by a bad light you can gane some Idea how it goes Remember me to all the Family and all enquiring friends. You will say to your Sisters that some of the Ladies

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[8] Major James F. Beall says of him: "This efficient and Accomplished officer, with vigorous efforts, brought the regiment to a state of perfection in discipline and drill." Beall, "Twenty-First Regiment," II, 129. Kirkland was later promoted to Brigadier General.

[9] Of Davidson County. After the War he served as a member of the Lower House.

[10] James F. Beall.

of Danville say we have decidedly the best looking Flag in camp. [11] I think so myself. I was showing the Flag to some Ladies yesterday they said I ought to be proud that we have at home Ladies in our Town that can do such nice work as is on those Flags I told them that was most certainly so

Respectfully

H. W. Barrow

You will Please say to your Father that I received his letter with such a very good recommendation for which I feel myself under many obligations to him and hope I can always conduct myself in such a manner as to keep that noble high minded confidence I would like to say more on this subject if I could. You will please excuse bad writing and spelling for I know I have made many mistakes

Yours Truly

H. W. Barrow

Camp Hardie Va August 28, 1861

Mr. John W. Fries
Salem N. C.

Dear Sir

I write you a few lines to let you know I am in the land of the living. We left Camp Rhett on last Friday for this place. We came a distance of Eleven miles North West direction We are now nine miles north west of Manasses Junction but still intend to send there every day for our mail and the Boxes of Goodies we are looking for from home. We are at a tolerable nice place and where we can have some favors. If there dont too many Regiments come here. There are only Three here now But if more come they will soon Eat up everything in this neighborhood We have a considerable number sick here at this time I think half of this Regiment is sick not able to do anything. Drs. Keen and Douthet have not been here for sometime. We have no one but Dr. Fulton of Stokes County being we had no one at all he left

[11] "The first flag of Forsyth County was made for Company I, Captain A. H. Belo. It was made by Misses Bettie and Laura Lemly, Nellie Belo, Carrie and Mary Fries [sisters of John W. Fries]. It was made of red, white and blue silk, and was embroidered in large letters with yellow silk, on the white side, with the words 'Liberty or Death'. After the war, Colonel Belo settled in Texas, which accounts for the fact that after his death his widow presented the flag to the Texas Room in the Confederate Museum at Richmond, Va. The second flag was made by the same young ladies. They could not get more silk like the first so used white silk for the whole flag, embroidering it in blue silk. . . . Both of these flags were presented to the Companies of the Forsyth Rifles. . . ." Mrs. John Huske Anderson, *North Carolina Women of the Confederacy* (Fayetteville: Published by the author, 1926), 112. The second flag is now in the Wachovia Museum, Winston-Salem.

his company and attended to all he could and has Broke himself down.

But we have at last succeeded in procuring two Physicians here at Head quarters that I am told are both very good Physicians and by that means Fulton can rest and Recruit again.

We are in about two miles of the Winchester Rail Road Station at a little place called Ganesville

We managed to have all of our sick that was able to travail brot on the Rail Road of Ganesville and had them brot from that place to this in Wagons We was compelled to leave some that was not able to be mooved at all and some of them had died since we have left that place it hurts my feelings very much to have to say to you that we was compelled to leave Henry Butner [12] from Old Town I am expecting to hear of his Death at any moment He has Typhoid Fevor of the worst kind; I think the Doctors have gave his case up for gone. We left Pink Beles also he is not very bad but somewhat excited if Butner is dead or dies he will be the first we have lost out of the Forsythe Rifles But as life is uncertain he may Recover and outlive many of us after all.

We are living in tolerable Rough manners but I prosume from what I can see and Learn about as many others We have to live on very common coarse diet but this is what I expected before I left home. I think if I can only keep my health I will try to make the trip anyway, you had better believe I could tell you all something about hard times. We hope to have more favors shown us in the section of the county where we are I road out about 2½ miles on yesterday with our Wagon master to buy some Hay for Bedding in Tents we went to one Mr. Chinns about Dinner time He and his good Lady gave us one of the best Dinners and decidedly the best wine I think I have ever drinked in my life They treated us so very well I almost forgot which one of the Boys I was. When we started back the good Lady insisted on my taking a bottle of her good wine with me to camp for some of my friends who was troubled with Bowel complaints. She also insisted on my coming back to Eat with them before we leave this place I think I will go again

We bought a little watermellon yesterday at the Junction for fifty cents and have just Eat it today you had better believe it was good it had Red meat and Red seeds. This is the first I have Eat this season.

I have been trying to find you a very nice Bomb Shell, if I succeed I will try and send it by the first opportunity I saw a peculiar one the other day it was all scolloped out it was a butiful

[12] Butner was reported as having died. See John Henry Clewell, *History of Wachovia in North Carolina* (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1902), 246, hereinafter cited as Clewell, *History of Wachovia.*

one but the young man would not let me have it We are in a field where we have lots of Green Grass and Clover in fact too much I fear for good health for we have so very much wet weather it is very disagreeable especially of mornings and Evenings, The water is not very good and scarce

We came here to try to recruit and get our men Restored again to good health if we can We happened to meet with better luck here in finding some Barns and out Houses for our sick and two very large Hospital tents we are prepared to take better care of the sick than we have been before

The three houses all have floors in them and we had sleepers laid in the Extra Large Tents and plank Floors and then a fine chance of Straw and Hay put Down for the sick Beds My Brother Charles has been sick for some time I have managed to procure a Room at a private Residence close by when we first arrived here for him and Mr. Hart, where they are both treated very kindly by the good old Gentleman and his Lady, They like to stay their very much for they take very great pains and treat them very kindly. They say they are mending very fine Brother has fell of some forty odd lbs since he got sick But is doing very well at present

. . . I wish to be remembered to all enquiring friends and hope to have the pleasure of Returning again to see them all again sometime if not before next Spring I anticipate a joyful time if such time ever be . . . Please remember me to George and all the Black ones at home Tell old uncle Daniel I often think about him and how he is doing and hope to come back and find him with all things in a good condition I must close please write to me soon and dont have this Exposed for it was gone over in great hurry without much pains

Respectfully

H. W. Barrow

Broad Run Station Va. Sept, 27 1861

Mr. John W. Fries

Dear Sir I have Received your very kind letter of the 10 and hope you will excuse me for not answering it sooner I have been very busy for a few weeks But I think I have my business so arranged at this time to have more Leisure time

I understand you all at home think I am sick because I dont write oftener I am sorry I did not write oftener and will promise you all to do better if you will Excuse me for what I have done already. I think the health of this Regiment is better than what it was a short time back I think about all the worst cases have been sent up the Road about forty miles above this place to Front Royal I think the moste that are sick here now are those

who are recovering from a spell of Fevor or measles I think the first cause of this sickness comes from being in camp at Mitchells Ford on Bull Run for our men was exposed to bad weather about the time of the Battle [13] and that camp was at a very low filthy place and the worst water to drink I have ever seen any human drink, I Recollect when we would have coffee made of muddy water it would look like coffee with a very large quantity of Cream, you may gane some idea how the coffee would taste. We staid at that place a few weeks and then went up to a place we called camp Rhett, About two miles from the Junction where The water was some better but not very plenty This camp was in the woods where we had to cut out quite a number of small Groath. The place was very damp and so very much vegitable matter decaying I think that was unhealthy. At this place a very large number got sick and died The condition got worse every day

At last we Received permission to go to a place about ten miles on this side of the Junction called Page Land *We called it Camp Hardee* This was a low flat county and the water was very bad Some thought that was a healthy place But they got worse every day and the men died very fast at that place We staid their a few weeks and at last got permission to come up here across the mountain

We are in a Beautiful healthy looking Country our Camp is between Winchester Rail Road and Bull Run mountain which is a very high mountain our camp is cloce to Broad Run Station The Boys are at liberty to go all over this neighborhood I think this will be good for them if they dont Expose themselves

I am sorry some of this Regiment has been writing terrible Letters home to Excite our friends about us The Truth is bad enough, But I hear some have been holding up the dark side of the question all the time and are not very particular about telling the Truth at all time some say They dont have plenty to Eat I think with the exception of a few days at Mitchells ford all hands have had plenty to Eat such as Bacon Beef Flour Coffee Sugar and Rice this is more than some who complain so very much was used to at home. I understand there is a great deal said about our Colonel This is something I have always been opposed to doing, for I am told it is a court martial offence to be writing anything much concerning my Superior officers but I can say this

[13] Beall makes the following comment: "Immediately the regiment moved in double quick time to our position at Mitchell's Ford on Bull Run—this being the center of the Confederate line of battle. . . . We continued to hold the same position on 21 July when the first battle of Manassas was fought and a victory won for the Confederates which electrified the whole country." He also mentions that the regiment suffered greatly from illness. Beall, "Twenty-first Regiment," II, 130.

much for Col. Kirkland [14] he has always treated me like a Gentleman and therefore I have nothing more to say on this subject. We have had the pleasure of seeing several of our friends from N. Carolina and amongst the Rest a number of our good Ladies from Salem [15] We have put up 5 good Large Hospital Tents on a beautiful place about one quarter of a mile from camp Mrs. Kremer [16] Miss Vogler and Miss Clewell will stay in one and a short distance from them we will moove over our Sick to occupy the others I came across a very cleaver Gentleman about three miles from us that Loaned me inch Plank enough to lay good Floors in each Tent, and also Large Rafters for Sleepers, This is a great improvement in the way of comfort. The other nurses have all gone up to Front Royal to attend to the Sick at that place

. . . I must try to make some appoligy for not sending you the Bomb Shell I had promised to send you when I came to Examine I found it had something in it looked very much like part of a load I asked your uncle Henry what I had best do he said I could send it by my Brother and write to you to be careful how you managed it and I put it in my Brothers carpet Sack that night and the next morning I told him abount finding some hard substance inside of the Shell He said I ought not to send it if there was any danger in it, and I was fearful some accident might take place and I had best not send it, But I will try to send you something if I can.

You will please say to Aunt Betsey Shore that her son Henry is sick and has been sent to Front Royal for medical treatment he has not been very sick and is on the mend Augustus Samuels is doing very well Williams Parsons is stout and harty I think from what I can learn Thomas Hunter [17] and Ade. Voss are the worst caces now on hand from our siction of the county Hunter is at Front Royal and Voss is at Gansville I passed that place last evening on the cars and stopped their but few minutes. They thought Voss to be some little better but he is very low and it would take but very little to take him anyway.

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[14] "This officer was a splendid fighter and a superb soldier." David E. McKinne, "Seventy-Second Regiment," Clark, *Histories of the Several Regiments*, IV, 45.

[15] "Among those who went to Blantyre Hospital were Mrs. Eliza Kremer, and Misses Lizetta Stewart, L. Shaub, Laura Vogler, and Margaret Clewell." Clewell, *History of Wachovia*, 254.

[16] Mrs. Kremer taught in Salem Academy, and after her husband's death she taught in the Salem Boys' School. She was a pioneer in Sunday School work. During the war she was President of the Ladies' Relief Association of Salem. "After the battle of Manassas she took a group of women from Salem to the fever hospital at Blantyne, near Culpepper, Va. where they served as nurses for several months." "Memoir."

[17] Died Sept. 28, 1861.

The Boys that are here dont have any thing much to do for we dont have any Guard. They can go to Bed and sleep as late as they please of mornings The Colonel said he would gave them all the privlege he posibly could and see if that would help them We are amongs very cleaver people they are quite [different] from what some were on the other Side of the Junction I think that to be a very uncertain county This is a very bad disagreeable wet day I very much dislike to see such especially here in camp but we have to take such things as we find them I think if I can have my health I can stand this kind life But this is a very bad place to be sick in camp

I must close you will please Excuse bad Spelling and writing please dont have this Exposed Please gave my kindest Regards to all and tell them I would like to hear from them all

Yours very Truly
H. W. Barrow

Broad Run Station Va October 9 1861

Mr. John W. Fries

Dear Sir

By Mr. William Gentry I send you a cannon ball. This is the best I can do for you at present. . . . There will be no danger in the Ball

I have nothing much to write at present some bring news from below, That there is fighting going on below Fairfax Court house, some twentyfive or thirty miles from this I was down at the Junction on yesterday all things was quiet But they have sent back all the Sick and what Bagage they can spare to the Junction and to other places They were expecting an engagement every hour

The health of the Regiment is improving very much But it will be some time before some of the men are able for duty. On last monday the paymaster was here he paid the Boys They are flush with money I heard from the Boys up at Front Royal The Boys from Forsythe County are doing very well We have very disagreeable weather it is damp and cool

We are compelled to send home Philip Mitchell[18] by Mr. Vaughn who is here on a visit, he says he will see him through Philip has had a very hard spell of Fevor and is mending very slow and I fear he wont be able to do anything here in camp this winter We must try to do without him for we have had to do so for some time already I can say this much for Philip he was a faithful hand but very slow Peter Scales and his mess brot him with them and they wanted to give him up and our mess took

[18] A Negro.

him to help Gid and he very soon took fevor and was bad sick on our hands but this was not Philips fault. . . .

I have heard of no new caces of Fevor in camp for several days

Yours very truly

H. W. Barrow

Broad Run Station Va Nov. 10 1861

Mr. John W. Fries

Dear Sir

As I have a chance of sending you a few lines by Mr. Samuels I write in haste to let you know how I am doing. I prosume you have heard that I am left at this place in company with a part of the Regiment, I cant say how long we will be here in this condition

When they left for Centerville I thought we would be with the balance of the Regiment before now

As the men are thought to be able They are sent on for duty. I prosume I will have to stay here as long as any of the Regiment. There is not much sickness here now there are no new caces, and those who have been sick are mending, and I hope will soon be well again I have nothing to write more than what you have heard We have rather Bad news from the South and good from Kentucky

We have been expecting a great fight for some time at or near Centerville. There are two very large armeys within a few miles of each other and I dont think this state of affairs can continue long For the weather is getting cold and they will have to do something soon We have had some very disagreeable weather here I think on Saturday the second of this month was one of the worst days that I have ever seen We had a considerable storm of wind and Rain Cold wet weather is very bad on us who are in Tents But when the wind Blows so very hard it is much worse I have been this afternoon upon a very high mountain with the Ladies We had a splendid vew of a large portion of Virginia

I hope there will be some arrangements for us to go into Winter quarters soon I would like for the fight to take place first For I would be much better satisfied if we can give the Yankees another thrashing and then we will not be interrupted this winter. Augustus Samuels received his discharge this Evening since dark I told him to make ready to start in company with Mr. Holder This is very good news for him

I would like to know why you dont write to me I have been looking for a letter from you for some time please say to Mr.

C. T. Pfohl [19] his letter of the second has come to hand and I will answer it soon. . . . I am well and Sam is mending fast

Yours very truly

H. W. Barrow

Camp Kremer Va Dec 13/61

Mr. John W. Fries

Dear Sir

I have been wanting to answer your moste welcome letter for several days But owing to business I have not done so We have had a fine day here But rather cool to be pleasant Times are quiet here But there was considerable canonading going on the larger portion of the day to our left, I think towards Leesburg, But I have not heard whether they were fighting or not The Paymaster was here today and paid this Regiment for Two months The Boys are flush again But I hope they will take care and send some money home This Regiment is going to start out Tomorrow morning on picket this is a hard undertaking. They will be out three days and nights before they Return I calculate to go with them. The staff generally stay in a house if they can find one close by and as I belong to that Body I hope we will stay in a house for it will be much more pleasant The health of the Regiment is tolerable good with the exception of Colds I think they are harty and have plenty Beef Flour and coffee I think when we Return from picket if nothing happens we will go into Winter quarters Belo the Junction at a place on the Rail Road called Union Mills This is I am told near Fairfax Station I hope we will get into the woods where we can Build Log Cabbins in a hurry. John when I once think how the great army Ruins this county I am glad that the Battle ground is not in our section of county and I hope that will never be the Battle ground I want for us to stand firm and Beat the miserable Scoundrels back and teach them to stay on their own soil and let us alone

Then I think we will be a free and happy people, I was much Rejoiced this morning very soon on the Receipt of your Father's letter I dont think I have ever received a letter that done me more good . . . please gave my Respects to all

Yours truly

H. W. Barrow

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[19] Christian T. Pfohl was detailed for service in the F. and H. Fries Woolen Mills during the War. Later he served as a member of the Board of Elders of the Moravian Church for twenty-five years. "Memoir."

Weldon, N. C. Feb. 1, 1864

Mr. John W. Fries
Dear Sir

I arrived here on the train from Petersburg last Saturday, Capt. Brame of the 6th N. C. Sergt. Shreenes of the 54th and myself were ordered to Report to our Brigade at this place with the Tents and some other Babage. But when we arrived here we learnt that the Brigade had left and gone in the direction of Goldsboro We then Telegraphed to Genl. Hoke[20] he then Telegraphed for us to remain here until further orders We have our Bagage stored away in the ware house and we are occupying a Room at the Gooch Hotel for the present We draw Rations and have a servt. to cook for us. When our Brigade left their winter quarters in Va. We then moved the Transportation back to Gordonsville where we Built very good quarters thinking we would remain. The weather has been very fine for some time But for the last day or two we have had rather damp weather. . . . Since I commenced this the Band of the 26 N. C. arrived here on the Petersburg Train They say they are going on Furlogh I am sorry that I could not send you a better Bridle Bit When I saw you I thought I would send one that I left when I started But during my absence it was taken. . . . Please give my kindest Regards to all.

Yours very truly
H. W. Barrow

Kinston N. C. March 10th 1864

Mr. John W. Fries

Dear Sir, yours of the 6th is at hand, We remain at the same Camp. I think we will stay here some time. The Recruits are comming to this Brigade every day. Our men are tolerable well provided for at present, They are looking very well There was a Scouting party of sixty men sent down towards Newbern the other day and was out four days But they found no Yankees Our men are at work on the Gun Boat at this place it will be a very strong Boat when finished. This has been a very Rainy day here. I think this will be a very warm place to stay during the Summer Season, But By that time we may all be somewhere else. I think

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[20] After the battle of Sharpsburg Colonel Hoke was placed in command of the Twenty-first North Carolina Regiment. Following the battle of Fredericksburg he was promoted to Brigadier General and a brigade was formed for him which included the Twenty-first N. C. In January, 1864, Hoke's Brigade was sent to North Carolina and after the victory at Plymouth Hoke was promoted to Major-General. *Biographical History of North Carolina*, Samuel A. Ashe (ed.), (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, Publisher, 8 volumes, 1905-1917), I, 312-315. He was "a superlative Colonel and an excellent, hard-hitting Brigadier." Douglass Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 3 volumes, 1942-1944), III, 618.

our prospects are looking more favorable than they have for a long time. By Mr. Nathaniel Styers I send a pair blue Pants and 1 Comfort, you will please have them packed away in my Trunk, as I have pants plenty to last me for some time yet to come.

I thought I would send the one pair home for safe keeping until I may want them

We will look for Capt. James back in a few days I have been having a tolerable good time here and have been Riding about in this neighborhood I would like to come up the County a few days this Spring But I fear it will be a hard matter for me to get off as I have [to] do the Business here of Quartermaster of the Regt as Capt. Vogler is in Va. . . .

Let me hear from you again

Yours very truly
H. W. Barrow

Kinston N. C. April 9th 1864

Mr. John W. Fries

Dear Sir

I have been owing you an answer to yours of the 27th. We have quiet times yet. Yesterday being the day the President appointed We all tryed to keep it as much as we could, I think there was Preaching in all the different Regts. of this Brigade. We have a vast deal of Rain here this Spring. Sergt Pfohl has returned from home, he tells me you have had some very rough weather lately. We dont hear much said about us leaving here. Some think we will not remain here much longer when the weather gets good again Our Regt have not been Drilling very much for the last few days They have been cleaning up and putting our Camp in good order We have a good Camp From your last Letter I have been looking for you and Mr. C. T. Pfohl to pay us a visit The Neuse River has been very high for some time, There has been very few fish caught here for some time I fear they wont catch many more

I think the Yankees are going to try to capture Richmond again as Grant has been successful out west He thinks he can manage Genl. Lee and his army, But I think he will find out some difference between Genl Lee and old Pemberton who I believe is a Yankee Our men here in the army are in fine spirits We think this summer will end this cruel war I have been talking with several men who have lately been up in Forsythe and Stokes Counties they tell me there has lately been a change amongst a great many up their I hope all of the Traitors will soon be convinced they have been doing so very much harm and have caused a many a good young man to have to loose his life already in de-

fence of his country I must close as I have nothing to write that is interesting I want you to write again when you have time Please give my Regards to all

Yours very truly
H. W. Barrow

Greenville N. C. April 30th 1864

Mr. John W. Fries
Dear Sir

Since we left Kinston We have had a very hard time I prosume you have heard all about our forces Capturing Plymouth and contents.[21] I am told that the soldiers had a good time after the place was surrendered. They have mostely provided themselves with clothing and Eatables

Before the place surrendered I was sent back to Tarboro with our wounded. I returned too late to supply myself with any thing. I had heard that there was a large quantity of goods in the place I was in hopes I could be present when the place surrendered and procure some valuable goods for myself and friends, but failed to do so. We remained there a few days and then came to Washington and drove in their pickets at that place We staid their one day and night. I am told the Enemy were very much excited thinking our forces would storm the place. We arrived here on yesterday about one oclock I dont think we will stay here long. We dont know in what direction we will moove from here Hoke is now a Major General Our Brigade is for the present commanded by Lieut Col Lewis of the 43 N. C. Regt.

Leiut Robert Belo and Athel Lemly are here with us They are both very well, Maj Pfohl Capt James and the rest of our Boys are very well

Yours very truly
H. W. Barrow

Camp Below Harrisonburg Va Nov. 23rd 1864

Mr. John W. Fries
Dear Sir

As I have time I drop you a few lines Our forces have moved up to this place. I dont have much news to write it was reported here last Evening that the Enemy were advancing But we dont hear anything said about it this morning. I have been up above Staunton for the last fifteen days hunting Forage for our Stock I find it very scarce. I prosume you have heard that our forces went down the valley near Winchester They soon returned. They

[21] The battle of Plymouth was fought on April 20, 1864. The garrison surrendered to General Hoke.

assertained at Strasburg that Maj W. J. Pfohl [22] died very soon after he was wounded

Some of our men saw his Grave at Strasburg.

I am looking for his brother. I have been told that our army has recruited very much lately I am told they are bringing nearly all of the men from our section of country Carlos Strupe and Wely Petree are here with us I hope we wont have to winter here in the Vally as it is a very cold place We have had for some time very wet and disagreeable weather But the clouds Blew away last Evening and we had a very cold night last night. I fear we are going to have a very hard winter. We have not Received any News Papers for some days until this morning. There seems to be very little news in the Papers. I fear we wont be permitted to go into winter quarters soon if at all this winter

I would very much like to have a pair of good coarse heavy Boots for this winter. Will you and Mr. Joseph Stockton do me the kindness to see if you can have such a pair made if you can I want them no. 9 Course and Strong with thick bottoms suitable to tromp the mud this winter perhaps the best chance would be at Waughs Shop Either of you know best. When I was at home last winter I left a pair of old Boots at my Brother Williams at Winston I think the Legs of those would do very well to front if you can have a pair fronted. You or Mr. Stockton will please send up for those. I dont like to be so much trouble to you But I have heard that my Brother is not at home I have been very much troubled about Boots lately I purchased a pair at Staunton for a very large price thinking they would answer for me for this Winter But they are like to be worthless, I never have been so badly cheated in my life before. I would also like to have a Hat no. 7¼ if you should see any person coming out that you could send one, if there is no Hats on hand for sale in Town where they make them, I think I have a black soft fur Hat in my Room at the store You will please write to me soon what the chance would be for the above mentioned articles and I will satisfy you for your trouble and pay you all Expenses You will please remember me to all the family My health is tolerable good write soon and gave all the news

Yours very truly
H. W. Barrow

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[22] "Among the killed was the heroic Pfohl, commander of the regiment. No man ever exhibited in such a time a greater coolness, skill, and bravery which excited the admiration of his men." Beall, "Twenty-First Regiment," II, 143.

Pleasant Hill NC January 20th 1865

Mr. John W. Fries
Dear Sir

Sergt. R. A. Wammock will be at Salem in a few days if you have not sent the Hat and Boots, you have for me, you will Please send them By him I have been sent up here to collect Forage and will remain here until he returns I also wrote to your mother some days back requesting her to send me a Box of Provisions. You will please say to her if she has not sent it, To not send until she can hear from me I am not with the Command and cant say when I will be and I would rather she would not send the Box for fear I would not receive it[23] I hope I can live tolerable well up here I left Petersburg about four days back all was quiet there I cant tell when I will be able to come home on Furlough But when Wammock returns I will make application But I am fearful I wont succeed for I would very much like to come home I will close please accept my thanks for your kindness Write when you can Gave my regards to all the family

Yours very truly
H. W. Barrow

Quarter Masters Office
Lewis Brigade
February 19th 1865

Mr. John W. Fries
Salem, N. C
Dear Sir

I hope you will excuse me for not writing you sooner The Boots and Hat that I have been troubling so long about, reached me on the 14th of this month. I am very much pleased with the Boots, they fit very well and I think they are a very good strong article I dont have much news to write you have I prosume heard of the evacuation of Columbia S. C.[24] A few weeks back I was down in Northampton County N.C. I remained their about two weeks for the purpose of collecting up Forage for this Brigade. I then returned back to my post and have since been verry busy writing in this Office. I have Sergt Ed. Pfohl with me

We have our quarters in a verry comfortable House on what is called the Cox Road about three miles South of Petersburg Va.

Our Brigade is about Eight miles from us They are down on our Right. We have had tolerable quiet times here for the past

[23] "Many received boxes of provisions from home, but food so sent often was stolen or spoiled in transit, or was left in railway stations that never were cleared of freight and express." Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 620.

[24] Sherman "entered Columbia, South Carolina on the 17th," Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, III, 641.

week, But I think it has been mostly owing to the verry disagreeable weather We have had a vast quantity of Rain here this Winter, But very little Snow This has been a beautiful day here and the ground is drying up very fast I think if the Weather keeps fair a few days, Hostilities will be renewed again I dont think I will be able to obtain a Furlough this Spring. I have been hoping I could do so. . . . I have been hoping that our future prospects would brighten up by this time, But to my great regret they look at present very much to the contrary. We are but a short distance to the rear of our front lines. We can hear the Yankee cars run up and they can hear our cars also. The Enemy have built a very large observatory oposite our quarters it dont look like it is but a short distance from us. This is a very high concern. They can see from the top a verry considerable distance I think Genl. Lee will have this observatory Shot down with artillery for it is in reach I prosume you have heard of the fight that took place about two weeks back down where our Brigade is in camp. [25] This was a hard fight Our Division I am told fought about twenty thousand Yankees. They drove the Yankees back Our loss was said to be very small When the Enemy advanced, They captured Mr. Edwin Minung.[26] He was out guarding a private House and they took him by surprise I must close by returning to you many thanks for your trouble and kindness until you are better paid

Please write to me soon and gave me all the news direct my Letters to the care of Capt. S. H. Brame A.Q.M. Lewis Brigade as I am not with the Regiment any more. . . .

Yours very truly

H. W. Barrow

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[25] Winter quarters on Hatcher's Run, Beall, "Twenty-First Regiments," II, 142.

[26] His life was spent in Salem "with the exception of the trying time spent with the army in Virginia. He often referred with thankfulness to the experiences of God's goodness which he made during this season of privation disease and danger." "Memoir."

# BOOK REVIEWS

Tarheel Talk: An Historical Study of the English Language in North Carolina. By Norman E. Eliason. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956. Pp. x, 324. $5.00.)

A lot of popular notions about North Carolina speech are exploded in this delightfully entertaining study by a Professor of English at Chapel Hill. For instance, our mountain people and our coastal residents do not employ "pure Elizabethan" or antique "Chaucerian," even when they say *hit* instead of *it*. *Hit* is simply a survival retained in folk speech after the elimination of the word from cultivated usage. Similar word histories are numerous. Current unfashionable phrasing is almost uniformly traceable to dialects in those various sections of England from which our ancestors came.

For his research Dr. Eliason copiously investigated the papers of the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina Library: letters, diaries, journals, account books, plantation records, wills, deeds, speeches, poems, and class notes. Even so, the author is careful to make no broad generalizations. He constantly warns against forming any principles based on insufficient evidence. But withal, he gives us enough examples to set a pattern, and incidentally provides us with information about many social attitudes of our forbears. The upper classes, for example, were not aloof in speech matters. In North Carolina it was quite the contrary, we are told. Frequently, folk and cultivated speech were indistinguishable in what must have been a very democratic society.

North Carolina is no lexicographer's paradise. Dr. Eliason found few "North Carolinaisms." Definite native products are *buncombe* and *scuppernong*, both derivities of place names. Among the words antedating citations in *DA* and *OED* are jew down (1848), *scarce as hen's teeth* (1858), *corduroy* (1795), and *fixing* (1854) as in "Aunt Lizy is just fixing to go to church." *Fixing to* is not cited by *OED* till 1907.

The drawl of North Carolina speech is not due to Southern laziness, but rather to a patrician attitude about language matters. The dropped *g* in *morning* and the dropped *r* in *car* have respectable antecedence. The broad *a* in *fast* (which North Carolinians abhor) was once, we are glad to learn, considered unashamedly vulgar.

Though grammar was flexible in ante-bellum times, Dr. Eliason "found no convincing instance anywhere of *you all* used for the singular." *Ain't* was infrequent. Professor E. Bagby Atwood in a University of Michigan publication is the authority cited for the startling news that *blowed, growed, knowed,* and *have wrote* are prevalent North Carolina forms today except among the "highly educated"!

A word list, carefully documented, plus 440 significant spellings (e.g., *Catauber, Guildford, Hye,* and *Macklingburgh* counties), is appended.

This valuable study—one of the first anywhere to be based on manuscript rather than printed material—is evidence of Dr. Eliason's scholarship, good sense, and humor. It must have troubled him, however, to use the one-word *Tarheel* in his title instead of the *Tar Heel* sanctioned by six of the seven leading morning newspapers in the State, only the Durham paper concurring with the usage-ignoring dictionary-makers of the North.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

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North Carolina Drama. Edited with an Introduction by Richard Walser. (Richmond, Va.: Garrett & Massie, Inc. 1956. Pp. vii, 229. $4.00.)

This volume of plays is a companion to *North Carolina in the Short Story* and *North Carolina Poetry,* both by the same editor, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, currently an Associate Professor of English at North Carolina State College, and a tireless and thorough student of his State's literature. The knowledge that Professor Walser has

gained, both from libraries and from personal acquaintance with writers, shows not only in the two-page introduction that precedes each of the ten one-act plays included, but also in the 37-page introduction to the volume itself. Here is perhaps the only attempt at a complete history of the drama in North Carolina. One reads in it of such producers as Augustin Daly and the De Mille's; of such actors as Forrest, Modjeska, and Mansfield, who toured North Carolina in the late nineteenth century; of such writers as Thomas Godfrey, whose "Prince of Parthia," finished in North Carolina, was the first real drama by an American, and Lula Vollmer, whose "Sun-Up" ran so long on Broadway in the 1920's; of such plays as "Blackbeard," the first about North Carolina by a native of the State; and of the currently and universally popular outdoor symphonic dramas written by such men as Paul Green and Kermit Hunter. But at greatest length one reads of Proff Koch, who came to Chapel Hill in 1918 to exert a permanent influence on all the state's dramatists, particularly on the writers of autobiographical and local color plays.

The dramas that Professor Walser chose for his anthology are all products of the Koch period. Many of them are by Proff's former students, and all of them are about North Carolina people. There are three tragedies, the best of which is "The Scuffletown Outlaws," by William Norment Cox, a play of the Croatan Indians of Robeson County and their post-Civil War feud with the law-abiding "whites." It is best because of the pathos, the suspense, the subtle weaving-in of background, the convincingly realistic dialogue, and the well-drawn characters of Henry Berry Lowrie, chief of the outlaws, and John Sander, the Yankee who joined the gang in order to capture it. The other two tragedies, "Sea Psalm," by Charles Edward Eaton, and "The Return of Buck Gavin," by Thomas Wolfe, are surprisingly poor to be included in this selection of plays, but understandably poor when one realizes how young the poet and the novelist were at the time of composition.

Of the comedies, there is one light satire of small-town life, "The Beaded Buckle," by Frances Gray Patton, author of the successful novel "Good Morning, Miss Dove." This

play contains an amusing and ironic treatment on the leader of a small-town smart set, who with charm and cunning gets what she wants, twisting a doting son around her fingers and stopping gossip with flattery on the one hand and threats on the other. There are two plays about Negroes, "Sleep on, Lemuel," by John W. Parker, and "The No 'Count Boy," by Paul Green. One treats humorously the old Negress conjuror who straightens out the course of true young love while in the background is heard the singing and praying of a funeral service. The other, perhaps the most sensitive, discerning, and dramatically successful play in the collection, deals with the "Rainmaker" theme, bringing an imaginative, harp-playing, tale-telling boy briefly into the hum-drum life of a young girl who has immortal longings but a staid, sober, and very mortal fiancé. And finally, there are four other folk comedies, "In Dixon's Kitchen," by Wilbur Stout, "Quare Medicine," by Paul Green, "Ca'line," by Bernice Kelly Harris, and "Wash Carver's Mouse Trap," by Fred Koch, Jr. One shows a young girl persuading her boy friend to propose, combatting not only his shyness but her father's denseness and her little brother's interruptions. Another presents the smooth-operating, poetic vendor of patent medicines, who gives a young husband the strength of character to take command of his household. "Ca'line" concerns the old, hard working community servant who is sent to the county poor house where she ironically learns to like electricity and other luxuries and, as a result, refuses to go through with a marriage planned by altruistic relatives trying to insure her old age. And the last comedy gives a short but convincing glimpse of the scheming mountaineer who fleeces detouring vacationists by pulling them out of a mud hole that he made but who in the end is himself cheated by a smart city slicker.

Ordinarily a book of selections from the literature of a particular state would be of greatest interest to the natives of that state, and certainly *North Carolina Drama* will provide most appeal for the readers who know the communities, the dialects, and the types of people represented in its covers. But there is also a universal appeal. Some of these plays are

of interest simply because they are the youthful efforts of great writers, some because they are intrinsically successful as drama, and nearly all because they are entertaining.

Percy G. Adams.

University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tenn.

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Rebel Boast. By Manly Wade Wellman. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1956. Pp. 317. Photographs and notes. $3.95.)

Manly Wade Wellman has mined into a vein of Civil War material that has heretofore been largely neglected. He has provided a fully-rounded model for others who will undoubtedly take to the same rich store.

Manuscript material used was in the form of diary and letter collections in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill, and from private sources in Halifax County.

Using the manuscript and standard reference works, the author traces the war experiences of five common soldiers of the Confederacy from their enlistment in the Enfield Blues until the surrender at Appomattox.

The five soldiers (none of whom rose above the rank of captain) were all members, first, of the Bethel Regiment (First Volunteers), and then of Company D of the Forty-Third North Carolina.

Two of the five literally lived the "rebel boast" of being "First at Bethel, last at Appomattox." Three became victims of The War, dying or fatally wounded during Jubal Early's Shenandoah Valley campaign in the summer of 1864.

The book abounds in good detail on the day-to-day life of the lower ranks, hangs fire when the principals go to battle (diary-writers seldom reach their peak in describing battles).

Written in journalistic style, the work nevertheless shows good attention to historiographic discipline. Extensive direct quotation is used. Even when not quoting, the author lets the manuscript speak for itself with hardly an author's judgment intruding. This naturally causes gaps, and several of

the principals fail to spring fully to life, despite the capable word-working of the author.

Extensive and interesting notes are helpful not only for their material, but as an interesting study of how Wellman developed the mass of manuscript into a coherent, fast-moving story.

The book is valuable for its plan, interesting for its wealth of detail on North Carolina's part in the War for Southern Independence, and written in a style that catches the mood of its period.

Roy Parker, Jr.

Windsor.

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Here Will I Dwell: The Story of Caldwell County. By Nancy Alexander. (Lenoir: Published by the author. 1956. Pp. 230. Illustrations. $5.00.)

As the title would seem to indicate, this history of Caldwell County was performed as a labor of love by one of its loving daughters.

Broken down into thirteen chapters, the book devotes chapters to the Indians, the early explorers and settlers, and the Revolutionary days of the area, through its various stages of development as part of Rowan, Burke, and Wilkes before its actual formation in 1841. Later chapters deal at length with the social, economic, religious, and cultural progress of this piedmont-mountain county. In fact, its accounts of camp meetings, ancient superstitions, weddings, funerals, excursions, and bees of various varieties give it a homelike quality which will no doubt awaken many nostalgic reminiscences in the minds of others who dwell in Happy Valley and its environs. Legends, reminiscences, memorabilia, and anecdotes abound.

The author states that the book is based on five years of research among "many hundred historical books and volumes, family records, scrapbooks, manuscripts, documents, and newspaper files" at various places in Caldwell and other counties, in libraries at Duke, Chapel Hill, the Woman's

College, State College, and the Department of Archives and History. Interviews with "innumerable persons" rounded out the research. Unfortunately there is no documentation except a few internal references, mostly to published journals, such as Bishop Asbury's, and to Lenoir newspapers of the past half-century. Nor is there a bibliography, but there is a fifteen-page index, which, incidentally, is labeled "Appendix."

A careful check of facts (e. g. Patrick Ferguson is elevated to a general) and careful proofreading would have improved the book. For instance, Louis Round Wilson is referred to as R. L. Wilson, Mrs. C. P. Dey becomes Mrs. Day, "exaggerated" is mispelled, the year "1887" should read "1787," "hung" should read 'hanged," *et cetera.*

Despite the lack of scientific training, the author has breathed into this volume a great deal of life and love which should bring pleasure to the inhabitants of 'this beautiful, protected valley in the foothills of the Blue Ridge."

Blackwell P. Robinson.

High Point College,
High Point.

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The Living Past of Cleveland County. By Lee A. Weathers. (Shelby: Star Publishing Company. 1956. Pp. 269. $4.00.)

It is probable that no one is better qualified to record the general history of Cleveland County than Lee Weathers, for since 1911 he has edited the *Shelby Daily Star* and his ancestors lived, worked, and participated in the country activities for five generations. He has been active in the writing of its day-to-day history and is thus on familiar ground in discussing the background of the problems and events that occurred. More important, he was on intimate and personal terms with the Shelby "political dynasty" of O. Max Gardner, Clyde R. Hoey, and Judge James Y. Webb and could discuss the political leadership of these men who helped to mold the destiny of North Carolina throughout the twentieth century.

The author does not attempt to make this a scholarly or documented history of Cleveland County. Instead, it is more

of a personalized sketch of facts, myths, and "tidbits" of the highlights of the county's past. It is regretable that a more scientific study was not made, especially on the Civil War and Reconstruction political story and the industrial development of the county. Yet, for the general lay reader it was fortunate that the present format was followed since otherwise much of the personality and "flavor" of Mr. Weathers would have been inevitably lost.

The most important topics included: formation and early settlement of the county; building the railroads after the Civil War; public education; resort center and recreation; King's Mountain; industrial pioneers; and, political development and leadership. The latter was the highlight of the study, but here again, this reviewer would have liked a more thorough analysis of the political leadership and contributions of the "Cleveland dynasty."

Mr. Weathers should be commended for making his study so readable and for the many timely illustrations. Its appeal will be altogether local, but enough information is included that should lead to several excellent graduate thesis and local research histories.

Horace W. Raper.

Tennessee Polytechnic Institute,
Cookeville, Tennessee.

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A History of Moore County, North Carolina, 1747-1847. By Blackwell P. Robinson. (Southern Pines: Moore County Historical Association. 1956. Pp. viii, 270. Maps, illustrations, and bibliography. $5.00.)

Moore County has produced a local history that is well above the average county history. Mr. Robinson, apparently a writer of some experience, tells his story ably, if not brilliantly, and has wisely relegated most of the customary lists of early settlers and other scattered bits of information to a series of appendices, which occuply about one-fourth of the text. The result is a readable book, which holds the interest even of some one, like this reviewer, who had never before heard of Moore County.

For those who have no roots in Moore County, the chief value of the book is its account of the arrival of the Highland Scots, their Tory sympathies during the Revolution, and the brutal civil war in the area following the battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. A glimpse of the way in which crude and violent men were raised to positions of power by the passions of the Revolution is afforded in the sketch of Colonel Philip Alston, justice of the peace and state senator, who was accused of murder as well as counterfeiting, not to mention petty tyrannies over the local Tories.

Other chapters are devoted to the organization of the county, education, churches, farming and industry, and the Alston house, later the home of Governor Benjamin Williams, now preserved as a historic shrine. The book avoids the usual weakness of local histories, the neglect of more recent history, by stopping rather abruptly in 1847, the centennial, not of the county, but of the first settlement in the area. This sudden ending has at least the virtue of leaving the reader in suspense, waiting for another volume to take Moore County through two world wars and to add the story of Pinehurst and Southern Pines, Moore County's most important contribution to the twentieth century. It is to be hoped that the author of the second volume will be able to dig a little deeper than Mr. Robinson has had time to do.

Marvin W. Schlegel.

Longwood College,
Farmville, Virginia.

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The State Records of South Carolina: Journals of the South Carolina Executive Councils of 1861 and 1862. Edited by Charles E. Cauthen. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1956. Pp. xv, 336. $8.00.)

For several years the South Carolina Archives Department, under the able direction of J. H. Easterby, has been printing an invaluable series of colonial records. The present volume is the first in a series of state records which promises to be of equal importance.

This volume deals with the critical Civil War period. As Professor Easterby says in the Series Preface, "The effects of its [South Carolina's] decision to withdraw from the union in 1860 have been more far-reaching than those of any other event in its history." The event has been studied attentively. So far as the reviewer knows, however, this is the first time the journals of the Executive Council have been available. The editor of this volume, Professor of History in Wofford College, is the author of an excellent study, *South Carolina Goes to War, 1860-1865* (Chapel Hill, 1950), including two chapters on the executive councils, in which he did not cite the journals. Laura A. White, in an article in the *American Historical Review* (July, 1929) dealing specifically with the Council and the Convention that gave it birth, does not cite the journals of the Council but only those of the Convention. It is true that some of the essential material may be found elsewhere, but in matters of historical importance there can be no substitute for original sources. The sense of urgency surrounding the Fort Sumter crisis, the confusion of war, the inter-mixture of high policy and petty administrative detail, can nowhere be felt more vividly than in the day-to-day minutes of the Council. The work of the Council as an experiment in executive control, and its ultimate failure before the bar of public opinion—in spite of the editor's view that it "exercised its great powers with considerable wisdom and success"—is made doubly interesting because of the war crisis.

The editor has explained the origin of the Council, its lapse after the state's formal association with the Confederacy, its revival at a critical time near the end of 1861, and its final demise a year later.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University,
Durham.

The University of Georgia under Sixteen Administrations, 1785-1955. By Robert Preston Brooks. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 260. $4.50.)

This is a timely and interesting survey of the history of The University of Georgia from the closing years of the eighteenth century to the present. It supplements the earlier works of A. L. Hull and E. M. Coulter and covers new ground in its treatment of the University during the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries.

The author was eminently qualified for this assignment, having been on the campus in Athens for fifty-five years as student, professor, and dean. In addition to an intimate personal knowledge of men and events, he has consulted colleagues and made extensive use of published and unpublished material. The emphasis is on "financial problems, the growth of the enrollment, and changes in the curriculum." These, along with sketches of distinguished teachers, are woven into the administrations of the several presidents and chancellors.

Dr. Brooks states that North Carolina is clearly entitled to the distinction of having the first state university in actual operation, but notes that Georgia was the "first state actually to charter a university." Discussion of difficulties with church-related colleges, the Civil War years, athletics, and political meddling in higher education by the late Governor Eugene Talmadge enliven and add to the value of this study.

The book contains appendices on enrollment, income, principal officers, and a tribute to Harold Hirsch. One misses illustrations of the University campus and of the worthies who have contributed so much to higher education in Georgia and the South. A bibliography and index are included.

Dr. Brooks is to be commended for this valuable addition to the growing list of college and university histories. His efforts will be welcomed by alumni and friends of The University of Georgia and those concerned with the problems and opportunities of the South.

David A. Lockmiller.

University of Chattanooga,
Chattanooga, Tennessee.

The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735-1789. By Brooke Hindle. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1956. Pp. xi, 410. $7.50.)

For a nation whose destiny is bound to science, perhaps as Prometheus was bound to the rock, the story of our scientific beginnings must have a particular fascination. Brooke Hindle, formerly Research Associate at The Institute of Early American History and Culture and now a rising young historian at New York University, here follows the first faltering footsteps of American scientists in a volume which is original in scope, meticulous in attention to detail, and based on wide and comprehensive research.

Explaining that the relatively backward economic development, poor communications, and workaday spirit of colonial America retarded scientific advance, Mr. Hindle finds the first evidence of scientific interest among a group of amateurs who made natural history their special study and among physicians. Slowly these men, by exchanging accounts of their observations and by establishing contacts with leading European scientists, formed the nucleus of an Atlantic scientific community. By the middle of the eighteenth century their interests had widened to include astronomy and electricity and America had produced two scientists of the first order, Benjamin Franklin and John Winthrop.

The coming of the Revolution and the influence of the idea of progress implicit in the Enlightenment further spurred scientific advances, but the first flowering of American science came only, as Mr. Hindle makes clear, in the 1780's when colleges expanded their scientific curricula, scientific societies were formed, and "a bewildering number of inventions and gadgets appeared." Nevertheless, Mr. Hindle notes at the conclusion of his work, America still lagged behind Europe in scientific advance principally because of its less developed internal conditions, a general unfamiliarity with mathematics, and the unwillingness of a somewhat narrowly practical people to interest themselves in scientific theory.

Perhaps the only serious criticism of this fine book is that Mr. Hindle, in his occupation with scientists, nowhere ex-

plains for us the state of scientific knowledge in any of the fields he deals with. Thus the lay reader is sometimes confronted with unfamiliar terms and processes whose significance can only be left to conjecture.

Elisha P. Douglass.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

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Eli Whitney and the Birth of American Technology. By Constance McL. Green. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. vii, 215. Bibliographical note and index. $3.50.)

This is a fine new volume in The Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin, and contains a preface by the editor. The author's academic background, experience as Chief Historian for Ordnance in the Army history program, and interest in urban history equip her particularly well to tell the story of Eli Whitney.

The book begins with a survey of the economic problems with which the United States was confronted after winning political independence. In most respects the nation was still in the frontier stage of development although possessed of untold natural resources. The labor supply was inadequate, there were few skilled artisans, and there were no factories as such. America, as a result, continued dependent upon Europe for manufactured goods. Agriculture also languished for want of markets. It was largely by chance that Eli Whitney, who had demonstrated earlier an aptitude for mechanics, invented the cotton gin in 1793. This invention bolstered up the economy of the South by stimulating an enormous expansion in cotton culture and providing profitable employment for slaves. The enthusiasm for the gins was so great that Whitney immediately set to work devising ways and means of producing them in quantity. He was handicapped by a lack of skilled labor and necessary implements. "Other than hammers and chisels, saws and files, he could buy no tools. He had to make them by hand, just as he had cut and threaded every individual screw." A partnership with Phineas Miller was formed to produce and operate the gins. Although the

gin was patented, pirating began almost immediately. This led to long years of expensive litigation and frustration for the inventor. As a result, Whitney made very little money from the cotton gin.

Whitney turned next to the manufacture of muskets for the government. France, from whence we had previously secured most of our muskets, was on the verge of war with the United States. Whitney believed that he could design and construct machines which "could produce muskets of greater precision than could the most carefully trained hands, and make them faster than could an army of gunsmiths." It was contemplated that the component parts of the musket be made by separate machines, and that the parts be interchangeable. On this basis, the government gave Whitney a contract to produce 10,000 muskets, and agreed to advance the money for this experiment in mass production. Out of this experiment came the American system of manufacturing.

This is a well-balanced account of Eli Whitney's contribution in laying the ground work for the gigantic structure and productivity of American industry. Technological details are presented in a manner intelligible to the lay reader. A "Note on Sources" is helpful in the absence of footnotes. It is to be regretted that more information is not available on Whitney's private life.

Cornelius O. Cathey.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

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William Nathaniel Wood. Reminiscences of Big I. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc. 1956. Pp. xxviii, 138. Introduction, preface, appendices, index, and illustrations. $3.95.)

Since even the editor of this engaging narrative—one of the very few such accounts written by Confederate junior officers—was unaware of its existence until just a few years ago, most students of history will undoubtedly find Nat Wood's personal experiences to be a new and rewarding source of the Civil War. An earlier edition of the work was

published in 1909, but only 200 copies were printed and these were given to friends and relatives of the author. Hence, as claimed by the publisher, this is really the first public edition of *Big I.*

The title stemmed from the fact that Wood weighed only 127 pounds and not from any tendency toward boastfulness, although his record was sufficiently gallant to have excused some self-praise had he been inclined to indulge in such pastime. A native of Albemarle County, Virginia, Wood left his clerkship in a dry-goods store to enlist in Company "A," Nineteenth Virginia Infantry, just before First Manassas. His dependability, loyalty, and bravery did not go unnoticed during the following months and, when Company "A" was reorganized early in 1862, Wood was elected to the rank of junior second lieutenant. He apparently participated in all of his company's numerous engagements, leading the unit in several major battles and even commanding his entire regiment at Sharpsburg. The climax of Wood's military career was reached at Gettysburg where he and his comrades, then in Pickett's Division, "for the first time, failed to do what we attempted" (p. 47) in the assault on Cemetery Ridge. Near the end of the war (April 6, 1865) Wood and his company were captured at Sailor's Creek, and he spent two months as a prisoner first in Washington and then on Johnson's Island. "Though greatly crushed by the outcome of our struggle," he wrote, "I felt proud that I had been permitted to do my part, and even to suffer for the cause I loved." (p. 76)

Editor and publisher have combined to present a significant and attractive historical record. The physical make-up of the volume is excellent, and the interesting appendices, well-chosen illustrations, and useful index add considerably to its value.

H. H. Cunningham.

Elon College,
Elon College.

Old Bullion Benton: Senator from the New West. By William Nisbet Chambers. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1956. Pp. xv, 517. $6.00.)

Of the four greatest United States senators of the middle period of American history only one—Thomas Hart Benton—has not heretofore found a competent biographer. The other three—Calhoun, Clay, and Webster—have all been written about ably. Until this book made its appearance, Benton had somewhat faded from the picture. Professor Chambers spent ten years producing this excellent biography. It restores Benton to his well-earned place among the senatorial leaders of the middle period and corrects some of the false impressions about him. Mr. Chambers has clarified some of the vagaries which have heretofore prevailed about Old Bullion Benton.

Among the last must be listed the fact that young Benton was expelled from the University of North Carolina for stealing. Apparently this weighed heavily on his conscience and he left his native state for Tennessee. At 24 years of age he practiced law and entered in the War of 1812. If he failed to find fighting in military uniform, he found it several times, as the writer reveals, in civil life. Before Benton married, at the age of 39, he repeatedly engaged in duels or threatened to fight on the field of honor.

In 1815 Benton moved to St. Louis, a mere frontier town. When he died in 1858, it was a city of over 100,000. Benton grew in intellectual stature and political wisdom with his adopted home.

Elected to the United States Senate in 1820, Benton began a tenure in that august body which lasted over 30 years. He came to know the men who governed the Republic. As the author vividly reveals, Old Bullion was soon in the midst of fierce political battles and subseqeuntly ranked foremost among those whose words were respected in Washington. Shortly after Benton entered the Senate, he was among the radical Democrats. As such he opposed the Clay-Adams coalition. As Jackson rose in power Benton's star shone in splendor. He was soon recognized as Jackson's spokesman on

many occasions, especially when the United States Bank was the issue.

That Benton was the author of the Expunging Resolution is widely known but that he also wrote the Specie Circular is not generally recognized. Although spoken of repeatedly as presidential timber, Benton usually retorted "not available." Seemingly, as Professor Chambers states, Benton would have sought to succeed Van Buren had the latter been re-elected in 1840.

In debate Benton was not the equal of Webster but he fathered more constructive legislation than either Calhoun or Webster. Moreover, the Senator from Missouri wrote more readable history than Clay, Webster, or Calhoun. Many have read Benton's *Thirty Years View,* but few know of his *Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, 1789-1850,* in 16 volumes, nor of his *Examination* of the Dred Scott case. All of these achievements of Old Bullion are related in this long-needed biography.

Since Benton's papers were burned shortly before his death, the author had to reconstruct his subject from the papers of Benton's contemporaries. The story is written in an interesting style. The footnotes are at the back of the book, the bibliography is selective, and the index accurate. This book will be a strong contender for some of the major awards for biographies published in 1956.

G. C. Osborn.

University of Florida,
Gainesville, Florida.

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Lincoln's Supreme Court. By David M. Silver. (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press. 1956. Pp. ix, 272. $4.00 in cloth, $3.00 in paper.)

This volume seeks to evaluate the Court's relationship to the Lincoln administration. It is an almost aridly objective, non-legal study in historical interpretation. No effort is made to present the internal history of the Court. As the study leans heavily on private letters and newspaper comments, the odor

of the paste-pot and the scrapbook is sometimes evident. The author rarely escapes from his documentation sufficiently to offer those perceptive generalizations so necessary in assimilating a large mass of primary material. However, this weakness is necessarily inherent in all pioneer studies.

The book begins with the aged Taney, of Dred Scott fame, administering the presidential oath to the gangling railsplitter who had said that the Court must reverse the Scott decision. Hostile to the Court and its coolness to his emergency powers, in such typical situations as the Habeas Corpus and Prize cases, Lincoln skillfully evaded efforts to test his doctrine of necessity. Meanwhile, he filled vacancies with known sympathizers—and even increased the Court to make his "packing" more effective. Even then he barely managed to have his war-time powers sustained. When he reluctantly appointed Chase to Chief Justice (to remove a dangerous rival to the presidency), the Court began to move back to the Taney position. The new peace-time Court, with a majority of Lincoln appointees (in the *Milligan* case) admitted that war-time pressures had unfortunately influenced it. Thus the story of the Lincoln Court is really a vindication of Lincoln's adversary, Taney. This story the author permits the documentation to tell, as he remains in the background.

Dillard S. Gardner.

Raleigh.

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Charles Evans Hughes and American Democratic Statesmanship. By Dexter Perkins. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1956. The Library of American Biography. Edited by Oscar Handlin. Pp. xxiv, 200. $3.50.)

The theme of this short biography hinges upon the dilemma a corporation lawyer must face in reconciling the public interest with that of powerful, wealthy clients. Charles Evans Hughes was richly endowed with the intellectual capacity and administrative ability to become a successful lawyer. Having won acclaim at the bar, he responded to the call of public duty at the age of forty-three. His investigations into

New York's gas, electric, and insurance scandals revealed sordid connections between business and politics and led to his election as governor in 1906. Until his retirement in 1941 Hughes served almost constantly in high public office, and so established a record unparalleled in recent American history.

As governor of New York, Hughes applied the principle of regulation to business interests. He grasped the spirit of progressivism and, eschewing radicalism and demagoguery, hastened moderate reforms. While associate justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1910 to 1916, he defended extension of federal control over interstate commerce and upheld social and economic legislation of the states against the injunctions so freely granted by district court judges. The security of the courts, he believed, depended upon the way in which they exercised their powers to meet the demands of the times.

Professor Perkins describes with candor and insight Hughes' shortcomings in the presidental campaign of 1916; it was the sole political misadventure of his long public career. On the subject of foreign relations in the post World War I era the author writes with zest and erudition. Hughes, he reveals, favored the League of Nations with reservations but refused to subscribe to any effective policy of collective security. In doing so, it is explained, he acted within the framework of public opinion. As Secretary of State from 1921 to 1925 he attained high rank among the several occupants of that office, but the policies he initiated were not of lasting consequence.

From 1930 to 1941 Hughes served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Perkins presents an eloquent defense of the over-all record during these years and of the forbearance and judicial statesmanship Hughes demonstrated when beset by the court packing threat. In these pages the chief justice emerges as a liberal jurist, a champion of the rights of minorities, of civil, religious, and intellectual liberty, of the Bill of Rights, and of social and economic reform. The author of this study, as did Merlo J. Pusey in a more detailed biog-

raphy, presents Hughes as a judicial statesman of the highest calibre. Perkins defines statesmanship as the use of public authority to make the necessary adaptations to a changing political and social environment. Hughes measured up to this exacting standard with distinction.

Joseph F. Steelman.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

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History of North Carolina. By Hugh T. Lefler. (New York, N.Y.: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc. 1956. Volume I. Pp. xx, 1-466. Volume II. Pp. 467-883. Volume III [Biography]. Pp. 1-450. Volume IV [Biography]. Pp. 451-854. $87.50.)

With the appearance in 1954 of the one-volume *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State,* co-authored by Hugh T. Lefler and the late Albert Ray Newsome (largely the work of the former), the State at last had an up-to-date history worthy of the story it told. The volume was received with enthusiasm by scholars and general readers alike. Through that and his several other works, Professor Lefler's name has come to occupy a place alongside that of the late R. D. W. Connor. Unfortunately, the new *History of North Carolina* will not enhance a deservedly-earned reputation.

Publishing combined series of North Carolina history and biography is not new for the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc. In 1919 this firm published the R. D. W. Connor-William K. Boyd-J. G. de R. Hamilton three-volume history plus three volumes of biography; in 1928-29, under the name American Historical Society, Inc., it published R. D. W. Connor's two volumes of history and two of biography; and in 1941 it brought out Archibald Henderson's two volumes of history and three of biography. In the latest series, Professor Lefler is author only of the history of the State and his name does not appear on the title pages of the biographical portions. Unfortunately, however, the natural tendency will be for the public to assume his authorship of the entire series—"unfortunately" because the idea of a person

having to pay to get his name in history books is not a happy one.

The history volumes are essentially a re-writing of the Lefler-Newsome work. Except for consolidation of chapters and some re-working of paragraphs, the first volume bears striking similarities to the corresponding sections of Lefler-Newsome. The most noticeable changes occur in the sections of Volume II on Civil War and Reconstruction, and on the twentieth century. A more traditionally southern view of the coming of and the results of "The Waw" can be noted in the new work, and there appears to be missing some of the frank self-criticism which always added spice and often added common sense to the earlier volume.

A work of this magnitude could not be published without flaws, but the frequency of what appear to be careless errors in these volumes leads to the belief that the manuscript and page proofs were not given critical readings. Such defects as the following have no place in a history that will grace the shelves of hundreds of North Carolina homes and libraries: page numbers of cited works are frequently omitted (*e.g.*, pp. 154-155, 230, 253); the same quotation is repeated but with different dates of the source (p. 277, n. 27, and p. 465, n. 7); slaves were taxed as persons, not as property (p. 389); Bartlett Yancey was a State Senator, not a Representative, in 1818 (p. 469); Governor Holden was impeached in 1871, not in 1870 (p. 578); the caption "Albemarle County Hospital, Burlington," (p. 656) needs no comment; Elias Carr was elected Governor in 1892, not 1888 (p. 663); William Howard Taft was not President in December, 1908 (p. 713); David F. Houston was not only Secretary of Agriculture but also Secretary of the Treasury under Wilson (p. 718); Clyde R. Hoey was not the incumbent U. S. Senator in the 1944 primary (p. 846); Jonathan Daniels' *Man of Independence* could not have been the most intimate biography of Truman published before 1946 because it was not published until 1950 (p. 850); and the reader will be surprised to learn that the population of North Carolina in 1920 was "3,170,276" (when actually it was only 2,560,000), of which the rural population amounted to only "490,370" (actually 2,069,000) (p. 737).

The claim that Winfield Scott won the presidential campaign in 1852 in North Carolina is not only repeated, but is fortified with figures from the oft-erring *North Carolina Manual, 1913* (p. 391). One has only to check the *Congressional Globe* to learn that North Carolina's vote was cast for the Democratic candidate in 1852.

But the most serious error is a mystifying one. On page 199 one reads, "Professor DeMond wrote that 'an examination of the records reveals that of 883 of the known Regulators, 289 were Whigs, 34 Tories, and 560 Revolutionary status unknown.'" A footnote refers the reader to R. O. DeMond's *The Loyalists in North Carolina During the Revolution* "for a list of the names of the 'known Regulators.'" In the first place, DeMond not only didn't make such a statement, but his book took the opposite point of view. In the second place, the figures (though the quotation is unfaithful) and the list are found only in Elmer D. Johnson, "The War of the Regulation: Its Place in History," a master's thesis which was written under Professor Lefler's direction at the University of North Carolina.

The two biographical volumes consist of eulogies of several hundred North Carolinians, living and dead, as well as a number of business enterprises and the New Hanover County public schools. The sketches—based on willingness to pay the price—range from a modest three-fourths of a column and no picture for the late Congressman Robert L. Doughton to more than seven columns and a full-page picture for Greensboro lawyer C. C. Frazier, Sr. Of the State's top political leaders, only Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., is included. The chief value of these sketches will be for genealogical research. The attractive slick paper and neat print of these volumes are in sharp contrast to the coarse paper and poor reproduction of the history volumes.

While shortcomings are easy to find in this newest history of North Carolina, it is, notwithstanding, a good one. Professor Lefler knows the history of the State and he writes it well. Few contemporary historians do a better job of interweaving relevant quotations with the author's text. This effective blending leads to a feeling of history that a straight narrative

can hardly give. Too, statistics in these volumes appear to give more than usual meaning when interpreted lucidly with comparisons and contrasts.

In summary, an otherwise excellent *History of North Carolina* is marred by far too many defects which should never have reached the printed page. Although undoubtedly some of the shortcomings are attributable to the publisher, the name of an author on a title page implies his assumption of blame as well as credit. A critical reading of manuscript and proof would have prevented embarrassment to both.

H. G. Jones.

Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

The Department of Archives and History participated in a series of radio broadcasts over Station WPTF, Raleigh, on Sunday afternoons during September and October on a program, "Let's Visit," under the direction of Ted Daniel. Mr. Daniel interviewed officials of various State agencies to inform the public of their functions and work. Those who were interviewed were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Editor; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator; and Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist.

The Department announces plans for a half-hour television program, "Our Heritage," to be given from 5:30 to 6:00 on the following Sunday afternoons: January 27, February 24, March 24, and April 21. The programs will be designed to present various phases of North Carolina history and will be telecast on Station WRAL-TV.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden attended the board meetings of the Calvin Jones Memorial Society in Wake Forest on September 7, October 1, November 2, and 18. On October 2 he spoke to the Harnett County Historical Society on a suggested program for county historical societies and on October 7-9 attended the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History at Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass. At this meeting the association adopted a long-range program presented by a committee of which Dr. Crittenden was chairman, which will broadly expand the services of this group to the people of the country. He attended the annual meeting in Washington, D. C., on October 10-12 of the Society of American Archivists and on October 19-21 the annual meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the same city. On October 25-27 he attended the meeting of the Southeastern Museums Conference in Williamsburg, Virginia, accompanied by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, and two members of the staff of the Hall of History, Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips

and Miss Barbara McKeithan. Dr. Crittenden spoke to the members of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society in Wilmington on November 1, on a possible program and objectives for the group. On November 7 he spoke at the unveiling of a marker to showman P. T. Barnum at Rocky Mount which was the result of a twelve-year effort on the part of Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Josh L. Horne. On November 9 Dr. Crittenden was elected President of the Historical Society of North Carolina at the meeting in Greensboro. Other members of the staff of the Department who attended were Mr. H. G. Jones, Mr. D. L. Corbitt, and Mrs. Elizabeth W. Wilborn. He attended the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Durham on November 15-17 and spoke briefly at a meeting on November 19 when an interested group met at the Governor's Mansion to organize a historical society in Wake County. On November 25-27 Dr. Crittenden, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan met with the Tryon Palace Commission in New Bern. On December 28-30 he attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in St. Louis, Mo.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, attended the fourth annual meeting of the Museum Educators' Conference sponsored by the National Federation for Junior Museums held in Jacksonville, Florida, on December 5. She was one of the speakers on a program "Our Common Problems—Meeting the Demand." On November 14 Mrs. Jordan, accompanied by Mrs. Martha H. Farley of the staff of the Hall of History, went to Chapel Hill to assist Dr. Joffre L. Coe in planning an exhibit on North Carolina Indian life. On December 13 Mrs. Jordan, Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips of the staff of the Hall of History and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, attended a meeting of the acquisitions committee, took photographs, and measured the Alston House—The House in the Horseshoe—in Moore County.

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, spoke at the annual dinner meeting of the Currituck County Historical Society at Shawboro, October 29, on "Sources of Currituck History."

The society is currently engaged in setting up a county museum and plans are being made for the compilation of a county history. Mr. Jones was the speaker at the quarterly meeting of the Caswell County Historical Association at Yanceyville on October 3 on "Eighteenth Century Caswell." Mr. Jones and Mrs. Fannie Memory Blackwelder, Supervisor of the Records Center, attended the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Washington, D. C., October 10-12. Prior to the meeting they visited the National Archives, Library of Congress, Folger Shakespeare Library, and the Federal Records Center for two days.

Additions to the staff of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts during the past quarter are Miss Patsy Daniels, Mrs. Doris Swann, Mrs. Ethel Borchers, and Mrs. Bessie Bowling.

Among the visitors to the Archives recently were Miss Agnes Conrad, Archivist for the Territory of Hawaii; Dr. George Spragge of the Canadian Archives; Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely, author, of Asheville and Newport, Tenn.; and Secretary of State Ben Fortson and a delegation of officials from the State of Georgia.

*The Archives of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History: Services to the Public,* an eight-page informational leaflet, has been released by the Department. The leaflet is intended primarily to give information to genealogists and briefly describes various records groups available in the Archives and the policies of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts. Copies may be obtained free from the State Archivist.

The alphabetizing and cataloguing of the following items have been completed and the papers are now available to the public: the War of 1812 vouchers, Mecklenburg County estates papers, and scattered Orange County inventories, apprentice, guardian, and administrators' bonds.

The original agriculture, industry, mortality, and social statistics schedules of the Censuses of 1850-1880, inclusive,

which were returned to the State in 1918, have been transferred to the Archives from the State Library. Due to the weight and poor condition of the volumes, a program has been instituted to microfilm them. In this way these valuable manuscript copies may be made available to the public within the next year.

The Department plans to publish in the near future the text of the documents which were given to the Department by Mr. Thurmond Chatham.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, talked to the Wake Forest Civic Club on October 9 on the subject, "The Importance of Preserving the Calvin Jones House," and on October 18 he represented the Department at a special program at Moore's Creek Bridge Battleground sponsored by the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge Association.

Mr. Norman Larson of the Historic Sites Division spoke to the Sertoma Club and presented a slide program on the work of the Historic Sites Division on November 5.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Editor, spoke at the pre-organizational meeting of the Wake County group which met at the Governor's Mansion on November 19 to make plans for the formation of a historical society. On December 5 he spoke to the Executive Committee of the United Daughters of the Confederacy on "Historical Activities in North Carolina."

The thirtieth annual meeting of the North Carolina State Art Society which met in Raleigh on December 5 opened the yearly meetings of the ten cultural societies which closed on December 8. A business session was held during the morning at which time the following directors were named: Mrs. Isabelle Bowen Henderson and Dr. Clarence Poe, both of Raleigh; Dr. Clemens Sommer of Chapel Hill; and Mr. Egbert L. Davis of Winston-Salem. Other officers who were re-elected are Dr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville, President; Mr. Edwin Gill of Raleigh, First Vice-President; Mrs. James H. Cordon of Raleigh, Treasurer; and Mr. John Allcott

of Chapel Hill, Mrs. Jacques Busbee of Steed, and Mrs. W. Frank Taylor of Goldsboro, all Vice-Presidents-at-large.

Governor Luther H. Hodges, Honorary President, presided at the luncheon session and Mr. John Richard Craft, Director of the Columbia, S. C., Museum of Art, was the featured speaker. Dr. Robert Lee Humber presided at the evening meeting at which time Dr. W. R. Valentiner, Director of the North Carolina Museum of Art, made a brief talk, and Dr. Jacob Rosenberg of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, gave an address on Rembrandt. The winners of the 1956 North Carolina Artists Competition were announced as follows: Mr. George Bireline of the faculty of the School of Design at State College for his "Painting No. 10"; Miss Edith London of the Duke University Art Department for "Provincetown Memories"; and Mr. Grove Robinson of Mars Hill for "Regional Landscape No. 5." Dr. Humber reported on the gifts received by the North Carolina Museum of Art during the past year which are valued at approximately $182,300 and stated that the sum of approximately $14,000 in cash was given for the purchase of works of art. Reports were given by Mr. Ben Williams, Museum Curator; Mr. James B. Byrnes, Associate Museum Director; and Mrs. James H. Cordon, Treasurer. Following the evening session a reception was held for members and guests.

The North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities held its sixteenth annual session on December 6 with Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, President, presiding. Mr. James A. Stenhouse was elected at the morning session to succeed Mrs. Cannon who was elected Honorary President of the society of which she is a charter member and of which she has been President since 1941. Members of the group voted to give $1,000 as a tribute in honor of Mrs. Cannon to be used toward the construction of a gatehouse in the Elizabethan Garden at Manteo, to be built in replica of Hayes Barton, Sir Walter Raleigh's home. Mrs. J. W. Labouisse of Durham was elected Vice-President and Mrs. Ernest A. Branch of Raleigh was re-elected Secretary-

Treasurer. Progress on the various restoration projects throughout the State were reported on by Mrs. Joseph O. Talley, Jr., of Fayetteville, Mrs. K. T. Penniman of Rocky Mount, Dr. Mary Wiley of Winston-Salem, Mrs. W. G. Guille of Salisbury, and Mrs. J. A. Kellenberger of Greensboro. Dr. Christopher Crittenden gave a brief illustrated talk on "Preserving Our Historic Shrines."

Governor Luther H. Hodges brought greetings at the luncheon at which Mrs. Ernest Ives of Southern Pines presided. Mr. C. J. McDonald, President of the Moore County Historical Society, gave a talk on "Some Historic Facts Concerning the Late Governor Williams and also the Alston House."

Mrs. Cannon brought greetings at the evening session which was highlighted by the presentation of the Cannon Awards and a presentation by the Carolina Playmakers of Adolphe Vermont's melodrama, "Esther Wake, or the Spirit of the Regulators." This year's recipients of the awards, which are made for outstanding work in the field of history, are: Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City, for historical articles and his work with the Western North Carolina Historical Association; Mrs. Blanche Manor of Raleigh, for her work in interesting out-of-state people in the work of the Antiquities Society; Mr. James Kay Kyser of Chapel Hill, for his work in historical preservation and with the Roanoke Island Historical Association; Mrs. R. L. McMillan of Raleigh, for her work in restoring ancient gardens in the State and with the Memorial Highway project of the Federation of Women's Clubs; Mrs. Sidney McMullen of Edenton, for her work in historic preservation in Edenton; and Mr. George Maurice of Eagle Springs, who has directed research and reconstruction of the "House in the Horseshoe." Mr. Paul Green of Chapel Hill announced the winners and Mrs. O. Max Gardner of Shelby presented the awards. Following the meeting a reception was held with life members and officers receiving.

On the afternoon of December 6 Governor and Mrs. Luther H. Hodges entertained at a reception at the Governor's Mansion for all members and guests of the participating societies.

The Roanoke Island Historical Association held its subscription luncheon and annual business meeting in the Manteo Room of the Hotel Sir Walter on December 6.

The fifty-sixth annual meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., opened on December 7 with Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson of Pendleton, President, presiding. Reports were given by Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Mr. M. R. Dunnagan, Mrs. Elizabeth H. Hughey, Miss Clyde Smith, and Mr. Richard Walser.

The entire slate of officers was re-elected: Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, President; Mrs. Taft Bass of Clinton, Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs of Greensboro, and Mr. Ray S. Wilkinson of Rocky Mount, all Vice-Presidents; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Secretary-Treasurer. New members of the Executive Committee elected were Dr. R. B. House and Colonel Jeffrey F. Stanback. Mr. Richard Walser of State College read a paper, "Dare County Belles-Lettres"; Mr. William S. Powell of the University of North Carolina Library read a paper, "Roanoke Colonists and Explorers: An Attempt at Identification"; and a review of North Carolina fiction of the year was given by Dr. C. Hugh Holman of the University of North Carolina. Presentation of the various awards were made as follows: Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, the R. D. W. Connor Award to Mr. Houston G. Jones of the State Department of Archives and History for his article, "Bedford Brown: State Rights Unionist," which appeared in *The North Carolina Historical Review;* Mr. Roy Parker, Jr., the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award to Mrs. Helen Bevington of Durham for her volume of poems, *Change of Sky;* Mrs. M. W. Peterson, the American Association of University Women Juvenile Literature Award to Mrs. Julia Montgomery Street of Winston-Salem for her book, *Fiddler's Fancy.* Mr. William S. Powell presented the American Association for State and Local History Awards to the following: Mrs. Ethel Stephens Arnett

for her book, *Greensboro, North Carolina, The County Seat of Guilford;* Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City for his contributions to the development of local history; and to the Moore County Historical Association for its publication of an authentic county history.

Mrs. Taft Bass of Clinton presided at the subscription luncheon which featured a review of North Carolina non-fiction books of the year given by Dr. H. Broadus Jones of Wake Forest College. A collection of original documents covering the period, 1664-1674, was presented to the State by Mr. Thurmond Chatham of Ronda. These documents include letters and instructions from the Lords Proprietors to governors Peter Carteret and Samuel Stephens, reports, grants, accounts, commissions, and certificates of appointment. Mr. McDaniel Lewis of Greensboro, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, accepted the gift on behalf of the State.

Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs of Greensboro presided at the dinner meeting at which time Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson made the presidential address. Following the dinner the evening session which was presided over by Mr. Ray Wilkinson of Rocky Mount was held. The address was given by Dr. Roy F. Nichols, Vice-Provost and Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania, on the subject, "One Hundred Years Ago." Mrs. Frances Gray Patton of Durham received the Sir Walter Raleigh Award for her book, *A Piece of Luck,* and Mr. Glenn Tucker was presented the Mayflower Award for his non-fiction work, *Tecumseh, Vision of Glory.* Miss Clara Booth Byrd, President of the Historical Book Club, Inc. of Greensboro, presented the Sir Walter Award given yearly for the best work of fiction, and Mrs. Preston B. Wilkes, Jr., of Charlotte, Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, presented the Mayflower Award. Following the meeting a reception was held for members and guests of the State Literary and Historical Association, with officers and the awards winners receiving.

The North Carolina Poetry Society held its annual meeting on the afternoon of December 7 with Mrs. A. A. Kyles

of Bessemer City presiding. Poetry was read by Mr. H. A. Sieber of Chapel Hill, and Mrs. Gertrude LaV. Vestal of Winston-Salem introduced Mrs. Helen Bevington, winner of the Roanoke-Chowan Poetry Award for the year. A business session was held and reports and announcements were made.

The forty-fifth annual meeting of the North Carolina Folklore Society was held on December 7 at which time Mr. Donald MacDonald of Charlotte read a paper on "Scottish Jacobite Songs," and Mr. Herbert Shellans of Chapel Hill presented "A Sheaf of American Folksongs." Officers elected at the business session were: Mrs. Betty Vaiden Williams, President, Mr. Donald MacDonald and Mr. John Fletcher, Vice-Presidents, and Dr. A. P. Hudson, Secretary-Treasurer.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians held its annual meeting on December 7 with Dr. James W. Patton, Head, Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina, making the principal address. Mr. Manly Wade Wellman presented the newspaper awards of merit and Mrs. Taft Bass presented the Hodges Cup Award which is given to high school students. A business session was held with the following officers elected: Dr. J. E. Hodges of Maiden, President; Mrs. Taft Bass of Clinton, Mrs. N. A. Edwards of Goldsboro, and Mr. Leon M. McDonald of Olivia, all Vice-Presidents; and Mrs. Musella W. Wagner of Chapel Hill, Secretary-Treasurer.

The North Carolina Symphony Society held a meeting of its executive committee on the evening of December 7. Officers of the society are: Governor Luther H. Hodges and Dr. Charles F. Carroll, members ex officio; Dr. Benjamin F. Swalin of Chapel Hill, Director; Mr. Russell M. Grumman of Chapel Hill, President; Mr. M. Elliott Carroll of Durham, Executive Vice-President; Mr. Lester C. Gifford of Hickory, Mr. James McClure Clarke of Asheville, and Mrs. Floyd D. Mehan of High Point, Vice-Presidents; Mr. John E.

Adams of Chapel Hill, Secretary; Mr. William R. Cherry of Chapel Hill, Treasurer; and Mrs. Vera N. Campbell of Chapel Hill, Assistant Treasurer.

Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock, winner of the Mayflower Cup Award, and Mrs. Preston B. Wilkes, Jr., of Charlotte, Governor of the Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina, were honored at a breakfast on December 8 by the Central Carolina Colony of the Society. Dr. Robert Lee Humber made a brief talk and Dr. Roy F. Nichols was also a special guest. Mr. Joseph C. Moore, Jr. of Raleigh, Lieutenant Governor of the Central Carolina Colony, presided and Mayor Fred B. Wheeler of Raleigh read the Mayflower Compact. Dr. Sturgis B. Leavitt of Chapel Hill gave a report on the projects of the society for the past year and Mr. Jack Wardlaw of Raleigh was presented as a new member. Mrs. W. G. Allen and Miss Daisy Waitt were co-chairmen of the breakfast committee. In addition to Mr. Moore other officers of the society are: Mrs. Samuel B. Dees, Lieutenant Governor; Mrs. Allen, Secretary-Treasurer; and Dr. Leavitt and Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell, members of the board.

Members of the Historical Book Club, Inc., of Greensboro held a breakfast meeting at the Sir Walter Hotel on December 8.

The Southern Historical Association held its twenty-second annual meeting in Durham, November 15-17, with headquarters at the Washington Duke Hotel. A number of meetings were held on the campus of Duke University including a tea given for women members and members' wives on November 15 by Mrs. A. Hollis Edens, wife of the President of Duke University, and the sessions which were held on Saturday, culminating in a complimentary luncheon at which Dr. Paul H. Clyde presided.

Approximately 500 members and guests registered for the three-day meeting which brought together a large number of historians and scholars from over most of the southern and eastern sections of the country. Dr. James W. Patton, Head of the Southern Collection at the University of North

Carolina and President of the Association, presided at the business session and delivered the address at the annual dinner on November 16. New officers elected are Dr. Robert Selph Henry of Washington, D. C., President; Dr. Walter Posey of Emory University, Vice-President; and Dr. Bennett H. Wall of the University of Kentucky, Secretary-Treasurer.

One of the highlights of the meeting was the presentation of the Sydnor Memorial Award for distinguished historical writing to Dr. Joseph H. Parks of Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Alabama, for his book, *General E. Kirby Smith.* Dr. Parks is the first recipient of the award established in 1955 in honor of the late Dr. Charles S. Sydnor, former Chairman of the Department of History at Duke University and Dean of the Graduate School. The $500 award is to be presented every two years, alternating with the Charles W. Ramsdell Award for the best article published in *The Journal of Southern History.*

On Saturday morning there was a joint session of the North Carolina State Literary and Historical Association and the Southern Historical Association at which Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson presided. Mr. Stephenson, President of the Literary and Historical Association, introduced Dr. D. J. Whitener of Appalachian State Teachers College, Dr. Henry S. Stroupe of Wake Forest College, and Mr. Richard Walser of North Carolina State College who read papers. Dr. Christopher Crittenden acted as discussion leader.

News items from the University of North Carolina include the following: Dr. Harold A. Bierck has been promoted to Professor in the Department of History; Dr. Robert Moats Miller, formerly of Texas Western College, has been appointed as Assistant Professor of History; Dr. Hugh Dodge Hawkins has been appointed Instructor in History; Dr. Morton Keller and Mr. Charles Adams Hale have been appointed Instructors in Social Science. The following recent graduates have accepted positions for the school year 1956-57; Mr. John Hardin Best, Mississippi State College for Women; Mr. Mills Brown, Colonial Williamsburg; Mr. William Burlie

Brown, Tulane University; Mr. George Hardy Callcott, University of Maryland; Mr. Vincent H. dePaul Cassidy, Southwestern Louisiana Institute; Miss Margaret Louise Chapman, University of Florida; Mr. George Weston Clarke, Presbyterian College; Mr. Enoch Lawrence Lee, Jr., The Citadel; Mr. Hubert Eugene McAllister, Mercer University; Mr. Nathaniel Magruder, Stratford College; Mr. Charles Lewis Price, West Georgia College; and Mr. Frank W. Ryan, North Texas State College. Dr. Frank W. Klingberg read a paper, "The Southern Unionists Joins the Solid South," at the fall meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina, and Dr. James L. Godfrey read a paper, "The Labor Government and the Independence of India," at the Southern Historical Association meeting in Durham on November 15 at which meeting he was elected to the Executive Council of the Association. Dr. Godfrey also had an article, "The Problem of Guiding Youth in English Schools," in *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, LV (October, 1956). Dr. Cornelius O. Cathey will be Visiting Professor in the 1957 Summer Session, the University of Wyoming.

Dr. Loren C. MacKinney gave an illustrated lecture on "Surgery in the Middle Ages" in Chicago on December 4 at a meeting sponsored by the International College of Surgeons. He has been asked to participate at the annual meeting of the American Association of Anatomists in Baltimore in April, 1957, and was recently appointed a member of the editorial board of *Manuscripts* published by St. Louis University. Dr. Hugh T. Lefler addressed the Wayne County Historical Society in Goldsboro, October 18, 1956, on "Some Problems in Writing Local History." He has published "The Southern Colonies, 1600-1750," *Travels in the Old South: A Bibliography*, edited by Dr. Thomas D. Clark, and *History of North Carolina*, published by the Lewis Publishing Company of New York and composed of four volumes, two of which are biography (not written by Dr. Lefler). Dr. Lefler has been asked to be Visiting Professor of History in the 1957 Summer Session at Syracuse University. Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson was elected to the Board of Editors of *The Journal*

*of Southern History* at the November meeting of the Southern Historical Association. Dr. Fletcher M. Green will be Visiting Professor of History at Northwestern University in the 1957 Summer Session.

Dr. Jack Greene, recent doctoral graduate of Duke University, is teaching at Michigan State; Miss Barbara Brandon, a doctoral candidate, is teaching at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina; and Mr. Murray S. Downs, doctoral candidate, at Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Three other Duke graduate students are studying abroad on grants: Mr. John J. TePaske in Spain; Mr. Richard Barker in France; and Mr. J. Bowyer Bell in Italy, the last two on Fulbright Awards. Dr. Richard N. Current of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina spoke at the opening meeting of the Trinity College Historical Society. Dr. Robert F. Durden has published "James S. Pike: President Lincoln's Minister to the Netherlands," in the *New England Quarterly* (September, 1956). The Duke University Library has accessioned over one and a quarter million volumes. Among recent manuscript accessions are letters and papers of Joseph Conrad, Lord Grenville, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Stephen Fuller (agent for Jamaica in London, 1780's and 1790's), the McLaurin family in the Carolinas (chiefly ante-bellum), Colonel J. D. Langston of Goldsboro, Senator Lee Overman, Congressman H. J. Drane of Florida, Baudry des Lozières (1751-1841), and films of the Adams papers. Dr. William B. Hamilton will be on leave in the spring to do research on political history in New Zealand and Australia and on Lord Grenville in England.

Dr. Alice B. Keith and Dr. Sarah M. Lemmon of Meredith College attended the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina in Greensboro on November 3, at which time Dr. Keith was elected Vice-President of the Society. Drs. Keith and Lemmon and Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace attended some of the sessions of the Southern Historical Association meeting in Durham, November 15-17.

Six members of the Department of Social Science of Wake Forest College attended the meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Durham: Drs. Percival Perry, David L. Smiley, Henry S. Stroupe, Lowell R. Tillett, W. Buck Yearns, and Mr. John K. Huckaby. Dr. Smiley presided over the session, "Problems of Civil War and Reconstruction," and Dr. Stroupe read a paper on "The History of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History." Dr. Stroupe also attended the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina in Greensboro.

Dr. Philip Africa, Head of the Department of History of Salem College, announces the appointment of Mr. M. Foster Farley, formerly of Newberry College, to the staff.

Dr. Chalmers G. Davidson was elected President of the Mecklenburg Historical Association at a dinner meeting November 29 at Sugaw Creek Presbyterian Church. Dr. Davidson succeeds Mr. James A. Stenhouse. Mrs. Grace B. McDowell was named first Vice-President; Mr. Lee Monroe, Kerns, second Vice-President; Miss Mary Louise Davidson, Secretary; and Mr. Harry T. Orr, Sr., Treasurer. Mr. Stenhouse, Mr. C. W. Gilchrist, and Mr. Henry C. Dockery were named trustees for a two-year term. Mr. J. H. Carson spoke on the history of gold mining in Mecklenburg County. A new project of the society for the coming year is the collection of a complete file of all publications concerning May 20 celebrations in Charlotte from the 1820's to the present.

The Columbus County Society of Local and County Historians held a reorganizational meeting in November at the Whiteville home of Mrs. Seth Smith. The following officers were elected: Mr. Ray Wyche, President; Mrs. Smith, Vice-President; Mrs. J. A. Brown, Historian; Mrs. H. A. Turner, Assistant Historian; and Miss Alice Lowe, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Carteret County Historical Society began its third year with a meeting at the civic center in Morehead City on October 20 with Mr. Thomas Respess, President, presiding.

Mr. Respess presented a paper on the early schools of Beaufort, and Mr. F. C. Salisbury gave an illustrated map talk on the history of the formation of Carteret County. The committee which compiled the records of burials in the Old Town Cemetery was commended and Miss Mildred Whitehurst was recognized for her work in typing the four books compiled. The society has taken as one of its additional projects the compiling of similar records of old cemeteries throughout Carteret County.

*The Chronicle,* newsletter of the Bertie County Historical Association, which was issued in October carried the speech given by Dr. Christopher Crittenden at the spring meeting, an article on the history of Roxobel Township by Mr. J. M. Browne, and a report on the tour which netted $1,300 for the Hope Restoration Fund. The fall meeting of the association was held on October 18, at which time papers on the history of Windsor were presented. These were prepared under the direction of Mrs. M. B. Gillam, Sr., and Mrs. W. S. Smith, Windsor Township Chairmen.

At a service conducted by the Rev. S. Janney Hutton, on September 23, 1956, a bronze tablet was unveiled at Merchant's Hope Church, six miles east of Hopewell, Virginia. This church is said to be the oldest Protestant church now standing in Virginia. The tablet is a gift from Miss Martha Adeline Higgs of Raleigh and was presented in memory of her ancestor, Thomas Chappell (1612-1658), to the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter of the North Carolina Society of Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century which placed the marker at the service.

The foundation for the organization of a Wake County historical society was laid at a meeting held in the Governor's Mansion on November 19 with Mrs. R. N. Simms, who served as chairman of a committee representing the Bloomsbury Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, presiding. She was assisted by Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History who made a brief talk. The invocation was given by Mr. James S. Potter of the Taber-

nacle Baptist Church after which Mrs. Simms recognized members of patriotic societies who were present. Mr. and Mrs. Henry Belk and Mr. M. B. Andrews of the Wayne County Historical Society, Dr. Luby Royall and Mrs. W. B. Beasley of the Johnston County Historical Society, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden were also recognized. Mr. A. L. Purrington, Jr., was elected temporary chairman of the group and Mrs. Richard Seawell temporary secretary. A meeting is planned for January at which time committees appointed by Mr. Purrington are to report and make recommendations.

The fall meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina was held at Greensboro College on November 3 with Dr. William P. Cumming of Davidson, presiding. Papers were read by Dr. Frank W. Klingberg of the University of North Carolina, Dr. H. H. Cunningham of Elon College, and Dr. Cumming. The following officers were elected for 1957: Dr. Christopher Crittenden, President; Dr. Alice B. Keith of Meredith College, Vice-President; and Dr. M. L. Skaggs of Greensboro College, Secretary-Treasurer. Miss Mattie Russell and Dr. John Alden both of Duke University were elected new members of the society.

Dr. I. G. Greer of Chapel Hill has been re-elected President of the Southern Appalachian Historical Association, sponsor of the outdoor drama, "Horn in the West." Mr. James Marsh was elected executive Vice-President; Mr. Hugh Hagaman, first Vice-President; Mr. G. C. Greene, Jr., Treasurer; and Mrs. Lawrence Owsley, Secretary. Opening date for 1957 has been tentatively set as June 25, and the season is to run through Labor Day.

The quarterly meeting of the Pasquotank County Historical Society was held September 25, in the Christ Church Parish House with General John E. Wood, President, presiding. Reports on the condition of historic sites and markers located in the county and on the progress of the year book were made. The speaker, Mr. G. F. Hill, presented an address on "Astronomy—History and Movements of the Heavenly Bodies."

The final quarterly meeting of the society was held on November 27 in the Parish House with Mr. David Stick as the principal speaker. General John E. Wood presided at the business session at which time Mr. Miles Clark reported on the investigations made by his committee in an effort to restore a number of historical markers which have been abandoned. Mr. Stick talked on research and the writing of local history and the need for accuracy in recording facts which are to be used by future writers and historians. The heritage of Roanoke Island and the Outer Banks was especially emphasized.

The Pasquotank County Historical Society announces the completion of the first volume of *Year Book, Pasquotank Historical Society, Elizabeth City, 1954-1955.* Persons interested in this book may apply to General John E. Wood, Archorage Farm, Currituck, N. C.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians conducted a tour of Randolph County on October 7 which began at the courthouse in Asheboro. Places visited were Colonel Balfour's grave, Back Creek Friends Church, Skeens' Mill Covered Bridge, Trinity (site of old Trinity College), Bell's grave, Walker's Mill, Randleman (where the group ate a plate lunch), Melanchthon Lutheran Church, Sandy Creek Baptist Church, Friendville Old Quaker Church, and Holly Springs Friends Church.

Another tour on October 21 sponsored by the same organization began at the Guilford Courthouse and covered the following places of interest: Center Quaker Church and Cemetery, Alamance Presbyterian Church and Cemetery, the John McLean House, the Calvinist (German Reform) Church, Alamance Battlefield (where the group had lunch), Captain Peter Summer's House, Simeon Wagoner House, Friedens Lutheran Church, Ludwick Summer's House and Mill, and Weitzel's (Whitesell's) Mill.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina was held in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History in the Education

Building on October 6. The program consisted of illustrated lectures by the late Douglas L. Rights, Mr. Stanley South, and Mr. Joffre L. Coe, and a talk by Mr. Lewis Binford. Following the business meeting a luncheon was attended by a number of the members present.

Dr. Marvin L. Skaggs, head of the Department of History at Greensboro College, announces the addition of a Division of Economics and Business Administration to his department. The addition was made primarily to answer the demands of resident male students who are being admitted for the first time this year.

The University of North Carolina Press recently released a list, *One Hundred Outstanding Books About North Carolina,* compiled by Richard Walser and Hugh T. Lefler. The primary purpose of the pamphlet is to guide individuals and libraries in the selection of available books in the fields of history, biography and letters, folklore, fiction, the short story, drama, poetry, juvenile, sectional, and general subjects. This is available free upon application from the Press in Chapel Hill.

The Western North Carolina Historical Association announces the erection of four historical markers in that area. Two Estatoe Path Markers were dedicated in Transylvania County on September 13 and two markers, one at Old Fort and one at Swannanoa Gap, were dedicated in the Rutherford's Trace series on September 16. The programs were arranged by Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville, President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association. Participating in the dedication services were Mrs. Mary Jane McCrary of Brevard; Mr. John Parris of Sylva; Mr. Arsene Thompson of Cherokee; Mr. Robert T. Gash; Mrs. Robert Lyday; Dr. Carl McMurray; Miss Mary M. Greenlee; Mr. Clarence W. Griffin; Dr. Jerold Snyder; and Mr. Jerry Thorpe. All four of the markers are official roadside markers erected under the Historic Sites Division, State Department of Archives and History. Descendants of General Griffith

Rutherford unveiled the Swannanoa Gap and Old Fort Markers.

On October 27 the Western North Carolina Historical Association held its regular quarterly meeting in the Pack Memorial Library in Asheville with Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, President, presiding. Miss Cordelia Camp read a paper on "The Grist Mills of North Carolina," and Colonel Paul A. Rockwell gave a paper on "Early North Carolina Maps." Following the program the Thomas Wolfe Memorial Literary Cup was awarded to Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock for his book, *Tecumseh: Vision of Glory*, which is a biography of the great Indian chief. Mr. George W. McCoy, Vice-President, served as chairman of the program committee.

The new World Methodist Council headquarters building which cost $100,000 and houses historical and archival materials valued at more than $100,000 was dedicated at Lake Junaluska on September 2. Bishop John Branscomb of Jacksonville, Fla., made the presentation of the debt-free building and Bishop Ivan Lee Holt of St. Louis, Mo., President of the World Methodist Council, expressed appreciation to the group who provided the money. Guests from seventy nations were present and a number of sessions were held relating to various Methodists including John Wesley and Francis Asbury. A vast accumulation of documents and papers relating to Methodist history is stored in this depository and is accessible to Methodists as well as other visitors. Dr. Elmer T. Clark of Lake Junaluska made an address to the assembly and presented the archives with a large number of items from his private collection.

The fourth annual summer Institute on Historical and Archival Management will be offered by Radcliffe College, with the co-sponsorship of the Department of History of Harvard University, from June 24 through August 2, 1957. The course which is designed for college graduates offers two full-tuition scholarships of $200 each and will be conducted by a staff of eighteen or more experts in the fields of

historical and archival management. Inquiries should be addressed to the Institute, 10 Garden St., Cambridge 38, Mass.

The Library Company of Philadelphia announces the establishment of a fellowship in American studies for the academic year 1957-1958, which carries a stipend of $5,000 for the term September 15-June 15 with residence in or near Philadelphia a requirement. Applications for the fellowship, with personal history, three letters of recommendation, and an outline of the proposed research project, must be in the hands of The Library Company of Philadelphia, Broad and Christian Streets, Philadelphia 47, Pa., no later than March 1, 1957.

The University of Delaware and The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum announce five two-year fellowships with stipends up to $4,000 each for graduate fellowships in early American arts and cultural history. The second year's grant is to be contingent on satisfactory completion of the first year's work and applications should be filed by March 1, 1957. Blanks and further information may be obtained from The Co-Ordinator, Winterthur Program, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware.

Books received during the last quarter are: Bell Irwin Wiley, *The Road to Appomattox* (Memphis, Tennessee: Memphis State College Press, 1956); Earley Winfred Bridges, *Chorazin Chapter No. 13, Royal Arch Mason. A Historical Survey of One of North Carolina's Outstanding Chapters* (Staunton, Virginia: McClure Printing Company, 1953); Earley Winfred Bridges, *Greensboro Lodge, No. 76. A. F. and A. M. A Historical Survey of One of North Carolina's Outstanding Lodges* (Staunton, Virginia: McClure Printing Company, 1951); Arthur S. Link, *Wilson, The New Freedom* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1956); Burnette Vanstory, *Georgia's Land of the Golden Isles* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1956); Henry Thompson Malone, *Cherokees of the Old South: A People in Transition* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1956); E. Merton Coulter, *Auraria, The Story of a Georgia Gold-Mining Town* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1956); Richard Barksdale Harwell, *The Committees*

*of Safety of Westmoreland and Fincastle. Proceedings of the County Committees, 1774-1776* (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1956); Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britaina, 1612* (New York: Cambridge University Press [London: The Hakluyt Society, 1951]); Manly Wade Wellman, *Rebel Boast: First at Bethel—Last at Appomattox* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956); George Lee Simpson, *The Cokers of Carolina: A Social Biography of a Family* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956); Charles Crossfield Ware, *A History of Atlantic Christian College—Culture in Coastal Carolina* (Wilson: Atlantic Christian College, 1956); *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* Volume LXIX, *October, 1947—May, 1950* (Boston: Published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1956); Norman E. Eliason, *Tar Heel Talk. An Historical Study of the English Language in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956); Carl Goerch, *Ocracoke* (Raleigh: Privately printed, 1956); John G. Barrett, *Sherman's March Through the Carolinas* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956); Louis T. Moore, *Stories Old and New of the Cape Fear Region* (Wilmington: Privately printed, 1956); J. H. Easterby, *The Colonial Records of South Carolina. The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, September 10, 1745-June 17, 1746* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1956); Frank E. Vandiver, *Rebel Brass: The Confederate Command System* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956); Gayle Thornbrough and Dorothy Riker, *Readings in Indiana History* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1956); John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom, A History of American Negroes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, Second Printing); Stanley F. Horn, *The Decisive Battle of Nashville* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1956); Roy Parker, Sr., and Others, *The Ahoskie Era of Hertford County, 1889-1939* (Ahoskie: Parker Brothers Publishers, 1956); and Dorothy and Richard Pratt, *A Guide to Early American Homes—South* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., Trade Book Department, 1956).

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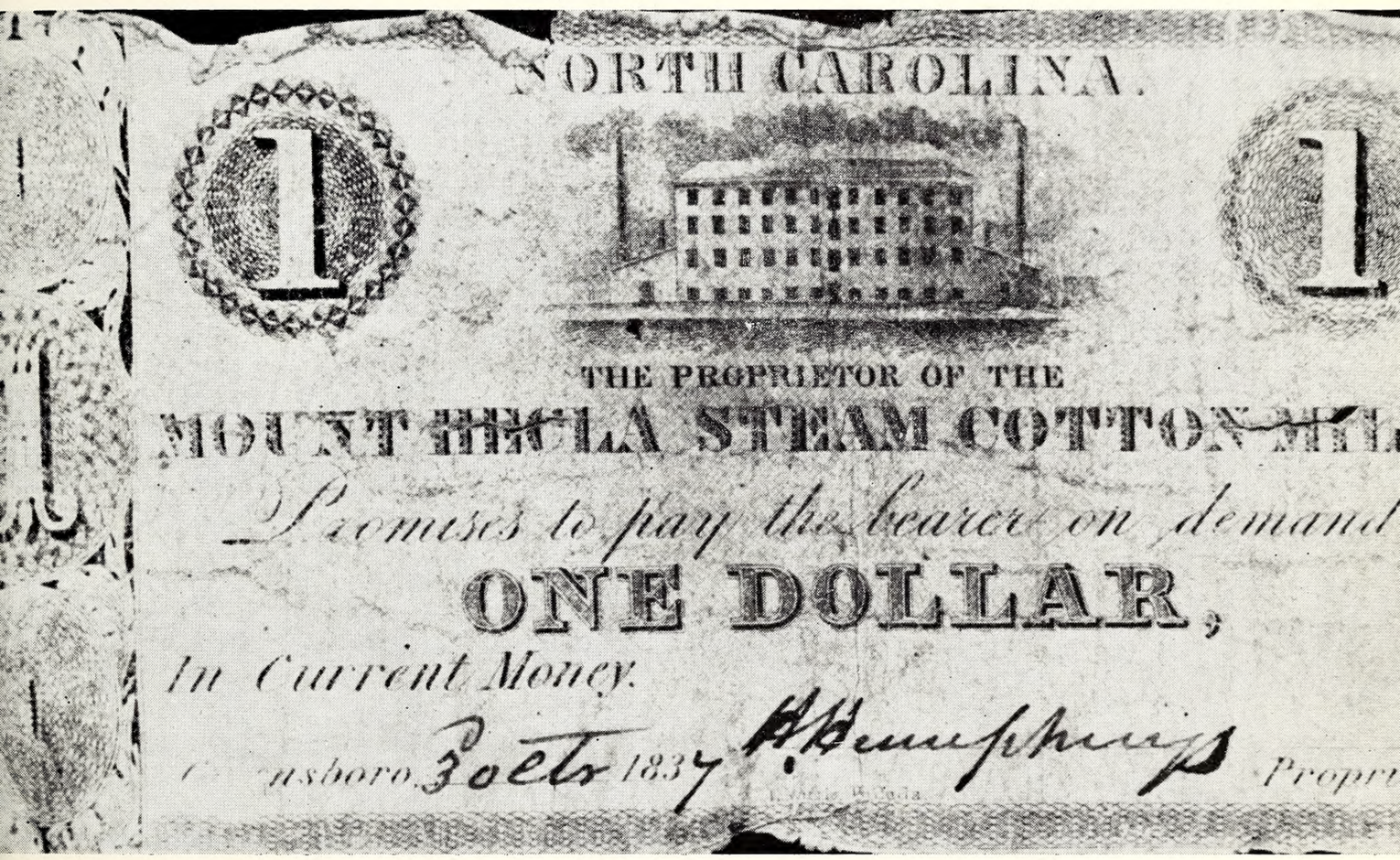
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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW





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COVER—Faced with a chronic lack of currency with which to pay his employees at the Mount Hecla mill, Henry Humphreys of Greensboro issued scrip in denominations of 12½ cents to five dollars. The financial success of this first steam-operated cotton mill in the state led to the ready acceptance of Humphreys' scrip in the community. Mount Hecla bills, like those issued by other textile mills, aided in the commercial expansion of the North Carolina Piedmont in the decades before the Civil War.

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## THE COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN ANTE-BELLUM NORTH CAROLINA PART II: AN ERA OF BOOM AND CONSOLIDATION, 1830-1860

By RICHARD W. GRIFFIN AND DIFFEE W. STANDARD

The initial encouraging steps toward the development of the cotton textile industry in North Carolina prior to 1830 were indeed modest, but they presaged a notable period of industrial advance in the subsequent two decades. By 1830 the success of four small cotton mills offered graphic proof that this industry could be introduced into the state to complement a predominately agricultural economy. In the following years men with initiative and capital found increasing evidence that the industry offered a new outlet for major investment. Improved transportation facilities for marketing manufactured goods, the chronically low prices offered for raw cotton and comparatively high prices for cotton textiles, a new policy to increase sales in the South by northern manufacturers of mill machinery, and a growing propaganda campaign to encourage industry and hold both wealth and workers in the State were persuasive factors that led to the establishment of scores of new cotton mills in North Carolina.

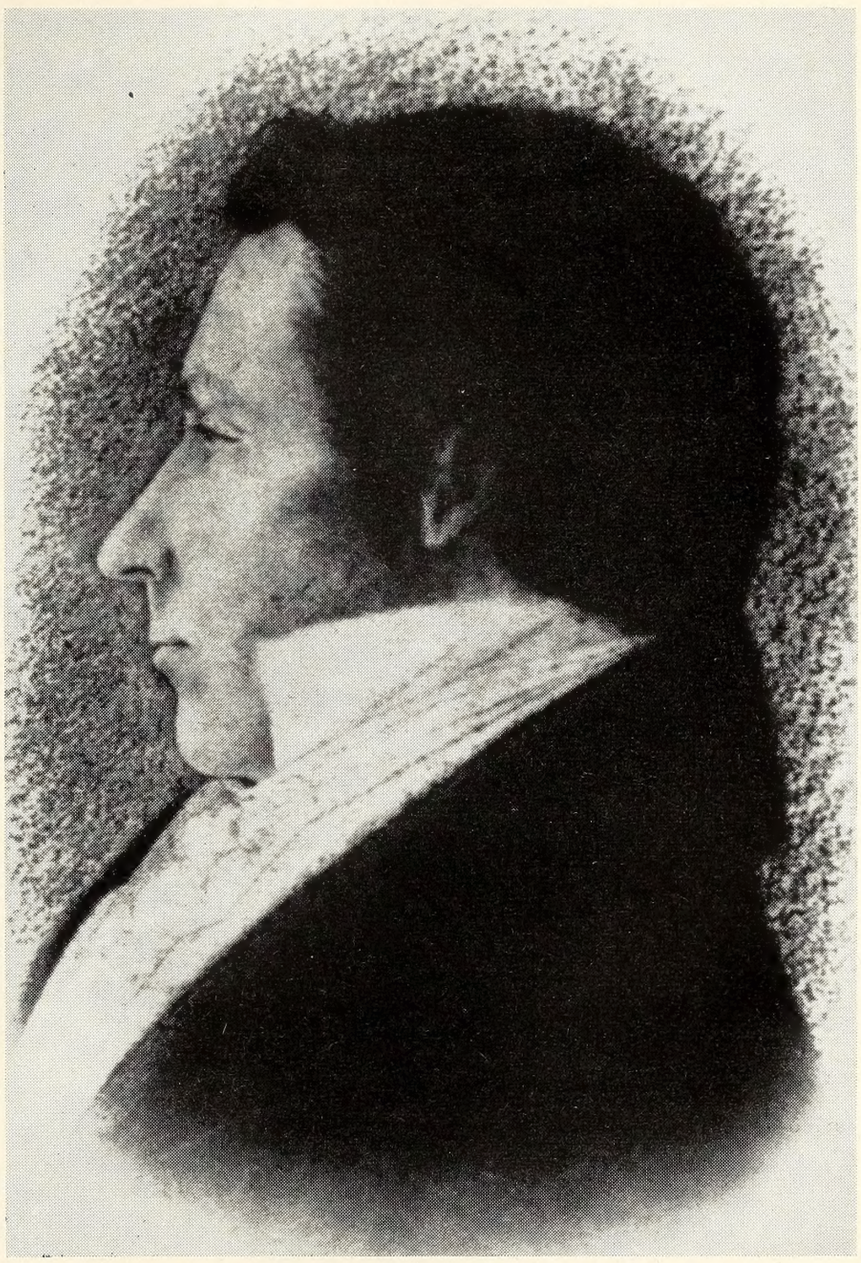
Because North Carolinians in the 1830's were genuinely distressed by large-scale emigration to the West which threatened to deplete the area of its most capable working families, the enthusiasm displayed by the promoters of the cotton industry rapidly spread over the State. These men wrote articles for local newspapers and detailed letters to planter

acquaintances to encourage the expansion of industry in the State. The correspondence of the sons of General William Lenoir offers an excellent example of the interest in the industry evinced by North Carolinians. The Lenoir family, living in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee, corresponded with each other and with their friends concerning mutual manufacturing interests and played a significant part in the introduction of the textile industry into both states. The Tennessee branch of the family had a cotton mill in operation at Lenoir City in 1830, while the North Carolina Lenoirs were stockholders in the Patterson Factory near Lenoir, North Carolina, in the early thirties.[1] The success of many such optimistic industrial leaders in North Carolina fostered a new boom in the textile industry.

Stimulated perhaps by renewed interest throughout the State, Henry Humphreys, the founder of the Mt. Hecla Mill in Greensboro, began an extensive expansion of his plant by ordering the machinery for two thousand spindles and a steam plant from Paterson, New Jersey, whose machinery companies were to furnish equipment for many North Carolina mills in the 1830's and 1840's. Two supervisors accompanied the machinery shipment from New Jersey and remained with the mill long enough to teach the white and slave girls to tend the machines. This was the first of several steam-operated cotton mills to be built in the State prior to the war.[2] The new Mount Hecla Mill was a four-story structure containing twenty-five hundred spindles and seventy-five looms and manufacturing sheeting, shirting, Osnaburgs, and cotton yarns packaged in five pound skeins. An annual operating expense of $4,000 for coal left a Raleigh editor aghast, and the prosperity of the mill, which the editor could not explain, was probably a result of the year-round operation of the mill while competitive mills generally closed for a month or more in the summer for lack

[1] "Lenoir Family Number 2," Lenoir Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, hereinafter cited as Lenoir Family Papers.

[2] *Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette*, July 18, 1838, hereinafter cited as *Raleigh Register*.



Henry Humphreys of Greensboro was the owner and superintendent of one of the more successful cotton mills of the 1830's. Fellow North Carolinians visited his Mount Hecla mill and aided by Humphreys' advice established other mills in the State.

of water power.[3] After Humphreys' conversion to all-white labor in the late 1830's, he came to be regarded as a great benefactor of the community, and a local editor noted that Greensboro appreciated his civic-mindedness in offering "employment for numerous hands hitherto doing nothing for the community, and but little for themselves."[4]

In 1832 Charles Fisher, the Rowan County legislator noted for his efforts to encourage the growth of manufacturers, made an attempt to establish a cotton factory. He and a group of Salisbury investors received a charter for the Yadkin Manufacturing Company, but the efforts to raise the requisite capital evidently failed, for it was not until later under a second charter with a new group of incorporators that the company was successfully launched. Fisher was not satisfied merely with this project, for he advertised in the *Western Carolinian* the establishment of his own foundry which was prepared to manufacture cotton mill machinery.[5] In an effort to spur on interest in mill-building, Fisher once again published, in an abridged form, his stirring report of 1828.[6]

During the thirties twenty-four new cotton mills were projected. Undoubtedly the interest and encouragement of progressive Whig leadership in North Carolina in this period accounts for some of the rapid expansion of the textile industry.[7] Of the twenty-four mills planned twenty were actually built, and of these, fifteen were completed in the years 1836-1840. These mills were located in eighteen counties, from Caldwell in the west to Northampton in the east, and from Caswell in the north to Richmond in the south.

Before the middle 1830's there were varying opinions concerning the benefits which might be derived from the introduction of a manufacturing system in North Carolina. A Salisbury editor recalled that throughout the 1820's and early 1830's "manufactures were so odious" that planters

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[3] *Raleigh Register*, July 5, 1836.

[4] *The Greensboro Patriot*, September 30, 1843. Hereinafter cited as *The Patriot.*

[5] *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), April 5, 1839, hereinafter cited as *Western Carolinian; Hillsborough Recorder*, April 19, 1838.

[6] *Western Carolinian*, April 11, 1839.

[7] William Turner to George W. Johnson, May 18, 1848, George W. Johnson Papers, George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University, hereinafter cited as George W. Johnson Papers.

or any gentleman scoffed at the idea of investing in cotton mills.[8] Before this feeling subsided many such editorial cries as this one from the *Raleigh Register* in 1833 were heard. "Away then, you people of the South with an ill-founded prejudice, which stands in the way of your prosperity, and open your eyes to your true interest." [9] By 1835 the prejudice of the planters had begun to wane, and the promotional campaign was to continue unabated until overshadowed by the bitterness of the sectional controversies of the 1850's.

Many of the early efforts to construct profitable cotton mills did not meet with the success necessary to encourage the emulation of other investors. One mill owner wrote to a merchant that the dry weather of North Carolina summers was such a hardship for grist and saw mill operators that he was not surprised that so few people built cotton mills.[10] Other owners complained in the press that spring rains brought on such high water that water wheels were damaged and mill operations had to be suspended. In 1836 a fall flood on Lower Creek near Salem swept one cotton mill completely away. That this discouraging lesson was taken to heart may be assumed from the fact that no record exists of another mill being built on the site.[11]

Factory owners were constantly confronted by a variety of other problems in their attempts to introduce a successful manufacturing industry into North Carolina. Short-weighted cotton bales, unpaid accounts, fires, strikes, and depressions came to be expected by the experienced owner. Quite early the factory owners in the area of Fayetteville reported repeated efforts to defraud them. These mill men attempted by damaging publicity to discourage the practice by a few planters of selling cotton which was watered to give added weight and of packing bricks and stones in the bales.[12]

A chronic lack of local capital was another source of discouragement to those interested in mill building or expansion.

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[8] *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), May 18, 1848, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman.*

[9] *Raleigh Register,* December 17, 1833.

[10] William Davidson to William H. Horok, July 14, 1832, William H. Horok Papers, Flowers Collection, Duke University.

[11] *Raleigh Register,* September 16, 1834; September 27, 1836.

[12] *Raleigh Register,* April 16, 1838.

An Orange County mill owner wrote in 1839 that money for expansion promised by various planters had been diverted to the more popular schemes of railroad construction and river improvement, leaving the mill owner without funds for further building. One unhappy mill owner invested all his accumulated profits in such a scheme only to see the company fail and his working capital disappear.[13]

Insufficient capital coupled with poor or inexperienced management accounted for many cotton mill failures in antebellum North Carolina.[14] The record books of one such mill, the Cane Creek Manufacturing Company of Orange County, tell a tale of failure that was repeated by the Mocksville Factory in Davie County and the Salisbury Factory in Rowan County,[15] and in all probability by many other mills now long forgotten. The career of the Cane Creek Company was a twenty-one year struggle to pay dividends to stockholders who did not have the foresight to employ an experienced manager for the mill.[16] In 1836 the mill was incorporated with a capital of $10,000 by selling shares to twenty people of the community. The mill was built, machines were ordered and installed, worker's houses were erected, and operations were begun. Here, as was true with most of the industrial establishments of the time, the stock was paid for on the installment plan. The officers of the company were constantly trying to collect payments long in arrears, a task made almost impossible by the panic which crippled all business in 1837. Thus the mill began its first year under a cloud, for the capital subscribed was insufficient to purchase raw cotton and pay wages until the first profits came in. Because of non-payment of wages the first and only experienced manager employed by the company resigned to accept a similar

[13] C. S. Winlord to John W. Carrigan, December 9, 1839, John Warren Carrigan Papers, Flowers Collection, Duke University, hereinafter cited as Carrigan Papers; unsigned note on receipt of July 2, 1848, Tomlin Papers, Flowers Collection, Duke University, hereinafter cited as Tomlin Papers.

[14] *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, XLII (March 1860), 376-377.

[15] *Carolina Watchman*, February 3, 1848; April 12, June 28, 1849.

[16] The following account was taken from the minutes of the stockholders' meetings, which were recorded on 88 unnumbered pages of a large ledger. Papers of the Cane Creek Manufacturing Company, Flowers Collection, Duke University.

position with one of the successful mills in Randolph County.

The debt contracted during the mill's first year was never to be paid. Throughout the 1840's the mill was moderately successful because cotton prices were low and competition was not keen. Power looms were added in 1845 and 1849 for weaving "coarse domestics," and as a last resort a steam plant was installed in 1850. However, the money allotted to meet the notes on the steam plant generally had to be diverted to pay for repairs on the spindle frames, and thus another debt was added to the books. These debts could possibly have been paid, but when any profit was shown, the investors demanded dividends instead.

Almost every vicissitude of the times plagued the company. Some of the best workers succumbed to the lure of the West, others had to be discharged for repeated drunkenness, twenty went off to fight the Mexican War and never returned, and many more, dissatisfied with the mill's twelve-hour working day, returned to the farm. Almost every summer the creek went down and operations were suspended for weeks. Conversely, almost every winter the swollen stream either flooded the mill or damaged the water wheel. Almost every fall and every spring "the fever" came to the mill village, and many were laid low for weeks at a time. All groceries at the company store were sold on careless credit, and consequently the store showed a perennial loss. The mill's yarn and cloth were sold to merchants on credit; few paid promptly and many never paid.

Nevertheless, the managers of the mill seem to have been a hardy lot and were not easily discouraged. When they heard at stockholders' meetings that the mill was averaging an annual production of 47,000 pounds of yarn, 27,000 pounds of thread, 30,000 yards of sheetings, and 5,000 pounds of Osnaburgs, and still there was little profit, they continued to believe that the appointment of yet another one of the major stockholders as president would increase annual dividends. Under this arrangement the management of the mill revolved from one major stockholder to the next until it became the victim of a capricious round-robin that spun

steadily toward failure. The president was required to forego his farming responsibilities to work in the mill for the dollar a day the stockholders voted him. The last sentence of each president's annual report followed the same form of all the predecessors. In the 1840's it usually read, "I made you a thousand dollars I wish I could of made you more." The amount in each closing sentence decreased steadily until in the middle 1850's, for the last three years of the company's existence, the report read, "I didn't make you anything I wish I could of." At last after twenty-one years of running the gamut of major stockholders through the office of president, the mill was sold to Edwin Michael Holt, whose mill on the next creek, the Great Alamance, was more successfully supervised.

Edwin M. Holt, who established the Alamance Factory the same year the Cane Creek mill was built, did not have the problem of stockholders' demands interfering with his more capable management. Holt had become interested in cotton manufacturing as a result of many visits to the Mt. Hecla Cotton Factory in Greensboro, where he met Henry Humphreys, who encouraged him to go ahead in the business. The diary he kept from 1844 to 1854 is a vivid record of the problems facing cotton mill owners and offers repeated testimony to the hard work necessary for success.[17]

Edwin Holt entered the textile field in spite of his father's adamant opposition, a feeling which may have been engendered by the elder Holt's unsuccessful attempt to aid in the organization of the Hillsborough Manufacturing Company in 1813. The pessimism of Holt's father was easily counterbalanced by both the active interest in the project of Chief Justice Ruffin and the encouragement offered by Henry Humphreys. Holt in partnership with his brother-in-law, William A. Carrigan, continued work until his mill building was completed in 1837. The correspondence of the new firm of Holt and Carrigan forms a fascinating catalogue of the astute steps taken by the partners to expand their

[17] Edwin Michael Holt, Diary, 1844-1854, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, hereinafter cited as Holt Diary.

operations. The success with which their efforts were met led Holt's father-in-law, who sold their yarn in his Pittsboro store, to offer his guarded congratulations. "I am glad to here you have started your new machinery and it done well."[18]

The most serious problem facing these pioneer cotton manufacturers was lack of dependable transportation. There were no railroads in the North Carolina Piedmont before 1855, and freight was usually transported by wagon. When Holt received an order from Petersburg, Virginia, for several hundred pounds of yarn, he resorted to writing several friends in neighboring towns to help him locate wagons going near there. The most optimistic reply merely stated that if the correspondent heard of any wagons having Petersburg as their destination he would send them by the mill or send the information to Holt immediately.[19] Other factories, like the Milton Manufacturing Company, sent their products by company wagons. John Wilson, the agent for this mill, wrote Haygood and Claiborne of Danville, "I have charged you and Mr. Ross, one dollar each for the hire of the wagon, which is about equal to ordinary freight-bridge tolls we pay ourselves."[20]

The omnipresent transportation problem led many cotton manufacturers to become ardent promoters of railroad projects, and the increased interest throughout North Carolina in improving transportation facilities became an inestimable aid to cotton mill construction in the decades from 1830 to 1850. Internal improvements were offered by scores of editors and orators as a panacea for all the State's ills. Emigration to the West would cease, depressed farmers would be able to market their crops, and industry would cover the State. Newspaper editors began to welcome the construction of new mills as an added weight to their pleas for railroads.

[18] Thomas Farish to Edwin M. Holt, March 10, 1839, Alamance Mills Collection, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, hereinafter cited as Alamance Mills Collection.

[19] Eli Smith to Edwin M. Holt, March 23, 1839, Alamance Mills Collection.

[20] John Wilson to Haygood and Claiborne, November 1, 1838, William Clark Grasty and John F. Rison Papers, Flowers Collection, Duke University.

As one editor wrote in 1836, if mills continued to spring up, North Carolina could say:

> Then farewell to domestic jars
> All bullying nonsense done —
> An endless chain of railroad cars,
> Will bind us all in one.[21]

It was only natural that cotton mill owners become leaders of the movement for all internal improvement projects. In the multitude of state commercial conventions called to draw up memorials to the legislature for funds to aid in plank road, canal, and railroad building and river clearance, John M. Morehead, Henry Humphreys, and Charles Benbow of Greensboro, Charles P. Mallett of Fayetteville, William Carrigan and Edwin M. Holt of Alamance County, and other mill owners were active spokesmen.[22]

Certainly a potent factor in stimulating mill construction at this time was the growing realization on the part of northern manufacturers of cotton mill machinery that the South was an unexploited but promising field to which they could extend their trade. It seems evident that most machinery used in ante-bellum mills was purchased chiefly from firms in Providence, Rhode Island, Paterson, New Jersey, and New York City. Michael Schenck had made a trip in 1814 to Providence to purchase part of his machinery and to accompany it while it was hauled overland by wagon to Lincoln County. By 1832, however, when Henry Humphreys refitted the Mount Hecla mill in Greensboro, a Paterson, New Jersey, firm had sent the machinery by boat to Charleston, then by wagon to Guilford County. The new departure taken by this firm in sending a mechanic with the machinery to remain as long as eighteen months and instruct the mill workers, rapidly became the policy of northern companies. Charles P. Mallett, who built the largest ante-bellum mill in the State at Fayetteville in 1836, had his 4,500 spindles and 100 looms installed under the supervision of two fore-

[21] *Raleigh Register*, July 5, 1836.
[22] *Raleigh Register*, January 24, 1837; July 16, December 3, 10, 1838; April 18, 1849.

men of the Matteowan Company of New York.[23] Edwin M. Holt recorded in his diary that the northern mechanic who worked with him for the first eighteen months was largely responsible for the success of his mill on Alamance Creek.[24] By the 1850's, advertisements of these eager northern companies were regular features of many North Carolina newspapers. The notices stressed generous credit terms, the ability of the supervisors that would be sent, and the success of their former customers throughout the South.[25]

Newspapers of the time attempted to encourage the manufacturer and prospective manufacturer by citing the possibilities of great success and wealth inherent in the business. Several editors praised the efforts of Thomas McNeely, who built a steam cotton mill at Mocksville. Although his initial brick structure was large enough to contain three thousand spindles, McNeely began his operations modestly with 528 spindles and planned to fill the remaining space with machinery purchased from profits. The editor of the *Charlotte Journal* said of McNeely, "We wish every possible success to the enterprising gentleman who has thus set this worthy example to men richer than himself." [26]

From the time of the report of Charles Fisher in 1828 until the 1850's, many other editors and political leaders, convinced of the benefits of manufacturing, strove valiantly to eradicate the prejudice which a conservative rural population held against innovation. Opponents of factories in the State pointed with alarm to the use of slave labor in the early mills. Many feared that slaves employed in mills would be elevated beyond their status and possibly freed, a development which would have been anathema to most white southerners.[27] The use of slave labor in North Carolina mills, however, never reached the proportions it attained in Tennessee and South Carolina mills, for only three cotton mills used slave labor,

[23] I. W. Wilson to A. D. Gage, December 4, 1847, Tomlin Papers; *Niles' Weekly Register*, L (August 6, 1836), 378.

[24] Holt Diary, March 4, 1845.

[25] *Carolina Republican* (Lincolnton), April 3, 1851, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Republican; Raleigh Register*, February 16, 1852.

[26] *Hillsborough Recorder*, March 17, 1838, quoting the *Charlotte Journal*.

[27] Phillip G. Davidson, "Industrialism in the Ante-Bellum South," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII (October, 1928), 411, hereinafter cited as Davidson, "Ante-Bellum South."

and two of these, Henry Humphreys' mill in Greensboro and Henry Donalson's Fayetteville mill, had converted to white labor by the late 1830's. The remaining mill, Joel Battle's in Rocky Mount, retained its slave operatives until the early 1850's, when the various owners from whom Battle rented slaves protested that since the price of raw cotton was rapidly increasing they were needed in the fields. Although there were a few protests about "taking a Negro's place," the transition to white labor was rapidly made.[28] The fact that slaves were often used to perform menial tasks and act as draymen for the mills did not seem to excite any comment.[29] Thus, with mill labor largely restricted to white workers, the founding of new mills was given increasing attention in North Carolina newspapers.

One of these newer organizations, the Randolph Manufacturing Company, reported even before its cotton factory was completed that the company already had in operation a sawmill and a wool carding machine. The corporation built houses for its workers and made all the bricks used in the construction of the mill building. In an article describing this mill the editor of a Raleigh paper employed the format of a classified advertisement to encourage workers to apply for jobs there. "Here is a fine opening for hardy, industrious young men, who are willing to work hard, live well, earn money honestly, and enjoy one of the most healthful situations in this or any other country." [30]

Often vying with each other to demonstrate their enthusiasm, newspaper editors soon became avid apostles of cotton mill building. They insisted that unless North Carolina overcame her indifference to the industry, she would "incur the contempt of the world, merit the reproaches of posterity, and remain a mere skeleton of a state, destitute of those active propensities which make life a blessing." [31] Familiar

[28] Holland Thompson, *From the Cotton Field to the Cotton Mill* (New York, 1906), 50-53, hereinafter cited as Thompson, *Cotton Mill; Carolina Watchman,* August 23, 1854.

[29] I. W. Wilson to A. D. Gage, December 4, 1847, Tomlin Papers; William A. Carrigan, Sr. to William A. Carrigan, Jr., February 7, 1848, Carrigan Papers.

[30] *Raleigh Register,* April 23, 1838.

[31] *Raleigh Register,* March 14, 1837.

arguments were given a variety of presentations. The economic advantages over New England of savings in bagging, sampling, river and ocean freight, insurance, and drayage charges were often mentioned. New mill sites were pointed out in many counties, almost all of which had "enough power for another Lowell."[32] "The rapid stream, the roaring cataract, which abound through her length and breadth, and the cheapness of labor are all eloquent pleaders for the Manufacturing policy." Editors liked to sit back and envision the results, and one saw the State with "her hills and valleys teeming with a busy and thriving population, her mountain streams and rivers made, every drop, to contribute to the wealth of her citizens; the native intellect and energies of her sons would be stimulated and her name enrolled high up among her sister states."[33] Merchants who continued to buy yarn from the North were shamed with patriotic fervor. The factories of the 1830's were heartening indeed to the Raleigh editor who concluded, "The wild enthusiastic views of the *few*, and the cold indifference of the *many*, are becoming blended together into a generous glow of steady and united patriotism, which must have its effects."[34]

The effect, however, was not so great as the enthusiastic few might have hoped, and each editor was careful to preface his remarks with the idea that agriculture was still the true calling of most of the State's inhabitants. The propaganda campaign, which had been on occasion vociferous in the 1830's, faded into complacency by the late 1840's, and had little effect on the industry in the 1850's, as higher cotton prices had refocused attention on the cotton field rather than on the mill. When Alfred G. Foster told the Randolph County Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, the Mechanic Arts and Manufacturers in 1855 that the "true policy of North Carolina is to encourage the establishment and growth of manufactories,"[35] his had become like a still, small voice in

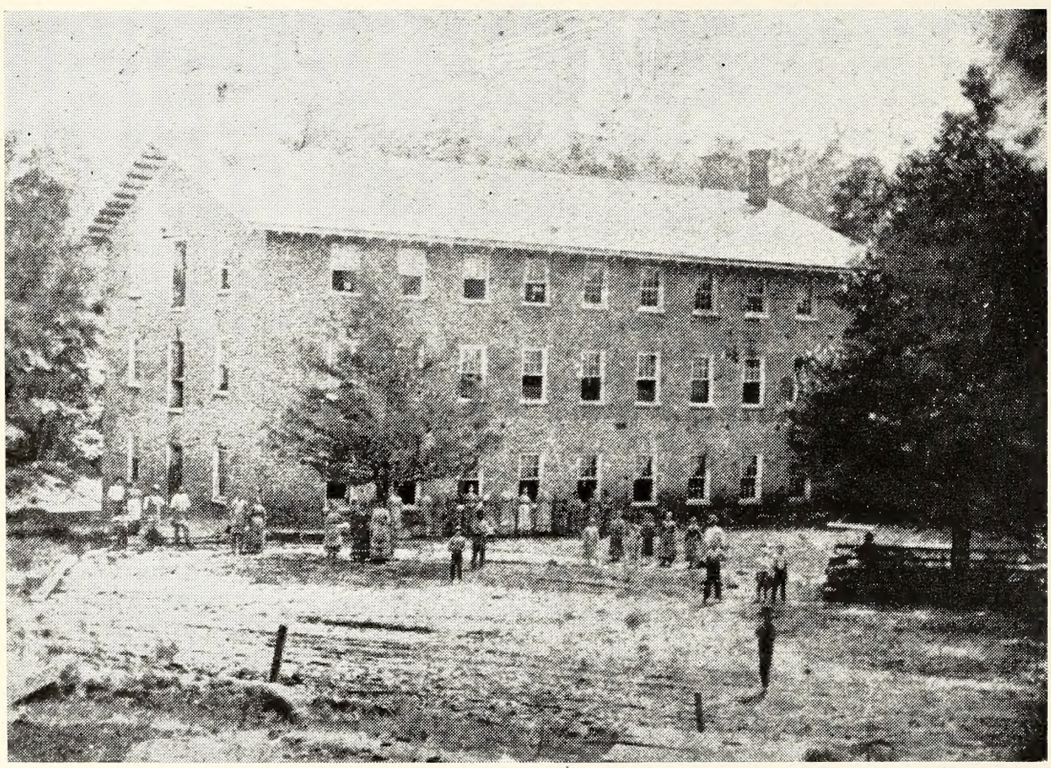
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[32] *Carolina Watchman*, July 12, 1835; *Raleigh Register*, November 5, 1833; June 6, 1837.

[33] *Raleigh Register*, June 16, 1849.

[34] *Raleigh Register*, March 14, October 9, 1837.

[35] Alfred G. Foster, *Address before the Randolph County Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, the Mechanic Arts and Manufactures* (Lexington, 1855), 18.



Photograph courtesy of Mr. John W. Clark

Built in 1840, this first mill of the Franklinville Manufacturing Company is shown as it appeared in 1875. The Franklinville mill in Randolph County is typical of over thirty textile mills constructed in the North Carolina Piedmont during the expansion of the industry in the 1840's.

a state wedded to the soil. Thus the propaganda campaign of this period must be considered as more a prelude to the vast enthusiasm for textile mills in the New South period. It was not a sustained effort, and the later occasional voices advocating cotton manufacturing could not have the effect that the chorus of such voices had in the 1880's.

Within the decade of the 1830's when the sentiment favoring southern industry was at its peak, a score of cotton mills were placed in operation in North Carolina. Most of these were two-story frame structures built by the banks of a river or stream, utilizing water power to propel a ten or twelve foot water wheel that operated the four 132-spindle frames that were so common with the beginning manufacturer. Several of these early mills, however, took the familiar form of most later mill buildings. These were three or four story brick structures with two towers in front which contained the mill's staircases and were sometimes topped with ornamental nineteenth-century Gothic filigree.

In 1832 John Trollinger, grandson of a German immigrant who had built one of the first grist mills in Orange County, constructed the High Falls Manufacturing Company, which was located on the grist mill's site on the Haw River and operated a thousand spindles producing coarse yarn for local use. This was the first of six mills to be built before 1860 in that section of the county which became Alamance County in 1849.[36]

In a single year, 1836, six more mills began operations, four in the adjoining central Piedmont counties of Randolph, Chatham, Forsyth, and Orange, and two in the town of Fayetteville. Two of these mills deserve mention because their success led either to the construction of new mills by their owners or to the consolidation of less successful mills into their management.

Charles P. Mallett, a planter and merchant of Fayetteville, found his hometown, already the site of Donaldson's Fayetteville Mill, to be an ideal location for his successful ventures in cotton manufacturing. His first mill, the Phoenix, built

[36] Sallie W. Stockard, *The History of Alamance* (Raleigh, 1900), 143-145, hereinafter cited as Stockard, *Alamance*; *Raleigh Register*, November 22, 1836.

in the spring of 1836, was an immediately prosperous concern. A Raleigh editor commented that the cheapness of labor, the convenience of the market, and the demand for his goods was making Mallett a wealthy man.[37] Yet Phoenix Mill with its one thousand spindles was apparently too small to supply the demand, so Mallett in the same year incorporated a local company, raised over $100,000 in capital, and built the Rock Fish Manufacturing Company, which was to become the largest mill in the State. The company's ready capital allowed it to purchase the best northern machinery, and soon the mill operated 4,500 spindles and 100 looms. There can be little doubt that the success of this company later helped influence Charles Benbow, John Hall, and Duncan Murchison to build their mills in Fayetteville in 1840. The location of Fayetteville and the ease with which these mills could make occasional shipments of yarn to New York and Philadelphia accounted for the prosperity enjoyed by all six local mills until the Civil War.[38]

By 1838 the cotton factories at Fayetteville were gaining an excellent national as well as state reputation. The factory of Charles Mallett had already begun sending yarns to northern markets. As a result of this practice he received an order for four thousand pounds of yarn monthly from St. Louis. This early demand for Fayetteville yarn led newspaper editor E. J. Hale to comment that such an order should not only be an indication of the excellence of the manufactures of the area, but should be encouraging to those engaged in the business and to those who were considering such investments.[39]

Dennis Heartt, editor of the *Hillsborough Recorder,* predicted a great future for the cotton industry of North Carolina, "On the whole, the manufacturers of the Northern States need not much longer count North Carolina as one of their markets: they may rather regard her as a competitor, and one who will soon become very formidable."[40]

[37] *Raleigh Register,* July 26, 1836.
[38] *The Patriot,* October 14, 1843; *Niles' Weekly Register,* XIV (June 18, 1843), 272; *Raleigh Register,* November 15, 1836.
[39] *Hillsborough Recorder,* November 29, 1838, citing the *Fayetteville Observer.*
[40] *Hillsborough Recorder,* July 19, 1838.

The rapid growth of the cotton textile industry in the thirties created a change in the general trading pattern of the State. Within a few years the shipment of North Carolina cotton had declined, and the demand for yarn was met at home. Only ten years after the Rocky Mount Mill had begun entering northern markets, the *Charlotte Journal* reported that many bales of cotton textiles were being shipped regularly to New York and Philadelphia.[41] Editorials in local papers graphically pointed out the advantages of such industry to the planter and farmer, who could now secure the same prices for their products at home, when once they had to send them to distant market towns to get the best price. Now the State's raw materials were being used at home, giving employment to needy people and profits to local investors. A Greensboro editor believed that such a program would bring to a halt the "depopulating and impoverishing tide of emigration" and create a state of growing prosperity for North Carolinians.[42]

In the Piedmont section the Holts' Alamance Mill did as much to promote the growth of the textile industry as did the mills of Charles Mallett in the Fayetteville region. During the first years of the Alamance Mill's existence, when only yarn was produced, the old water wheel of the grist mill was used to operate the spindle frames, but in 1845 when the mill was enlarged by the addition of a second group of 528 spindles, a new and larger water wheel was constructed. Like other mill owners of the State, Holt drew his workers from the immediate neighborhood of the mill and directed their instruction as mill hands. Purchasing his raw cotton from farmers in the county, Holt manufactured only coarse yarn for home weaving until twelve looms were added to the mill in 1848.[43] By 1860 yarn was still the chief product of the mill, but ninety-six looms had been added to produce a larger amount of cotton cloth. Although Holt has several references in his diary to work stoppages due to high or low

[41] *Charlotte Journal*, May 11, 1838.
[42] *The Patriot*, March 6, 1839.
[43] Alfred A. Holt to William A. Carrigan, Jr., May 8, 1849, Carrigan Papers; Holt Diary, October 14, 1844.

water in Alamance Creek, the mill was apparently well-managed and profitable.[44]

The most significant event in the ante-bellum development of this mill was the introduction of a dyeing process in 1853. In that year an almost destitute French dyer happened to be travelling by the mill and offered to teach the process to Holt and his son Thomas M. Holt in return for $100 if his efforts were successful. With the use of makeshift equipment, a dye shed was constructed, and the yarn processed there was woven into "Alamance plaids," the first colored cotton cloth woven on power looms in the South.[45] The popularity of this cloth assured the continued success of the mill, and the profits derived allowed Holt to purchase the Cane Creek mill in 1857 and the Haw River Factory in 1860. By adhering strictly to a policy of re-investing his profits into the mills and training his sons in mill management, Holt became the head of one of the most important textile families in North Carolina.[46]

In the same year that Holt began building the Alamance Mill, his friend and later business associate, Francis Fries, completed his first cotton mill at Salem. In order to save each other time and expense the two mill owners cooperated by making alternate trips to the North where they investigated new improvements in machinery, ascertained marketing conditions, and sought other information which might be of assistance in their growing businesses.[47]

In 1838 Governor John Motley Morehead erected the Leaksville Factory on the Dan River in Rockingham County, which presented an impressive appearance. The three-story stone mill, built at the head of a large canal and operated by a twenty-five foot waterwheel, was surrounded by a flour and grist mill, a cotton seed oil mill, and the brick cottages of the factory village.[48] Governor Morehead left no doubt,

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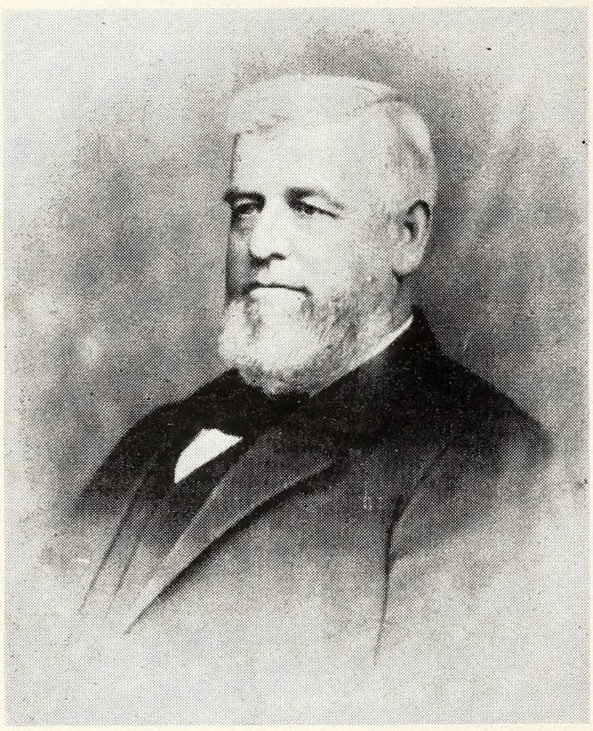
[44] Holt Diary, May 31, October 11, 1845; March 6, June 13, 1846.

[45] Stockard, *Alamance*, 91-92, quoting T. M. Holt; *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), April 12, 1896.

[46] Stockard, *Alamance*, 93.

[47] F. H. Fries, "The History of the Fries Family," typescript copy, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

[48] *Raleigh Register*, July 16, 1838; *The Patriot*, September 30, 1843; September 2, 1854; *Carolina Watchman*, June 5, 1840.



The career of Hugh S. Parks, Sr. (1827-1913) of Franklinville, Randolph County, typifies the continuation of management from ante-bellum cotton mills to many of the New South era. In 1858 he assumed the management of the Island Ford Mill, a wooden building on the Deep River built in 1845 by Elisha Coffin, A. S. Horney, and George Makepeace. Under Parks' direction the small mill with only 1,700 spindles and twenty-five looms was expanded by 1900 into one of the leading textile producers of the State.

even in state papers, of his active interest in the promotion of the infant industry. In a campaign debate for the governorship in 1842, Morehead pointed out that his wealth had gone to develop "manufacturing, mechanical and farming operations, by which he afforded employment to many of his poor neighbors, mechanics, etc."[49] In a speech to a Democratic legislature he unhesitatingly upheld Whig doctrines. The governor attacked free trade and the competition of European pauper labor. "We have the power not only to raise Revenue by imposing duties, but we have the power, by imposing them, to protect American Industry against European industry."[50]

There were many other entrepreneurs of lesser standing than Holt, Fries, or Morehead, who became overly encouraged by the low price of raw cotton in the years following the Panic of 1837 and built less successful cotton factories. A typical one of those produced by the panic was the Milledgeville Cotton Factory on the Yadkin River in Montgomery County, twenty-two miles east of Salisbury. Its builder, Edward Burrage, in 1838 added a frame extension to the grist mill on his farm and spun coarse yarn which was bartered or sold in the neighborhood.[51] Since this mill did not survive the decade of the 1850's, it seems probable that the higher prices of raw cotton during these years led Burrage back to his farming operations.

A more successful attempt was the Cedar Falls Manufacturing Company on Deep River, six miles above Asheboro. Benjamin Elliott, its local organizer, had sufficient foresight to secure adequate capital for the mill's operation by selling stock to many of the community's leading citizens. The first mill was completed in 1837 and began spinning its coarse yarn. Prosperity followed and the mill was enlarged in 1846. A new brick building was constructed, 54 looms were added, capital was increased to $60,000, and 120 people were given steady employment.[52] Elliott very wisely decided to display

[49] *Hillsborough Recorder*, May 25, 1843; *Raleigh Register*, January 5, 1841.
[50] *Raleigh Register*, November 25, 1842.
[51] *Carolina Watchman*, December 12, 1840; *Raleigh Register*, July 16, 1838.
[52] *Raleigh Register*, March 14, 1837; August 22, 1849.

conspicuously a brand name on all the mill's products, and by the late 1840's, "Cedar Falls" yarn and cloth were known throughout the State.[53]

The decade of the 1830's ended full of promise for future progress in the cotton textile industry of the State, with North Carolina able to boast of twenty-five factories in active operation.[54] The expansion of the textile industry had been so rapid that *Niles' Weekly Register* reported in 1840 that North Carolina had a greater number of factories of different kinds than there had been in all the southern states in 1830.[55] Edward J. Hale, editor of the *Fayetteville Observer,* was so inspired by the general development of the cotton industry in his state that he gave a special toast at the Charleston Commercial Convention in 1839, "North Carolina is rapidly developing all her resources, multiplying her facilities of internal and external intercourse, and is making such progress in manufacture, that ere long she will be found importing cotton from her Southern neighbors, and exporting her fabrics in return."[56] Hale's own home city furnished ample justification for assuming this prophetic tone, for Fayetteville had three cotton factories in the city, two others in the county, and three new mills in various stages of organization.

Despite a temporary recession in trade and the general tightening of investment capital in the years following the Panic of 1837, newspapers published many stirring editorials from 1840 to 1844 in an attempt to maintain the interest of North Carolinians, large capitalists and the investing public alike, in cotton factories. In 1840 and 1841 North Carolina editors confidently chronicled the completion of seven new mills in both Piedmont and coastal sections. Various publications, both inside and outside the State, made attempts to estimate or to list the number of cotton mills and their locations.[57] The *Western Carolinian* noted the operation of twenty-seven factories valued at close to a million dollars, operating

[53] Receipt, September 30, 1847, and undated notes, George W. Johnson Papers.
[54] See appended list of cotton factories.
[55] *Niles' Weekly Register,* LXVIII (May 2, 1840), 138.
[56] *Western Carolinian,* April 11, 1839.
[57] *Hillsborough Recorder,* September 1, 1841.

47,931 spindles, and employing 1,219 workers.[58] A letter from a North Carolina manufacturer in the *National Intelligencer* discussed the progress of the cotton industry in the state and reported the existence of

> twenty cotton factories, worked by, I presume, 1,800 white operatives, and, although N. Carolina will obtrude herself upon the time of Congress with petitions for a discriminating tariff, yet she is to be vitally affected by it, in the success of those large factories recently established. I am now shipping a lot of goods directly to New Bedford, and expect to supply that market with a portion of what they require for shipment around Cape Horn.[59]

Continued expansion in the cotton industry led the editor of the *Wilmington Chronicle* to rhapsodize over the increasing industrial interest in the State and its future prospects. He reported with obvious pride the export of North Carolina textiles to the North, much of which came from mills in the interior of the State.[60] Such exports were not at all uncommon, for manufactured goods had been shipped occasionally since 1828 and with great regularity after 1835.

Two of the four mills established in 1840 had especially far-reaching influence, for they were established in towns which took a prominent role in the post-war textile expansion of the State, and from their initial construction they were operated by steam power, rather than the more popular but less dependable waterpower. The Concord Manufacturing Company was incorporated in 1840 under the leadership of Isborn Cannon, Paul Barringer, and John Phifer, and their initial $30,000 capital was used to purchase both spindles and a sixty-horsepower steam engine. Soon power looms were added, and the new machinery to produce cotton twine made the mill the first in the State to compete with Kentucky hemp manufacturers. All these products elicited praise from a sympathetic and encouraging press.[61] Editors urged planters and

[58] *Western Carolinian,* September 9, 1842.
[59] *Charlotte Journal,* May 12, 1842, quoting the *National Intelligencer.*
[60] *Hillsborough Recorder,* February 4, 1841, quoting the *Wilmington Chronicle*; *Charlotte Journal,* April 12, 1845.
[61] *Carolina Watchman,* April 12, 1845; October 9, 1846; *The Patriot,* October 14, 1843.

farmers of the South to begin using cotton bagging and twine, instead of hemp, for baling their cotton, and the new Concord mill was suggested as a source for these manufactures. The products of this factory were termed "superior to any articles of the kind we have seen . . . the twine seems to be an excellent article and much stronger than ordinary hemp twine." The *Camden Journal* (South Carolina) urged the planters of that area to encourage this home enterprise.[62]

The other of these two mills, the Salisbury Cotton Factory, was the object of great civic pride in its small community. The three-storied brick building was 125 feet long and 40 feet wide, and its tower was crowned with an ornamental cupola. Since it was only one-fourth of a mile from the courthouse, a daily walk to the mill became a new diversion for the townspeople. The Matteowan Company of New York had installed the initial one thousand spindles, but before the end of the first year, another supervisor from the company had arrived with two thousand more and fifty looms. The shirting, sheeting, Osnaburg, and yarn which the mill produced were declared by the local editor to be "the best in the state."[63]

Because capital was greatly constricted in the wake of the Panic of 1837, there was little activity in the construction of new cotton mills between 1840 and 1845. In the latter year four small mills in Orange, Randolph, and Montgomery counties began modest operation. The years 1847-1850, however, mark the second and last significant building period before 1860. In these four years sixteen new mills were built, largely in the Piedmont section and at least four of them in newly-industrialized counties near the South Carolina state line. Two mills built in Mecklenburg County were successful enough to aid in the growth of the county seat, Charlotte, as a marketing center of the surrounding counties. The Catawba Factory, built in 1848 on an excellent water site on the Catawba River, was equipped with new and improved northern machinery which produced yarn and sheeting that was apparently superior to that of some of the older mills. It

[62] *Hillsborough Recorder*, April 10, 1845, quoting the *Camden Journal*; *Charlotte Journal*, April 12, 1845.

[63] *Carolina Watchman*, December 19, 1840; *Carolina Republican*, January 27, 1853.

quickly acquired a reputation "that made all its products sell easily," largely through the expert management of its owner General William N. Neal of Charlotte and his Rhode Island superintendent, George Brown. General Neal employed as agents two brothers, H. B. and L. L. Williams, who traveled over the State taking orders for the Catawba products. When these orders were received at the mill, the company's wagons would deliver the cotton yarn and cloth directly to the merchants. Such merchandising paid ample reward, and General Neal was widely respected as a "pioneer industrialist." [64] The other mill in Mecklenburg County, the Rock Island Manufacturing Company, was also built in 1848 and was owned in partnership by Messrs. Carson, Young, and Grier of Charlotte. Capitalizing on the skill of workers long accustomed to domestic carding and weaving, the mill produced both cotton and woolen yarn and cloth, "which are equal, if they are not superior, to any similar work produced in this country." From the founding of the mill until after the Civil War, the popular brand name of the company gave it a constant market for its products, but honesty as to its comparative quality led the owners to advertise only by guaranteeing "that their fabric shall be suited to the market for which they are made, . . . and will give satisfaction to both merchant and customer." [65] Despite the company's moderate claims for its textile wares, the mill was awarded a prize at the Georgia State Fair in 1853, the only out-of-state company to be so recognized. The founders received a further accolade when "The judges . . . recommend[ed] the cassimeres manufactured by Grier, Carson & Young, to the notice of southern merchants, as being very superior." [66]

In Gaston County, the district adjoining Mecklenburg, the textile industry was initiated in 1845 when the Woodlawn Factory was begun by the Lineberger brothers, who were soon joined by Moses H. Rhyne, later to become a benefactor of Lenoir-Rhyne College. The ante-bellum Woodlawn Factory was a frame building on stone foundations. Its superior

[64] *Carolina Watchman*, April 12, August 30, 1849.
[65] *Raleigh Register*, April 9, 1851, quoting the *Charleston Mercury*; *DeBow's Review*, XXXVI (January, 1867), 90.
[66] *DeBow's Review*, XIV (February, 1853), 192-193.

machinery, purchased in England and Philadelphia, was shipped to Charleston and then by railroad and wagon to the site of the mill. The operation of the various divisions of the mill were capably directed for many years by the chief stockholders "as suited each one's ability." In 1848, the year that the Woodlawn organization began operations, Jasper and E. B. Stowe opened the smaller but successful Stowesville Mill, the second cotton factory in a district soon to become famous as a major textile area.[67] A year later Thomas Tate, son-in-law of Henry Humphreys, transferred the prosperous Mt. Hecla Mill from Greensboro to Mountain Island on the Catawba River in Gaston County. The shortage of wood around Greensboro and the excellent water power available at the new location led Tate to select Mountain Island as a superior mill site. The young owner easily converted the remains of a canal there, originally intended as a link in conveying cotton by boat to Charleston, into a mill race and soon began production of plain sheeting to be used for underclothing and shirts. Some of the cloth woven for ladies' dresses was dyed with copperas, maple bark, or sumac berries to provide southern women with more attractive southern textiles.[68]

Trading practices in the State, however, failed to keep pace with progress in construction, for as late as 1848 many factories were still bartering for their yarn and cloth. In that year Gwyn and Hickerson, operating a retail store at Wilkesboro, received from the Leaksville mill of Governor Morehead 500 bunches of yarn and 2,409 yards of 4/4 sheeting. The superintendent of the mill wrote the merchants, "I understand him [Morehead] to say you had 100$ worth of trade which he has agreed to take please send that down by wagon also."[69] One of these Wilkesboro merchants, James Gwyn, like so many others who had first-hand knowledge of the demand for cotton goods, later invested heavily in the local mills at Patterson and Elkin.

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[67] Minnie Stowe Puett, *History of Gaston County* (Charlotte, 1939), 183-186.

[68] *Charlotte Journal*, March 23, 1849.

[69] J. H. Bullard to Gwyn and Hickerson, April 10, 1848, James Gwyn Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

Throughout the late ante-bellum period, the Lenoir family, so successful during the pioneer years of the industry, continued its construction of cotton factories in western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee. Major William Lenoir of Tennessee wrote to the North Carolina members of the family inquiring about the plans of James Gwyn and E. W. Jones to found new cotton mill companies. Jones had succeeded in organizing a company and was then in the process of constructing a mill. His new Yadkin Factory was making brick for the main building and constructing a dam to provide water power. One of the Tennessee major's sons, Thomas Lenoir, wrote from the newly established Elkin Factory, "I look upon the manufacturing establishments springing up in every part of North Carolina as the surest hope for future wealth and prosperity."[70]

North Carolina editors in the late 1840's shared this optimism and predicted that in the future the greatest cotton growing states would be the greatest cotton manufacturing states. This trend was deemed inevitable, for "western North Carolina, northwestern South Carolina, north Georgia and Alabama, and parts of Tennessee, afford some of the finest water power on the globe, . . . contiguous to the cotton."[71] In the 1840's it was becoming increasingly clear to North Carolinians that they could not remain prosperous by growing cotton alone, especially since the staple was then being overproduced and the price constantly lowered. Using an argument with a peculiarly modern ring, editors contended that the only hope of the State to remain economically independent was to diversify its labor.[72] The *Philadelphia News* mentioned the increasing number of cotton factories throughout the South and observed that planters were *"tired of selling their raw cotton for five cents a pound, when by simply spinning it into yarn, they can get twelve."*[73] As a general rule, intense agitation for even more cotton mills was a product of each slump in the agricultural market, while actual

[70] Thomas Lenoir, Jr. to William B. Lenoir, April 2, 1849, Lenoir Family Papers.
[71] *Charlotte Journal,* June 21, 1848.
[72] *Charlotte Journal,* April 20, 1849.
[73] *Charlotte Journal,* April 20, 1849, quoting the *Philadelphia News.*

mill building generally occurred in the periods of prosperity before 1850.

Dissatisfaction with prevailing cotton prices reached its peak in the 1850 season, before the sharp price increases which characterized the last decade preceding the Civil War. A result of this discontent was the enthusiasm evident at the meeting of the first manufacturers' convention held in North Carolina. A large group of state industrialists assembled in Raleigh in December, 1850, to hold an organizational meeting. John M. Morehead of the Leaksville Factory served as president, and Colonel H. B. Elliott of the Cedar Falls mill made the main address. After expressing a public spirit independent of its members' individual manufacturing interests, the group declared that its chief aim was to aid in the improvement of manufacturing in North Carolina. The members resolved to organize a permanent society "in order to promote and encourage all those engaged in the various branches of productive industry, and to stimulate and reward enterprise, excellence and skill." The organization was to follow the lead of other southern states and hold at its annual meetings an exhibition of articles in agricultural, manufacturing, mining, and mechanical departments. In early 1851 this group sponsored the first North Carolina state fair, which was held at the time of the annual meeting of the legislature.[74] By means of this fair the society expected to display the products of the progressive manufacturers and agriculturists of the state and reward outstanding exhibits with prizes. Edward J. Hale, editor of the *Fayetteville Observer*, praised the fair as a means of attracting attention to locally produced items and bringing about improvements in both manufactures and agriculture.[75] Thus with confident visions of future prosperity the period of greatest cotton mill expansion came to an end.

One of the most significant results of the development of cotton manufacturing in the State was the changing attitude toward factory work and mill ownership. The dignity of mill

[74] *Hillsborough Recorder*, January 8, 1851; *Raleigh Register*, November 30, December 12, 1850.
[75] *Fayetteville Observer*, November 21, 1851.

labor was a popular theme in the State. The mill laborer was no longer to be considered as grubbing for his food at a task beneath his dignity, because he, like his fellow workers, was "a shining hero standing on a hill in the sunlight."[76] Young men were admonished not to loiter in the village streets but to find employment by joining the "heroes" at the local mill.[77] A Raleigh editor reflected that no situation in the world was more enviable than that of the American working man, "free for everything for which Heaven designed him; untrammeled in his opinions, and left to the guidance of his own genius, he walks erect in the full stature of a man."[78] Freeman Hunt aided the campaign by stating, "A great good to society must result from the employment of thousands of idle and immoral persons, who are now consumers and not producers." Such glowing phrases may have taken some effect, for an English traveler in the State in 1855 noted, perhaps optimistically, that there was no stigma attached to mill work.[79]

Editors were often careful to point to the moral responsibility of the owners. A Salisbury editor conceded that pecuniary gain must be the motive of the mill builders, but they were to remember for the good of the community that they were running not only a cotton machine but a "moral machine," which must encourage education, improve the standards of living, and thus raise the morals of the community.[80]

Most mill owners seemed to accept this responsibility as an intrinsic part of their position as employers. The workers at the Snow Camp Factory in Orange County were provided with a building which served as a library carrying several state newspapers and religious tracts. No distilleries, "grog-shops," or "race-grounds" were allowed near the community.[81] At the Alamance Factory a school was operated three months of the year to teach the workers' children "Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic" and here, too, no whisky was

[76] *Raleigh Register*, May 25, 1834.
[77] *Carolina Watchman*, March 11, 1843.
[78] *Raleigh Register*, August 16, 1836.
[79] *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, XXIII (September, 1850), 346; *DeBow's Review*, XVIII (April, 1855), 538.
[80] *Carolina Watchman*, August 23, 1845.
[81] *Raleigh Register*, January 1, 1838.

allowed.[82] Alamance Factory was also the scene of occasionally fervent religious activities. Robert Carrigan, a student at the University of North Carolina, visited a revival held for the workers of the mill. His father recounted in amusement that "they got to shouting and praying about him and scared him half to death he could not get out of the house, there is but three girls at the Factory but what professed religion."[83] The Battle's Rocky Mount mill provided workers with a school, a clinic, and a church. At the Salisbury factory adults and children were taught to read and write, church attendance was required, and liquor was forbidden.[84] The mill owner was directly aided in his control of morals by the power of the state. The legislature in several charters attempted to control the sale of liquor to mill workers and provide for their education. One charter provided that no person would be allowed to sell liquor to the operatives or sell it within one mile of the factory. A fine of twenty dollars was to be assessed if this law were broken, and the money collected was to be divided between the local school district and the informer.[85] A second charter provided that of such fines "one half of the money shall be applied to the benefit of the moral or literary instruction of the operatives in said factory. . . ."[86]

The houses provided by the rural mill owners seem to have been uniformly worthy of praise. A Charlotte editor visited the Catawba Factory in 1849 and wrote, "We found the factory snugly ensconced on the side of the noble Catawba in a very pretty romantic little cove. The village of cottages around, pleasantly located on the shady and verdant knolls, makes the place wear a cosy air of rural ease and comfort, quite delightful."[87]

An increasingly potent factor in the new attitude toward cotton mill workers and owners was a growing feeling of sectional pride in the South's new-found talent for manufac-

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[82] "Articles of Agreement," January 12, 1847, Carrigan Papers.
[83] W. A. Carrigan to W. A. Carrigan, Jr., July 22, 1853, Carrigan Papers.
[84] *Fayetteville Observer*, July 16, 1843; Thompson, *Cotton Mill*, 52-53.
[85] *Laws of the State of North Carolina, 1848-1849*, 320.
[86] *Laws of the State of North Carolina, 1850-1851*, 580.
[87] *Carolina Watchman*, August 30, 1849, quoting the *Hornet's Nest* (Charlotte).

turing. With the coming of the bitter disputes between the North and South, southerners began to feel that each year the South was coming increasingly under the domination of the northern industrialist. To many in the South this rising economic power could only result in a concomitant increase in political power, and as a means of decreasing potential northern pressure, many advocated industrial development.[88] This feeling was expressed by a South Carolinian in *Niles' Register,* who wrote in 1845, "As long as we are tributaries, dependent on foreign labor and skill for food, clothing, and countless necessities of life, we are in thralldom."[89]

The concept of encouraging manufacturing in order to protect and insure the independence of the South appeared as early as 1837 when the editor of the *Raleigh Register* noted in the North, "a wide and deep and secret current running against the South," as a result of abolitionists' movements, and admonished the South to be vigilant and become self-sufficient.[90] The same theme appeared in 1850 when, as a result of the sectional controversy of that year, the editor advised the South that it should "quietly and steadily raise up manufactories among ourselves using our resources and skill and enterprise and labor" rather than spend time grumbling about the North, since "the idea of southern independence was foolish" until the South was economically independent.[91] But there were encouraging signs. Pride in mill development was augmented by a "heartfelt satisfaction at their prosperity," as the South, following a policy dictated "not only by wisdom but by self-preservation" was beginning to realize the importance of cotton manufacturing.[92]

A Salisbury editor felt that the South should manufacture all its necessary yarn and coarse cloth, for "When it does this, the North will have learnt a lesson, and we shall be independent and prosperous."[93] This southern manufacturing should be patronized by all, even the wealthy who seemed

[88] Davidson, "Ante-Bellum South," 410-411.
[89] *Niles' Weekly Register,* LXVIII (April 19, 1845), 103.
[90] *Raleigh Register,* February 28, 1837.
[91] *Raleigh Register,* October 2, 1850.
[92] *Fayetteville Observer,* October 13, 1847; August 23, 1849.
[93] *Carolina Watchman,* March 29, 1849.

to prefer imported or northern cloth and clothing. There was a constant complaint from mill owners that local merchants refused to buy North Carolina textiles. Much of the yarn and cloth made in the State was exported to markets in the North, where it was often purchased and sent back to the State. This expensive practice led E. J. Hale of the *Fayetteville Observer* to remark that cotton textiles "some times have new virtues, before undiscovered, imparted to them by being sold in the North."[94]

Southerners were encouraged to exert their energy to produce "articles of prime necessity to free the South from *Old* and *New* England." "Looking both to our honor and our interest, we should rally to the support of factories and render ourselves independent of other sections so far as we can."[95] Such speeches and articles were often climaxed with bright visions of the southern future, like that expressed by a political speaker in Salisbury, who said: "May the day hasten on when Western North Carolina and the South shall become, as they seem designed by nature to be, one of the finest manufacturing districts in the United States."[96] Thus sectional pride had given to cotton manufacturing a greater degree of respectability than it would have otherwise obtained.

By the early 1850's, the North Carolina cotton industry had begun to stabilize. The ten-year depression in the price of raw cotton abruptly shifted in the 1849-1850 season, when prices paid were double those of the previous years. This unexpected rise had unfortunate consequences for the manufacturing industry. When the price of their raw material doubled cotton mills from Rhode Island to Virginia were forced to close or operate only part-time, while mills in the more southern states suffered from the same loss of profits to a somewhat lesser degree. The low tariff, the high price of cotton, and the manufacture of too many coarse goods were causes listed by J. D. B. DeBow for the recession in the industry. "The first we cannot discuss without being drawn

[94] *Fayetteville Observer*, June 16, 1856.
[95] *The Southerner* (Tarboro), September 3, 1850; *The Patriot*, June 3, 1849.
[96] *Carolina Watchman*, March 29, 1849.

into politics. The second effects manufactures by turning capital into other channels; and the third by overstocking the market with coarse goods, leaving our citizens dependent on other countries for finer ones."[97]

After the early 1850's the increased price of raw cotton, bringing greater prosperity to the planter and increased hardships to the manufacturer, effectively lessened the wide interest which had been shown by newspapers in new cotton factories. The change of editorial emphasis became increasingly evident as more columns were devoted to the defense of southern institutions, attacks on abolitionists, and discussions of shifting political alignments. Many southerners, in direct antithesis to the earlier propaganda campaign, found new comfort in pointing out that industry, as conducted in the North, was worse than slavery, for it brutalized and degraded the factory operative and cast him off once his efficiency had declined. It was only natural that the majority of southerners, who had always felt more at home near cotton fields than in cotton factories, continued to devote themselves primarily to agriculture.

There were approximately fifty cotton mills operating in North Carolina when the Civil War began. From 1861 to 1865 these mills were to perform yeoman service for both the State and the Confederacy. Almost without exception North Carolina mills worked at full capacity throughout these four years, and many operated day and night. From one-half to three-fourths of their yarn and cloth was purchased by the State government and often used as barter to secure the supplies needed by State troops in the Confederate armies. During the last months of the war the Confederate government drew its entire supply of textile goods from the mills of upland North Carolina.[98] Cotton factories not burned by Sherman's or Stoneman's forces emerged from the war as bankrupt companies with worn and obsolescent machinery, but their own record of production during the war justified

[97] J. D. B. DeBow, *The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States* (New Orleans, 1852), I, 210.

[98] *DeBow's Review,* XXXVI (January, 1867), 89-90; Elizabeth Yates Webb, "Cotton Manufacturing and State Regulation in North Carolina, 1861-1865," *North Carolina Historical Review,* IX (April, 1932), 117-137.

the faith their owners had shown in the North Carolina textile industry.

For the years ahead the ante-bellum mills had also provided a valuable service. Despite the precarious existence of mills in the late 1860's and 1870's, there was never a complete breakdown of the industry in the State, and the vast textile expansion after 1880 was built on the foundations that had existed for decades. In the 1880's mills were operating that had been under the same family management and had had the same families of workers since the 1830's and 1840's. It was this asset—a number of communities with manufacturing traditions and training and enough mills to form a nucleus for further growth—that attracted capital and made the North Carolina Piedmont the textile center of the New South.

## APPENDIX

## NORTH CAROLINA COTTON MILLS, 1830-1865

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Neuse Mfg. Co.[1] | Wake | 1832 | water |
| Patterson Cotton Factory[2] | Caldwell | 1834 | water |
| Richmond Mfg. Co.[3] | Richmond | 1834 | water |
| Big Falls Mfg. Co.[4] | Orange* | 1835 | water |
| Iredell Mfg. Co.[5] | Iredell | 1835** | water |
| Northampton Mfg. Co.[6] | Northampton | 1835 | water |
| Cane Creek Farmers' and Mechanics' Mfg. Co.[7] | Orange* | 1836 | water |
| Cedar Falls Mfg. Co.[8] | Randolph | 1836 | water |
| Milton Mfg. Co.[9] | Caswell | 1836 | water |
| Mocksville Cotton Factory[10] | Davie | 1836 | steam |
| Mt. Arrarat Cotton Factory[11] | Orange* | 1836 | water |
| Salem Mfg. Co.[12] | Forsyth | 1836 | water |
| Alamance Cotton Mill [13] | Orange* | 1836 | water |
| Rockfish Mfg. Co.[14] | Cumberland | 1837 | water |
| Franklinville Mfg. Co.[15] | Randolph | 1837 | water |
| Hunting Creek Factory[16] | Surry | 1837 | water |
| Lexington Cotton Factory[17] | Davidson | 1838 | steam |
| Montgomery Mfg. Co.[18] | Montgomery | 1838 | water |
| Randolph Mfg. Co.[19] | Randolph | 1838 | water |

[1] *The Patriot,* October 14, 1843. These notes have been selected from a larger number of references found in private papers, newspapers, census reports, and local records.

[2] Mrs. Lindsay Patterson Papers, Duke University; *The Patriot,* October 14, 1843.

[3] *The Register,* July 16, 1838.

[4] *The Register,* November 22, 1836.

[5] *Carolina Watchman,* July 15, 1836.

[6] *The Patriot,* October 14, 1843.

[7] *The Register,* June 7, 1836; June 1, 1839; *The Patriot,* September 30, 1843.

[8] *The Register,* March 14, 1837; August 22, 1849; *The Patriot,* September 30, 1843.

[9] *The Register,* July 16, 1838.

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[11] *The Register,* January 1, 1838.

[12] *The Patriot,* September 30, 1843.

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[15] *The Patriot,* September 30, 1843.

[16] *The Register,* July 16, 1838.

[17] *Carolina Watchman,* August 30, 1839; *The Patriot,* September 30, 1843.

[18] *The Register,* July 16, 1838.

[19] *The Register,* July 16, 1838.

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|---|---|---|---|
| Phoenix Mfg. Co.[20] | Cumberland | 1838 | water |
| Weldon Mfg. Co.[21] | Halifax | 1838** | |
| Yadkin Mfg. Co.[22] | Rowan-Davie | 1838 | water |
| Snow Camp Factory[23] | Orange* | 1838 | water |
| Leaksville Factory [24] | Rockingham | 1838 | water |
| H. and F. Fries Cotton and Woolen Mills[25] | Forsyth | 1840 | water |
| Mt. Airy Cotton Mill [26] | Surry | 1840 | water |
| Beaver Creek Mfg. Co.[27] | Cumberland | 1840 | water |
| Concord Cotton Factory[28] | Cabarrus | 1840 | water |
| Monbo Factory[29] | Catawba | 1840 | water |
| Milledgeville Cotton Factory[30] | Montgomery | 1840 | water |
| Cross Creek Mfg. Co.[31] | Cumberland | 1841 | water |
| Little River Mfg. Co.[32] | Cumberland | 1841 | water |
| Salisbury Mfg. Co.[33] | Rowan | 1841 | steam |
| Saxapahaw Cotton Mill [34] | Orange* | 1844 | water |
| High Falls Factory[35] | Orange* | 1845 | water |
| Island Ford Mfg. Co.[36] | Randolph | 1845 | water |
| Swift Island Mfg. Co.[37] | Montgomery | 1845 | water |
| Haw River Factory[38] | Orange* | 1845 | water |
| Catawba Mfg. Co.[39] | Mecklenburg | 1846 | water |
| Cape Fear Mfg. Co.[40] | New Hanover | 1847 | water |
| Rock Creek Shoals Factory[41] | Iredell | 1847 | water |

[20] *The Register*, July 16, 1838; *The Patriot*, October 14, 1843.
[21] *The Patriot*, October 14, 1843.
[22] *The Register*, July 16, 1838; *Carolina Watchman*, August 27, 1842.
[23] *The Register*, July 16, 1838.
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[30] *Carolina Watchman*, December 12, 1840.
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[41] Tomlin Papers, Duke University.

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|---|---|---|---|
| Buena Vista Mfg. Co.[42] | Lincoln | 1847 | water |
| Deep River Mfg. Co.[43] | Randolph | 1848 | water |
| Elkin Mfg. Co.[44] | Surry | 1848 | water |
| Woodlawn Mfg. Co.[45] | Gaston | 1848 | water |
| Stowesville Cotton Mill [46] | Gaston | 1848 | water |
| Blount's Creek Mfg. Co.[47] | Cumberland | 1848 | water |
| Columbia Cotton Mill [48] | Randolph | 1849 | water |
| High Shoals Mfg. Co.[49] | Lincoln | 1849 | water |
| Johnston-Little River Mfg. Co.[50] | Johnston | 1849 | water |
| Mountain Island Mfg. Co. (Mt. Hecla) [51] | Gaston | 1849 | water |
| Newbern Mfg. Co.[52] | Craven | 1849 | water |
| Union Mfg. Co.[53] | Randolph | 1849 | water |
| Union Mfg. Co.[54] | Cumberland | 1849 | water |
| Yadkin Cotton Factory[55] | Wilkes | 1849 | water |
| Laurel Hill Mfg. Co.[56] | Lincoln | 1849 | water |
| Eagle Cotton Mills[57] | Iredell | 1850 | water |
| Tomlinson's Cotton Factory[58] | Iredell | 1850 | water |
| Elm Grove Factory[59] | Lincoln | 1850 | water |
| Bertie Mfg. Co.[60] | Bertie | 1851** | |
| Buck Shoals Mfg. Co.[61] | Surry | 1851 | water |
| S. F. Patterson and Co. Cotton Mill [62] | Caldwell | 1851 | water |
| Neuse River Mfg. Co.[63] | Wake | 1851** | |

[42] *Carolina Watchman,* April 5, 1849.
[43] *Carolina Watchman,* October 24, 1850.
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|---|---|---|---|
| Rock Island Mfg. Co.[64] | Mecklenberg | 1851 | steam |
| Orange Factory[65] | Orange | 1852 | water |
| Catawba Mill [66] | Catawba | 1852 | water |
| Double Shoals Cotton Factory[67] | Cleveland | 1852 | water |
| High Shoals Mfg. Co.[68] | Lincoln | 1853 | water |
| Granite Shoals Factory[69] | Catawba | 1854 | water |
| Yadkin Mfg. Co.[70] | Davidson-Rowan | 1855 | water |
| Yadkin Falls Mfg. Co.[71] | Montgomery | 1857 | water |
| Rocky River Mfg. Co.[72] | Cabarrus | 1860 | water |
| Wachovia Steam Cotton Mill [73] | Forsyth | 1862 | steam |
| Randolph Mfg. Co.[74] | Randolph | 1863 | water |
| Confederate Cotton and Woolen Mills[75] | Richmond | 1864 | water |
| Fayetteville Mfg. Co.[76] | Cumberland | 1864** | |
| Enterprise Mfg. Co.[77] | Cumberland | 1864 | water |
| Logan Mfg. Co.[78] | Guilford | 1865 | water |

* Mills in that section of Orange County that became Alamance County in 1849.

** Projected mills which were organized but never built.

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# A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN GRIFFITH BRAWLEY

By JOHN W. PARKER

Among the most meaningful decades for Negroes in the whole range of American history were perhaps those immediately following the turn of the century. The impact of a number of restrictive measures imposed by a fear-stricken South was partially counterbalanced by the afterglow of a great missionary movement and the Negro people continued their pace, if but slowly, in the direction of an articulate ethnic group. Along with the missionary colleges established for Negroes below the Mason-Dixon line, came the federally-supported institutions provided for in the Second Morrell Act of 1890. And as organs of group expression, the *Crisis* was issued in 1910, the *Journal of Negro History* in 1916, and the *Opportunity Magazine* in 1923.

After the Emancipation, the Negro people worked on the assumption that the solution of their problems lay in the opportunity to vote. One can add to this Booker T. Washington's advocacy of industrial education as the way out, and William E. B. DuBois' insistence upon the education of the black man in terms of his higher spiritual and intellectual capabilities, the emphasis to be placed upon the "talented tenth." Benjamin G. Brawley was more inclined toward the DuBois conception. He set about to effect the intellectual and cultural orientation of the American Negro people to their total surroundings.

One of a family of nine children, Benjamin G. Brawley was born in Columbia, South Carolina, on April 22, 1882. He had the advantage of the culture brought to the home by educated parents, his father, whose people had been free as far back as they could remember, having been a Baptist clergyman and for a time the president of the college for Negroes at Salem, Alabama. For young Brawley, however, Columbia became a point of departure rather than a home, for his youth was passed in several southern cities as a result of the

migratory character of his father's ministerial duties. It was a fortunate coincidence that this Negro intellectual-to-be should experience early at first hand some of the problems around which his subsequent career was to center.

For his college training, Brawley proceeded in 1898 to Atlanta Baptist College (now Morehouse College) where he excelled in the activities both in and out of the classroom and from which he was graduated with honor in 1901. Especially did he distinguish himself as a debater. Subsequently, as an instructor at Morehouse College, he organized and coached the debate between Atlanta Baptist College and Talladega College (1906), which marked the inception of intercollegiate debate in the American Negro college.

Likewise did Brawley manage the baseball team, play quarterback on an early football team, and along with Timothy Williams serve as one of the founders of the *Athenaeum,* an organ of student expression to which he contributed no less than fifty-six essays, poems, editorials, and short stories. His initial booklet of poems, *A Toast to Love and Death* (1902), was dedicated to the memory of two school chums, Timothy Williams and James E. Carmichael. Each of these friends had contracted colds on summer jobs which they were never quite able to shake off. Significant, too, among his writings for the *Athenaeum* was the poem, *A Prayer,* written in response to a Georgia lynching and subsequently set to music by A. H. Ryder of Boston, Massachusetts.

Following his initial year of teaching in a one-room school out in the hinterlands of Georgetown, Florida, exactly ten miles from a railroad, Brawley was called back to begin a distinguished career as an instructor in English and as Dean of Morehouse College. Before long, however, advanced study beckoned and largely through summer courses, he completed the requirements for the A.B. degree at the University of Chicago in 1906 and those for the M.A. degree at Harvard University in 1908. Straightway, he came under the spell of five productive scholars—Ernest De Whitt Barton and John M. Manley of Chicago, and Bliss Perry, William Allen Neilson, and George Lyman Kittredge (the celebrated "Kitty of Harvard") at Harvard.

In Washington, D. C., where in 1910 he joined the faculty of Howard University, Brawley married Hilda Damaris Prowd of Kingston, Jamaica, British West Indies, and it was to her that he subsequently dedicated *The Negro Genius* (1937). After two years at Howard, however, the Brawleys headed again for Morehouse College where as the institution's first Dean he became a member of the famous Hope-Brawley-Archer triumvirate, famous in the history of American Negro education.

Brawley's students everywhere agree that he was the type of teacher that comes once in a lifetime. Few men have been capable of more sustained and high-powered exertion; not infrequently his enthusiasm developed into a contagion. As he saw it, the profession of teaching was a sacred one and its effectiveness was contingent upon the intelligence, industry, and integrity of the teachers themselves. Much that borders on the legendary has grown up around Brawley's teaching career, especially his monomania for precision, tone, and good taste. The story is told of a tennis game played by John Hope, Benjamin Brawley, and two other faculty members. Hope stopped the game complaining that the net had "sagged." Brawley replied, "The net has not sagged; it has swagged." They disputed and Brawley went for an unabridged dictionary. The ensuing discussion took precedence over the game while the net sagged and swagged uninterruptedly.

This penchant for correctness was not typical of the man; it was the man. He was known to require that his students memorize long passages from the classic English and American authors. To a theme that was slovenly in logic or in appearance, he was wont to add his characteristic comment, "Too carelessly written to be carefully read." He saw students in terms of what they might become and demonstrated his interest in their all-around development. One of the few men to distinguish himself in the matter of sheer classroom teaching, he contributed substantially to the elevation of that calling to the plane of a fine art. When, therefore, in 1927, he declined the Harmon Foundation's Second Award in Education, he did so on the ground that he had not catered to

second-rate work and was, therefore, justified in accepting no badge in direct contradiction to his ideal of excellence.

Meanwhile, Brawley was devoting his energies to yet another area—that of authorship. He first contributed to such periodicals as the *Springfield Republican, Lippincott's Magazine, The Voice of the Negro,* and *The Dial.* His piece, "The Negro in American Fiction," carried in *The Dial* for May 11, 1916, he always regarded as the first appearance of his work in a standard literary magazine. *A Short History of the American Negro,* his initial book, found its way to the bookshelves in 1913. Once the start was made, other volumes written as textbooks or for the general reader multiplied with the passing of the years. It is significant that the first decade of his literary productivity saw, with one exception, the appearance of books based wholly upon race; the second, roughly from 1921 to 1932, books free from racial exclusiveness; and after 1932, those based upon the phenomenon of race. It all points up Brawley's decision as to whether he should turn out books based upon racial expediency, or follow the American standard of *belles lettres.* He finally settled for the former alternative.

In 1920, after an eight-year sojourn at Morehouse College, Brawley entered upon two new fields of work in succession. His growing concern for the impact of race upon the realization of the democratic ideal in America and around the world led him to relinquish his position at Morehouse College and to accept the invitation to make a socio-educational survey of the Republic of Liberia. This undertaking of six months' duration was underwritten by four religious and educational associations. Upon his return to the States, Brawley was ordained into the Baptist ministry in the People's Church of Boston, Massachusetts, on June 2, 1921, and straightway accepted the pastorate of the Messiah Baptist Church in Brockton, Massachusetts. His congregation remembers him as a "scholar" who organized and systemized the church and built up the prayer meetings that were always limited to "just one hour."

As time went on, however, Brawley became dissatisfied with the conduct of certain of his deacons who were alleged

to have engaged in practices unbecoming to their offices and straightway handed in his resignation, the offer to correct the situation notwithstanding. He then accepted a position at Shaw University, another Home Mission College, where once again he combined teaching and authorship. He contributed "The Baseball" to Addison Hibbard's *Stories of the South* (1923); and several of his later volumes were issued by the University of North Carolina Press at Chapel Hill.

The Brawleys returned in 1931 to Howard University where, as the invitation stipulated, he was to teach two courses—"whatever his scholarly attitude suggested." He had come at last to the crowning point in his professional career. A spacious two-story house on Harvard Street became the home of the Brawleys. Here for the first time he was free to write and volumes appeared in quick succession.

The plight of the American Negro people shunted off as they were into a "disadvantaged outgroup," Brawley construed as the supreme test of the American democratic ideal as expressed in the Declaration of Independence. As he saw it, the whole problem must eventually square with the yardstick of Christian justice, and governed by this principle, the white man was bound to allow the Negro folk, not *special favors*, but *equal opportunity* in every area of American life. And it was incumbent upon the black people, dissatisfied with their sorry lot, to measure up fully to the American cultural standard. The problem of race in America never embittered Brawley because of his implicit faith in the ultimate maturation of the American democratic ideal.

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[1] For valuable assistance in tracking down the data upon which the present investigation is based, the writer is indebted to many libraries, publishing houses, business concerns, and individual persons who had formed an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Benjamin G. Brawley. The more significant contributions to the prosecution of this study, however, were made by Mrs. Edith M. Royster, Brockton, Massachusetts; Mrs. Susie E. Thomas, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. S. H. Archer, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Nathaniel P. Tillman, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. James W. Ivy, New York City; Mrs. Claudia W. Harreld, Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. Marjorie Gaillard, (sister), Birmingham, Alabama; Mrs. Jeannette B. Stewart, (sister), Atlanta, Georgia. Mrs. Hilda P. Brawley (wife), Washington, D.C.; Mr. Arna Bontemps, Fisk University Library, Nashville, Tennessee; Mrs. Catherine J. Pierce, Duke University Library, Durham; Mrs. Eva G. McKenna, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill; Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, Trevor Arnett Library, Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. Dorothy Porter, Howard University Library, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Barbara D. Simison, James Weldon Johnson Memorial Collection of Negro Arts and Letters, New Haven, Connecticut; Mr. Henry J. Dubester, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; and Miss Florence Blakely, Duke University Library, Durham.

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*A Toast to Love and Death,* Atlanta: The Atlanta Baptist College Press, 1902. Dedicated to the memory of two school chums who died before their time.

*The Dawn and Other Poems,* Washington, D. C., 1911. Appeared first as "The Dawn" (single poem) in *The Voice of the Negro,* I (1904), 185.

*The Problem and Other Poems,* Atlanta: The Atlanta Baptist College Press, 1905. Appeared as "The Problem" in *The Voice of the Negro,* II (1905), 663.

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*The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus,* Atlanta: Atlanta Baptist College Press, 1917.

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(1) *The Crisis*

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(3) *The Journal of Negro Education*

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(4) *The Journal of Negro History*

James Weldon Johnson, *Fifty Years and Other Poems* (Boston, 1917), III (1918), 202-203.

(5) *The Southern Workman*

W. T. Carmichael, *From the Heart of a Folk* (Boston, 1918), XLVIII (1919), 38.

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(1) *The Athenaeum* (Atlanta)
"Poverty Flat," III (1900), 6.
"The Anniversary—and Beyond," XIX (1917), 1.
(2) *The Home Mission College Review* (Hampton)
"Above the Battle," I (1927), 2.
"Editorial," I (1927), 3.
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"The Greatest Problem in the Negro College," II (1928), 5.
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"Travelling," II (1928), 7-8.
"Y.W.C.A.," II (1928), 6.
"Dillard University," III (1929), 45.
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(3) *The Opportunity Magazine* (New York)
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"Editorial," VI (1928), 56.

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(1) *The Athenaeum* (Atlanta)
"At Home and Abroad," II (1899), 7.
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"As I Gaze into the Night," IV (1901), 5.
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"Shakespeare," XVIII (1916), 14. Reprint in *The Home Mission College Review,* (Raleigh), II (1928), 26.

(2) *The Christian Advocate* (Chicago)
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(3) *Citizen* (Los Angeles)
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(4) *Crisis* (New York)
"The Freedom of the Free," XX (1913), 32.

(5) *The Harvard Monthly* (Cambridge)
"Chaucer," XLV (1908), 184.

(6) *Lippincott's Magazine* (Philadelphia)
"Crossroads," LXXIV (1905), 731.

(7) *Survey* (New York)
"Battleground," XL (1918), 608.

(8) *The Voice of the Negro* (Atlanta)
"Christopher Marlowe," I (1904), 65.
"The Plan," I (1904), 524.
"The Education," II (1905), 319.
"First Sight," III (1906), 409.
"To One Untrue," III (1906), 341.
"Paul Laurence Dunbar," III (1906), 265.

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*The Athenaeum* (Atlanta)
"An Incident," II (1889), 3.
"The Pilgrims and the Wisdom Range," IV (1901), 16.
"A Day at Welatka," V (1902), 2.

## SONGS: COLLECTIONS AND INDIVIDUAL SONGS

(1) *Song Collection*
*Howard University Sings* (edited), Washington, D. C., 1912. Pp. 10. Brawley wrote three of the eleven songs in the collection.

(2) *Individual Songs*

"Anniversary Hymn," Atlanta: Atlanta Baptist College Press, 1917. Written in response to the Fiftieth Anniversary of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia. Set to music by Kemper Harreld.

"Anniversary Hymn," Raleigh, 1929. Written on the occasion of the Sixty-Third Annual Founder's Day Celebration at Shaw University, Raleigh.

# PAPERS FROM THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER 7, 1956

## Introduction

In accordance with custom, the papers presented at the annual meeting in December of the State Literary and Historical Association are published in this magazine the following April. The papers of the fifty-sixth annual meeting are printed in full in the pages that follow.

From the morning session we have "Dare County Belles-Lettres," by Richard Walser of Raleigh; "Roanoke Colonists and Explorers: An Attempt at Identification," by William S. Powell of Chapel Hill; and a review of North Carolina fiction of the year (the works entered in the Sir Walter Raleigh competition), by C. Hugh Holman of Chapel Hill, a member of the board of award. From the luncheon session we have a review of North Carolina non-fiction of the year (works entered in the Mayflower competition) by H. Broadus Jones of Winston-Salem, a member of the board of award. From the dinner session there is printed "Literature and Life," the presidential address of Gilbert T. Stephenson of Pendleton. Finally, from the evening session comes "One Hundred Years Ago," an address by Roy F. Nichols of Philadelphia. These seem to constitute an unusually fine set of papers, and it is believed that they will be of interest to our readers.

# DARE COUNTY BELLES-LETTRES

By Richard Walser

A recent unpublished survey indicates that North Carolina, beginning in 1734 and coming down to the present year, has provided character and setting for over seven hundred works of prose fiction. Outside the mountain areas, the greatest attraction for the imaginative writer has been the history and legend, the people and geography of Dare County. The reasons are fairly obvious: the seemingly endless possibilities of romanticizing the Sir Walter Raleigh colonies, to say nothing of the fascination provided by "quaint Bankers" and Coast Guard heroes. Indeed since 1840, thirty authors have written books of drama, poetry, and fiction[1] based on Dare County subjects or having their origins in Dare County legend—an impressive record which it is well to investigate.

Of the thirty titles, twenty-four were inspired by Raleigh's settlers at Roanoke Island. A sentence or two of simple fact will refresh our minds of just what happened there. In 1584 Captains Amadas and Barlowe explored the region for Sir Walter. In 1585 Sir Richard Grenville and Ralph Lane set up a colony of men who returned to England with Sir Francis Drake a year later. In 1587 John White stayed with a second colony only a month. When he searched for them three years afterwards, he found no trace of their survival.

Since Paul Green's *The Lost Colony*[2] is the most familiar work concerning this period, it provides an appropriate starting point for our hasty review of the thirty works. Its sixteen seasons of production on Roanoke Island enacted on the site of some of its scenes have witnessed sixteen varying versions, for Paul Green's perennial habits of rewriting are well known. Even so, his basic plan has remained unchanged. The dramatist switches from England to Roanoke, suggesting the historical events without concentrating on them. Actual per-

[1] This paper does not include a discussion of short stories, of lyric poetry, of legends not cast in story form, or of one-act plays; nor does it take into account any unpublished material. Excluded also is any fiction revolving about Theodosia Burr or the Wright brothers. The thirty titles are separate publications, though a few are quite brief.

[2] Paul Green, *The Lost Colony: A Symphonic Drama of American History* (Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press, 1954. 70 pp.).

sonages from Sir Walter to the infant Virginia Dare have roles; and the climax of the play shows the 1587 colonists retreating to the interior when Spanish vessels threaten their stockade. Green's explanation of the mysterious disappearance is plausible and dramatically effective. Yet this is no historical pageant, but a play. The most rounded character and the one who carries the playwright's message is Old Tom Harris, beggar and outcast, who becomes in the New World a man of honor and trust. Thus the promise of America, immanent even in defeat, has a transcendency beyond the actual events. While Paul Green's drama does not tamper with history, it goes beyond it in providing human meaning for its occurrences. *The Lost Colony* has remained Dare County's only published full-length play and, indubitably, its most distinguished literary by-product.

Of the four titles in poetry, three of them narrative, the first is Sallie Southall Cotten's *The White Doe: The Fate of Virginia Dare.*[3] In this telling of the now-familiar legend, the beautiful maiden, renamed Wi-no-na, is magically transformed into a white doe by a rejected suitor. Following her disappearance, mother Eleanor dies. The enchanted deer roams Roanoke Island till a noble suitor, the young chieftain O-kis-ko,

> Linked the *going* of the maiden
> With the *coming* of the White Doe[4]

and prepares a counter-charm, a "Mussel-pearl arrow" which, shot into the heart of the doe, will release her. Meanwhile, with a silver arrow given him by Queen Elizabeth, the evil Wan-ches-e also goes hunting the deer. Then at the identical moment, Wi-no-na is wounded by both pearl and silver arrows. Though changed back into a maiden, she is dying. O-kis-ko takes the silver arrow to a fountain of living youth on the island, hoping this action will restore the girl; but upon his placing it within the spring,

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[3] Sallie Southall Cotton, *The White Doe: The Fate of Virginia Dare. (An Indian Legend)* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, printed for the Author, 1901. i-xx, 5-89 pp.), hereinafter cited as Cotton, *The White Doe.*

[4] Cotton, *The White Doe,* 57.

*All the sparkling water vanished;*
Dry became the magic fountain,
Leaving bare the silver arrow.[5]

From the silver arrow a tiny green shoot springs up—a shoot which years later becomes a scuppernong vine with red, instead of white, grapes—symbolizing the blood of Virginia Dare. In her Preface, Mrs. Cotten writes: "A familiar knowledge of the history of one's own country increases patriotism and stimulates valor. For this reason the study of written records called history should be supplemented by research into myths, folk-lore, and legends." Traditions, she continues, bear "the seed-germs of truth," and eventually they are "embodied in romance and song." Then "they assume a permanent form called legend and become the heritage of a people."[6] Mrs. Cotten's poem of the legend of Virginia Dare and the scuppernong vine was once widely read in our State and has assumed a permanent spot in our literature. It is composed in the lilting trochaic tetrameter of *Hiawatha* and, though it reads as well as Longfellow's poem, provides too brief treatment to be forceful narrative.

Three years after the publication of Mrs. Cotton's book, William Henry Moore of Pittsboro issued *Virginia Dare: A Story of Colonial Days.*[7] This narrative poem fabricates the aftermath of the Lost Colonists when famine and disease drive them inland to Lake Mattamuskeet. Though Manteo's son Laska woos and wins the fair Virginia, the poet has a difficult time with the problem of interracial marriage. As Virginia's father dies, he contemplates the mating of his daughter:

The father's heart 'gainst racial instinct strove,
But love, at last, had won, and winning wove
The fabric which should bind their tribes in one,
Enduring as the bright and changeless sun.[8]

[5] Cotton, *The White Doe*, 74.
[6] Cotton, *The White Doe*, 5.
[7] William Henry Moore, *Virginia Dare: A Story of Colonial Days* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1904. 67 pp.), hereinafter cited as Moore, *Virginia Dare.*
[8] Moore, *Virginia Dare*, 36.

This, of course, is in keeping with the race feelings in 1901, when Moore published his poem, rather than with those of the sixteenth century. Even so, after overcoming his ambitious opponent Granganimeo in mortal combat, Laska with his wife Virginia rules over the tribe with great wisdom. In the poem the author takes, as he says, "the liberty of changing the name of Ananias Dare to that of David, as being more poetical and euphonious; and of his wife from Eleanor to Jennie, the diminutive of Virginia." [9] The shift is pointless, since no character is satisfactorily developed in this rambling narrative written in generally unfortunate rhymed couplets.

"Mark Bennett on Roanoke," [10] by Professor Harry K. Russell of the Department of English at Chapel Hill, is one of the few attempts to use the Roanoke story for other than relating history and legend. Though rather diffusely episodic, the story, in six sections of very loose sprung meter, takes up the emotional problems of Mark Bennett, an actual name of a colonist about whom we know nothing. Fictionally, the poet Bennett has been nauseated by the sensual atmosphere of London and is trying to find in the New World a freshness to satisfy his spirit. At first reluctant to accept the love of the beautiful Indian girl Amosens, he eventually succumbs to her attractions and realizes that in her he has identified his need. Meanwhile, events at the stockade are lively. After forays with the tribe of Wanchese, Ananias Dare is in the process of removing the colonists to Manteo's Croatan [*sic*] in the autumn of 1588 when Wanchese attacks again and all the English, including Ananias and Eleanor Dare, are killed except Henry Berry,[11] Mark Bennett, and Virginia. Manteo's beast-keen nephew Uwaara rescues Virginia, whom he had foretold "the Spirit / [had] Called . . . to our people." [12] Her subsequent story is not followed up. This deeply felt poem ends when Mark Bennett and Amosens slip away into the forest.

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[9] Moore, *Virginia Dare*, 8.

[10] Harry K. Russell, "Mark Bennett on Roanoke," *Poet Lore*, XLVII (Spring, 1942), 3-46, hereinafter cited as Russell, "Mark Bennett on Roanoke."

[11] Probably to account for the legend that he was the ancestor of the Robeson County tribe of Indians.

[12] Russell, "Mark Bennett on Roanoke," 21.

The title of Albert Q. Bell's *Actors in the Colony*[13] is taken from Thomas Hariot's report on Roanoke published in 1588. The pamphlet contains short prose biographies of the principal "actors" in the venture, and in between are poems on Amadas and Barlowe, Elizabeth and Raleigh, Eleanor Dare, Old Tom, and so on. Never intended as polished verse, Mr. Bell's lines are of particular interest to us because their author has been so closely associated with the success of Paul Green's *The Lost Colony* at Fort Raleigh, near which he makes his home.

The first of nine adult novels concerning Sir Walter's settlers is the brief, highly romantic "Virginia Dare: or, The Colony of Roanoke"[14] by Cornelia L. Tuthill of Connecticut, who in 1840 after reading from Bancroft's *History of the United States* began to wonder why no one had paid a tribute to the first English child born in America. In this curious bit of fiction, Virginia is the daughter of George [*sic*] Dare and the granddaughter of Philip [*sic*] White. Her departure from Roanoke Island, along with her mother, Manteo, and the clergyman Dr. Carson, is due to famine and the hostility of the cruel Ocracoke Indians. Soon they take up with Chief Arcana in the vale of Mehezim at the foot of the mountains. The chief's "Hatteras tribe, naturally mild and gentle, lived in a state of Arcadian simplicity."[15] Eighteen years later, after rejecting the suit of Arcana, Virginia marries a dissolute aristocrat, Henry Johnston, who has strayed from the Jamestown colony founded only a year before. In this novel, typical of sentimental mid-nineteenth-century fiction, Dr. Carson is busy converting the Indians to Christianity. (History, of course, does not record a preacher among the colonists.) Virginia, beloved of the natives, is called the White Angel of Mercy. And with delightful anachronistic skill, the author has our heroine in the midst of the wilderness reading with excruciating pleasure those still unpublished Shakespearian masterpieces *Hamlet* and *King Lear*. This first fiction of Dare

[13] Albert Q. Bell, *Actors in the Colony* (No place, no publisher, 1946. 50 pp.).

[14] Cornelia L. Tuthill, "Virginia Dare: or, The Colony of Roanoke," *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, Va.), VI (September, 1840), 585-595, hereinafter cited as Tuthill, "Virginia Dare."

[15] Tuthill, "Virginia Dare," 591.

County would not be half so charming if it were less ridiculous.

Sixty-one years after this first novel, historian Bancroft again served as source for William Farquhar Payson's *John Vytal,*[16] which ventures "to explain the oblivion of the colony's end in a way which," as the author writes, "I believe has not yet been suggested."[17] But his solution is not very startling. Moreover, the characters are wooden, the style so stilted and spiritless that the volume is a dull adventure. Furthermore, there are no cliffs and rocky terrain on Roanoke Island, to say nothing of an Indian tribe called the Winginas. Briefly, the story tells about the love of the courageous soldier John Vytal for Eleanor Dare, already married to a drunken Ananias. Enemies of our hero are an English renegade in league with the Spanish at St. Augustine, and a wily offspring of Leicester and Queen Elizabeth. Friend of Vytal is none other than the famed Renaissance dramatist Christopher Marlowe, about whom we are told in a footnote: "As there is absolutely no reliable record of Marlowe's personal life and dwelling-place at this time, I have felt justified in attributing his generally acknowledged absence from London to a Virginia voyage."[18] Before John White's departure for England, a most unhistoric battle is fought off Roanoke Island between the Spanish and the colonists, the invaders losing. Years later, they return and, with the help of the hostile Winginas, slay all but seven of the English. Virginia Dare, now called White Doe, and Manteo's son Dark Eyes, along with Eleanor and Vytal and the others, turn towards the mainland forests with Manteo and the Hatteras tribe. Eleanor says: "Future generations will find here a perfect security . . . because we, the first, have suffered . . . and yet won."[19] Marlowe, we are glad to report, returned to England alone aboard a Breton fishing shallop in time to write those great tragedies *Tamburlaine* and *Dr. Faustus.*

One of two novels published in 1908 is Dora Greenwell

[16] William Farquhar Payson, *John Vytal: A Tale of the Lost Colony* (New York: Harper, 1901. 319 pp.), hereinafter cited as Payson, *John Vytal.*
[17] Payson, *John Vytal,* [vi].
[18] Payson, *John Vytal,* 44.
[19] Payson, *John Vytal,* [319].

McChesney's *The Wounds of a Friend,*[20] neatly plotted and executed but again carelessly unhistorical. This romantic story tells of Captain Robert Tremayne's compelling dream of English dominion in the New World, of another man's revenge, and of a woman's faithfulness. Tremayne, commander of the English forces against the Indians, strikes down his great friend in the forest when he weighs the decision of one man's life "against the safety of Roanoke."[21] Though he sails for England in the autumn of 1587, his one passion is to return to Roanoke to strengthen the small colony there. He is thwarted by the Queen's capriciousness, the disillusionment of John White, the patience of Raleigh to await royal pleasure, and the duplicity of his former friend who has meanwhile betrayed the colony to the Spanish during an imprisonment in St. Augustine. Despite Elizabeth's command, he secretly sets sail with the beloved but wedded Honora. To his "dream of England enthroned over-seas," he admits having sacrificed "all things, Queen's favour, man's friendship, love of woman."[22] At Roanoke in the spring [of 1589], he finds desolation, ruin, and hopelessness among the English survivors of a Spanish attack. Turning toward the forest with what few supporters he can muster, he says, "Whether our friends and fellow countrymen follow on our track to find us, whether the woodlands whelm us in a life and death unknown, who shall say? But we go to take possession for England. Methinks we may wander beyond our ken, but others will press on where we have trodden."[23] The ubiquitous Virginia and Eleanor Dare apparently have vanished from sight during all this activity.

A second novel of 1908 is the highly colored but weak romance by William Thomas Wilson, *For the Love of Lady Margaret: A Romance of the Lost Colony,*[24] its subtitle embarrassingly misleading. Two-thirds of the book covers the career of Sir Thomas Winchester, an Elizabethan courtier who is spirited away to a pirate hangout in the West Indies

[20] Dora Greenwell McChesney, *The Wounds of a Friend* (London: Smith, Elder, 1908. 306 pp.), hereinafter cited as McChesney, *The Wounds of a Friend.*

[21] McChesney, *The Wounds of a Friend,* 258.

[22] McChesney, *The Wounds of a Friend,* 255.

[23] McChesney, *The Wounds of a Friend,* 302.

[24] William Thomas Wilson, *For the Love of Lady Margaret: A Romance of the Lost Colony* (Charlotte: Stone and Barringer, 1908. 305 pp.).

because he is in the way of several other lovers of the beauteous Lady Margaret Carroll. No gentlemen was ever so maligned and ill-treated. Though a hero in the defeat of the Armada, he is sent with White in 1590 on his mission to find the Lost Colonists. Instead, arriving at Roanoke, he pursues Lady Margaret, now for some unaccountable reason trouping the forests in the clutches of two love-mad creatures, one a pirate and the other a contemptible English lord. After rescuing the lady and slaying his rivals, he returns to England with White, who has had no luck in finding his colony and seems not to be overly perturbed about it. The Lost-Colony angle is of no importance in the plot. Chronology is mangled, geography is neglected, and historical facts are switched about. For instance, Manteo is the hero's best friend on his trip to Roanoke in 1590. The forests are bewilderingly jammed with Indians: one, really, behind almost every tree. According to a notice in the book, the novel attracted much attention when it ran as a serial in the *Charlotte Observer.*

Fifteen years after the publication of these two books appeared the respected though listless *Croatan*[25] by Virginia's famed novelist Mary Johnston. Her story takes up the history of the colonists after they are attacked by five hundred Indian warriors. Among those killed are Manteo and Virginia Dare's parents. The remaining threescore English retreat westward to a town just below the mountains where they thrive, living primitively but preserving their English customs and traditions. When the eighteen-year-old Virginia is captured, two of her suitors go on a seven-year search for her, bringing her back to Croatan Town, where "the white Cherokees were built forever into the nation." [26] This ending is unsatisfactory: if the colonists had so successfully held on to their English heritage for twenty-five years, there would have been some trace of them when traders penetrated the hill country before the century was passed. The historical interest is slight, for most of this commonplace story takes place after the colonists have left Roanoke. A Longfellow influence is evident in such cognomens as Bright Dawn, Golden Hawk, Eagle Feather, and Young Thunder. There is an insipid attempt

[25] Mary Johnston, *Croatan* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1923. 298 pp.), hereinafter cited as Johnston, *Croatan.*

[26] Johnston, *Croatan,* 291.

at a poetic prose style. This novel surely must be one of Miss Johnston's most unimpressive efforts.

These five early attempts to fictionize the Raleigh Colonies were finally climaxed in 1948 with Inglis Fletcher's *Roanoke Hundred*,[27] the first of the group to achieve unqualified success. When Mrs. Fletcher was urged to write a novel on the Lost Colony, she immediately declined any invitation to compete with Paul Green's currently popular outdoor drama. She was, however, interested in North Carolina's Elizabethan background and, unlike the novelists who had preceded her, chose to focus on the Grenville-Lane expedition of 1585-86. The Lost Colonists play no part in *Roanoke Hundred.* For plot Mrs. Fletcher invents a natural son of Sir Richard Grenville, the manly herdsman Colin, in love with his master's ward, the sprightly witch-girl from Tintagel. As Grenville's right-hand man on the voyage to the New World, Colin grows into maturity and later claims his reward. Mrs. Fletcher's novel, of which only the mid-section takes place in North Carolina, centers on the career of the noble Grenville, whose wisdom she opposes to the disastrous policies of Ralph Lane. She introduces many other historical characters—Elizabeth, Raleigh, Sidney, Hakluyt, Hariot, White, and Drake—and stays close to historical fact in dealing with historical events. Instead of the second-hand Bancroft, she depends on first-hand accounts in Hakluyt's *Voyages.* With a lively story, a circle of fascinating heroes, and completely permissible overlaying of fiction onto fact, *Roanoke Hundred* far outstrips its predecessors and, incidentally, its successors, too, among the novels of the Roanoke years. And this is not to say there is any lessening of imaginative creativeness. Even so, some readers may quarrel with Inglis Fletcher's interpretation of Grenville's role as opposed to Lane's. A number of historians have not been so kind to Sir Richard's handling of the expedition. Nevertheless, *Roanoke Hundred* remains an excellent example of the historical novel; and I, for one, consider it Mrs. Fletcher's finest work.

[27] Inglis Fletcher, *Roanoke Hundred* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1948. 492 pp.).

In 1953 appeared F. van Wyck Mason's *Golden Admiral,*[28] a novel about Sir Francis Drake. The third section of this book concerns Drake's visit to the First Colonists in 1586, when he finds about seventy discouraged and disunited men on a "bleak-appearing" island. A storm disperses the two supply ships he is planning to leave with the colonists, and the men vote to return with Drake to England. Mason disturbs geography, invents native tribes and conjures up a wild tale about the theft of an idol Oke; but at least he has the Naturals, as he calls the Indians, dressed properly in "finely tanned skins that fell apron-like before and behind"[29] instead of like Hiawatha or James Fenimore Cooper's the Last of the Mohicans. A domineering Grenville, though making no appearance, comes in for a severe drubbing by the author; and Lane is pictured a weak man unable to govern the colony. Mason's notion is that this first attempt at colonization "was a colony in name only, and was in fact, merely a military expedition accompanied by a few deluded scientists and artisans."[30]

Alexander Mathis' weak but harmless novel *The Lost Citadel*[31] is straight narrative involving the Barlowe-Amadas expedition as well as the Lane and White colonies. To provide some semblance of fictional movement, the author has given Manteo, the only continuous character besides Wanchese, a dominant role in the plot—if plot the novel can be said to have. There is no love story, no leading fictitious hero or heroine. For the most part, Mathis depends on historical accounts, documenting his sources in footnotes when he thinks the reader will judge the action has departed too broadly from fact. *The Conquest of Virginia* by Conway Whittle Sams is named most often. Much is made of the 1584 expedition, with Thomas Hariot allowed an unhistorical berth in order that he may begin tutoring Manteo and Wanchese. For the failure of the First Colony, Mathis blames

[28] F. van Wyck Mason, *Golden Admiral* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1953. 435 pp.), hereinafter cited as Mason, *Golden Admiral.*
[29] Mason, *Golden Admiral,* 278.
[30] Mason, *Golden Admiral,* 265.
[31] Alexander Mathis, *The Lost Citadel* (New York: Pageant Press, 1954. 273 pp.).

Grenville, whose loiterings among the Spanish in the West Indies delay the planting of crops at Roanoke, and whose burning of the Indian village of Agoscogoc over a lost silver cup irreparably alienates the previously warm-hearted natives. Lane is portrayed as a just and wise governor never able to recover from the errors of the arrogant Sir Richard. As reasons for the departure of the Lost Colonists from Roanoke, Mathis lists hunger and Indian animosity. First, Manteo leads the English to the sands of Croatoan, then later to friendly, more fertile country along the rivers, where they prosper for a while until they are almost completely wiped out by a sudden hostile Indian attack. Eleanor Dare soon dies and, as the story ends, Manteo is undertaking the education of eight-year-old Virginia.

Don Tracy's spicy *Roanoke Renegade,*[32] covering all three of the Raleigh expeditions to Roanoke Island, follows the adventures of fictitious Dion Harvie, whom Raleigh rescues from the Queen's wrath by sending him away from London with Amadas. Though Tracy interprets the Hakluyt documents with a rather careless freedom, his principal surprise is a general shifting of heroes. Elizabeth suffers from a wishy-washy pride which denies her any awareness of the historic nature of the Roanoke ventures; Grenville is capable, but irresponsible, arrogant, and insufferably brutal; Lane is a cowardly incompetent, an irascible and loud-mouthed braggart; Manteo emerges as an effeminate turncoat and traitor to his race; and even John White and Eleanor Dare are drawn as unsavory little people indifferent to the welfare of those whom they consider beneath them. On the other hand, Simon Ferdinando is clever, truthful, and capable of loyalty and patience in friendship; Wanchese is a man of his people, fair in his dealings with the English but unwilling to bend a servile knee like the contemptuous Manteo. Only Raleigh is conventionally drawn. The author makes his characterizations entirely believable. The theme of the book is the maturation of Dion Harvie. At first Dion reacts to all situations with the scornful superiority of the aristocrat. Gradually,

[32] Don Tracy, *Roanoke Renegade* (New York: Dial Press, 1954. 369 pp.), hereinafter cited as Tracy, *Roanoke Renegade.*

however, the practical exigencies of life in the New World give him a tolerance and perception fresh as the land in which he must make his way. He comes to admire the savages for their knowledge of the earth, their naive confidence, their lack of guile, and to compare them disadvantageously with the overbearing and treacherous English. Grenville, Lane, and White are pompous commanders whose mismanagement and misdeeds are directly responsible for the failure of the colonies. Eventually Harvie's "loathing for all civilized white men" [33] consumes him, and in the end he is ready to retreat from civilization, to go away with the Roanoke tribe, and to become a part of their life. The novelist presents a believable explanation for the disappearance of the 1587 colonists. Citing the indolence and indifference of the Spanish when the English made contact with them in the West Indies, Tracy thus discounts any possibility of further interference from that quarter. Rather, he tells us that the Roanokes, worn out with the white men's duplicity, raided the settlement and killed all there except some half dozen. These, including Eleanor Dare, become slaves of the lowly Croatans and are at length dispersed to the south and west. *Roanoke Renegade,* well paced and full of action, is mainly remarkable in its willingness to put full blame for the Roanoke Island fiascos upon the shoulders of those who assuredly ought to be held to strict account. His characterizations explain many of the inexplicables in the original documents. While until recently his point of view could never have been a popular one, this version of the events urges a startling credulity. But even now, it seems doubtful that the savages were quite as noble and guileless as Tracy depicts them.

So much for North Carolina's nine adult novels covering her sixteenth-century history. The first of six juvenile works is Miss E. A. B. Shackelford's *Virginia Dare,*[34] a simple moral story issued from a religious publishing house. In this charmingly ludicrous tale, Manteo's son Iosco, after the English

[33] Tracy, *Roanoke Renegade,* 234.

[34] *Virginia Dare: A Romance of the Sixteenth Century, by E.A.B.S.* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892. 207 pp.), hereinafter cited as [Shackelford], *Virginia Dare.*

have treacherously slaughtered his benevolent father, leads them away from danger of tribal reprisals by going with them to Powhatan's country. This he does in the spirit of Christian forgiveness. Virginia, now nineteen years old [the year is 1606] makes friends with Powhatan's two daughters, Pocahontas and Cleopatra! The English get in trouble there, too, and soon return to Croatoan, bringing along a Jamestown preacher who had been picked up in the woods. Iosco and Virginia (now called Owaissa) are married, and all survivors decide they love their Indian protectors and will stay with them forever. The preacher dies, but not before he has Christianized all the Croatans. The Indians in this book are straight out of Longfellow. They have papooses, speak of "pale faces," smoke peace pipes, and practice scalping. When little Iosco tells Virginia the legend of Hiawatha and Minnehaha, *she* counters with Bible stories. But nothing is surprising in a novel in which Virginia's baptizing takes place in a "little log chapel" with "two Puritan maidens" in attendance.[35]

In Eliza F. Pollard's *The Old Moat Farm,*[36] the Roanoke and Jamestown colonies are ingenuously telescoped, thus straining history to its breaking point. Derward, the nephew of Lady Jane Grey, escapes Queen Elizabeth's displeasure by journeying with Amidas [*sic*] and Barlowe to Roanoke, where his best friend is none other than John Rolfe. After disturbances over Grenville's stolen cup, the two boys go to Powhattan's [*sic*] country and are about to be slain when 10-year-old Pocahontas (this is about 1585, though Pocahontas was not to be born for a decade) falls on Rolfe's body and a footnote explains. "This incident happened, as described, to Captain John Smith."[37] Soon the boys go with Manteo to Croatan [*sic*], "not far up the James River"[38] (though James I was not to rule England for seventeen years). The boys do not join the succeeding Roanoke colony,

[35] [Shackelford], *Virginia Dare,* 15.
[36] Eliza F. Pollard, *The Old Moat Farm* (London: Blackie, [1905]. 238 pp.), hereinafter cited as Pollard, *The Old Moat Farm.* There is a copy of this rare book in the Boston Public Library.
[37] Pollard, *The Old Moat Farm,* 145.
[38] Pollard, *The Old Moat Farm,* 147.

nor—and historical confusion is raging by this time!—John Smith's settlers who have arrived. The author writes of "Carolina," though there was no such geographical designation for decades. The boys—men now, past thirty—go back to England; but Derward returns to govern the New Land, and the book closes with a paean praising the strength and power of Old England and Young England! In spite of its plain and not uninteresting narrative, this book offends by drastic trifling with history such as no modern novelist would dare. Of course, and the expected should be added, a copy of *Shakespeare's Plays* is being perused by one of the characters years before the earliest date of the great dramatist's first possible play.

A third juvenile is Grace I. Whitman's *Basil the Page,*[39] in which our hero saves the life of Mary Queen of Scots by risking his own life. This brave deed introduces him to a new and friendlier master, who is soon taken prisoner by Mary's enemies and shipped off to Virginia to work as a servant. The story tells how young Basil follows him to Virginia, there rescuing him and helping to punish their mutual enemies. Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Spanish Armada all have a place in this extremely fanciful and historically most inaccurate tale.

Edith Heal's *The Topaz Seal,*[40] an exceedingly dull juvenile for ages 10-14, is not set on Roanoke Island. Its interest to us here concerns a fair-haired boy named Dale, who wanders into the Jamestown settlement in 1610. He relates that he is the son of survivors of the Lost Colony. From his father and mother, now dead, he had learned their fate. When food became scarce, "many died and at last the few that remained chose certain of their number to return to England for help. Those who remained at Roanoke waited until their food was gone and many of their people were dead. Then there came

[39] Grace I. Whitham, *Basil the Page* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1908. 211 pp.). I have not read this book. William S. Powell of Chapel Hill located a copy in the British Museum, London, in the summer of 1956 and graciously provided me with the comments for this paper.

[40] Edith Heal, *The Topaz Seal: A Mystery Romance of the Jamestown Colony* (Chicago: Albert Whitman, 1936. 291 pp.), hereinafter cited as Heal, *The Topaz Seal.*

to them a tribe of Indians called the Hatteras who said if the English women would become the wives of the redmen, all the Colony would be saved. My father and mother," he says, "refused to go with the Hatteras, wishing rather to die than to give each other up. They escaped to the woods. . . ."[41]

In 1952 a Williamsburg publisher issued *The Story of the Lost Colony of Roanoke*,[42] with a simple but accurate text, and large black-and-white drawings for the "very young" reader to color with his crayons. The publishers suppressed whatever longing they may have had to romanticize or exaggerate. Many of the drawings are based on John White's sketches.

Jean Bothwell's *Lost Colony*[43] startles any reader immediately by proclaiming that since Paul Green's play provides a dénouement "geographically" impossible, we are now to learn the true mystery of the settlers. This historically accurate novel for ages 10-14 follows a year in the life of Humphrey Hall, a noble-born youngster who runs away to join Raleigh's last expedition. Eleanor Dare encourages him, for she knows that in the New World he will find land for the plantation of which he dreams. Humphrey helps to spoil the plans of the villainous Simon Ferdinando by plotting with his good friend Manteo against the deceitful Portuguese navigator. On Roanoke, Humphrey fights the treacherous Indians, helps defend the fort against the attacking Spaniards, and lays plans to make his dreams of a plantation come true. As to the solution of the mystery, the reader is left rather disenchanted, for the book closes with the colonists hale and hearty. This happy ending may be a good way to conclude a juvenile book, but it certainly clears up no mystery. Yet to be written is the completely satisfying juvenile novel about the Raleigh colonists.

At this point we must give brief consideration to four novels which, though not dealing directly with the events

[41] Heal, *The Topaz Seal*, 26-27.

[42] Helen Campbell, *The Story of the Lost Colony of Roanoke* (Williamsburg: R. M. Usry, 1952. Unpaged).

[43] Jean Bothwell, *Lost Colony: The Mystery of Roanoke Island* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1953. 191 pp.).

of the 1850's on Roanoke Island, are nevertheless consequent of those times. They indicate what magic the Lost Colony holds for imaginative writers, what dreams novelists have which tell them that there was a continuation of life beyond the "lost."

The first of the four is *True*[44] by George Parsons Lathrop, the son-in-law of Nathaniel Hawthorne. By way of prelude, we learn that in 1587 in Surrey, England, the beautiful Gertrude Wylde sets sail with Governor White, leaving her beloved Guy Wharton who plans to follow as soon as family affairs will allow. But fate intervenes, and Guy and Gertrude are never to be reunited. The rest of the novel, which turns on this ancient love affair, takes place years later on the mainland of Carteret County when an enterprising young Northerner, descendant of Guy Wharton, visits aristocratic Colonel Floyd, descendant of the sister of Gertrude. Nearby, in rude surroundings, lives the handsome, talented, but unlettered Adela Reefe, dark-complexioned and grey-eyed. The smart young man suspects that the girl may be descended from Gertrude Wylde herself and begins to study the old histories. Adela recalls the family tradition of the legendary maiden who waited for a loved one from across the sea. The relationship is proved when the words of a motto still preserved in Adela's family is found to be the same as those engraved on the walls of Wharton Hall in Surrey. Moreover, Adela admits that she has Indian ancestors who "lived in the region of Croatan"[45] before crossing Pamlico Sound and settling in Carteret. While the novel is far more complicated than these sentences indicate, suffice it to say that at last the broken love of their ancestors finds fulfillment in Adela and our young hero. Of more interest to the reader than the mystery of Adela Reefe is the mystery of how Hawthorne's son-in-law, who apparently never came to North Carolina, happened to write this novel of rural Carteret.

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[44] George Parsons Lathrop, *True and Other Stories* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1884. 270 pp.), hereinafter cited as Lathrop, *True*.

[45] Lathrop, *True*, 121.

In Mary Virginia Wall's *The Daughter of Virginia Dare,*[46] we are told that illness, starvation, and Indian warfare soon decimate all the colonists except Virginia, who grows up as the Water Lily of the Catawbas. Then Powhatan comes down, takes her captive, and weds her, but the unhappy "Water Lily folded her petals and sank to sleep, leaving to Powhatan a little daughter"[47] named Pocahontas. The major portion of this book is the familiar story of John Smith and the Jamestown settlers. Though the novel is ingenuous throughout, its principal offense is that Pocahontas' birth about 1595 would make Virginia Dare a mother at the age of eight! But whatever, the novelette certainly presents a felicitous possibility for speculation. While no fiction has yet suggested that Virginia and Pocahontas may have been the same person, I believe such a fantastic notion is more plausible than the mother-daughter presumption.

The most incredible yarn of the entire series is *The Daughter of the Blood*[48] by Herbert Bouldin Hawes, with its fairy-tale and Indian-legend coloring. In this vastly hypothetical tale of 1607, Virginia is now called Nonya. Her hero is Skah, son of Sir Richard Grenville, who has saved her when the other Lost Colonists were slaughtered by the Indians. Skah has brought her up, educated her, and made her and himself powerful among the superstitious Indians; but he has never forgotten his promise to her mother that she have a free choice of husband. At Jamestown she is wooed by all and sundry, including John Smith, whom she helps the child Pocahontas to save. But eventually she is sure of her love for Skah, and the two slip away into the forest, safe from the records of history. A plethora of confusing legend, the superexcellence of Skah, the impossible perfection of Nonya, and a stilted style make much of this story unreadable.

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[46] Mary Virginia Wall, *The Daughter of Virginia Dare* (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1908. 194 pp.), hereinafter cited as Wall, *The Daughter of Virginia Dare.*

[47] Wall, *The Daughter of Virginia Dare,* 33.

[48] Herbert Bouldin Hawes, *The Daughter of the Blood* (Boston: Four Seas, 1930. 427 pp.).

The novel *Manteo*[49] by Clifford Wayne Hartridge is a disappointing production. The time is 1732, the setting, Georgia. Its hero is dark young Manteo Cerdic, son of a proud Saxon family in Kent and descendant of one of Raleigh's colonists and Wenona, the sister of Chief Manteo. Attendant of Oglethorpe on his initial voyage, Cerdic meets and wins the Indian princess Manteona, whose ancestors are the Roanoke chieftain and his English wife. The couple return to England, where Cerdic takes charge of his extensive family estate. The first section of this poorly plotted story is set in London, where Chesterfield and Hogarth are Cerdic's associates.

We have now mentioned one drama, four books of poetry, and nineteen novels which are products by creative writers either partially or completely under the enchanting sorcery of our sixteenth-century history. Weak in some instances, they include near masterpieces in others. If some are absurd to the point of laughter, others are so historically sound that they may be said almost to supplement fact. If we but knew, perhaps in one of them is the key to the mystery of our Lost Colonists. If we but knew! But the sand dunes and the blue waters and the pine forests of Dare have added to North Carolina literature *more* than these twenty-four works. At least six novels have been written about more recent times in the Dare County country.

The first of this group is Calvin Henderson Wiley's *Roanoke,*[50] a historical novel of Revolutionary days in North Carolina. Its opening chapters are set at Nag's Head in 1775. Captain Richard Ricketts, known locally as "Old Wrecks," is a land-pirate who has become the richest man on the Banks. By tying a lantern to a horse's head, he lures vessels to their destruction on the sands and confiscates the spoils. As the story opens, "Old Wrecks" has just purchased a wife: for though polygamy is not allowed, swapping or buying wives

[49] Clifford Wayne Hartridge, *Manteo* (New York: Frederick G. Osberg, 1935. 350 pp.).

[50] Calvin Henderson Wiley, *Roanoke, or, "Where Is Utopia?"* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, [1866]. 156 pp.) The first appearance of this novel was in *Sartain's Union Magazine* in 1849, where it was issued serially. See Richard Walser (ed.), "Letters of a Young Novelist: Calvin Henderson Wiley," *North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXI (July, October, 1954), 410-421, 550-575.

is an accepted custom among the Bankers, or Arabs as they are called because of the sandhills near which they live. The young hero of the tale is Walter Tucker of Roanoke Island, son of Pocosin Dan Tucker, a renowned fiddler and friend of a musical competitor, Old Zip Coon of Virginia. During a shooting match on the Banks, conducted not unlike the mediaeval tournaments in Europe, Walter performs the feat of the day by riding a horse to the top of a dune, an exploit previously considered impossible. His prize, a wreath of flowers, is presented to the girl Utopia, who is thus crowned Queen of Love and Beauty. Soon the complicated narrative moves to New Bern and Moore's Creek Bridge, but I am happy to report that Walter, our plebeian hero, turns out to be the descendant of both Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Manteo of Roanoke. Though the book admittedly covers more ground than an experienced writer would deem advisable, this work is important as an early depository of many legends and customs and characters which have come to be the heritage of our State.

The second title of this group is George Higby Throop's *Nag's Head,*[51] a loosely put-together story of a Northern schoolmaster vacationing at the beach with a wealthy eastern Carolina family in mid-nineteenth century. Throop describes the voyage from the mainland on a schooner, as the planter moves his household and all their effects across the sound. There are paragraphs about the cottages, the hotel, the resort diversions, the expeditions to Jockey's Ridge, to the freshwater ponds, and to Roanoke Island. The reader is furnished with much of the lore, traditions, and history of the area, but he learns little of the lives of the Bankers. This pleasant century-old novel is a mine of source material about the summer activities of the ante-bellum vacationists on the Dare County beaches. It deserves reprinting, for it would find more than adequate market among the present-day Nags Head

[51] [George Higby Throop], *Nag's Head, or Two Months Among "The Bankers," by Gregory Seaworthy* (Philadelphia: A. Hart, 1850. 180 pp.) See Richard Walser, "The Mysterious Case of George Higby Throop, 1818-1896; Or, The Search for the Author of the Novels *Nag's Head, Bertie,* and *Lynde Weiss,*" *North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXIII (January, 1956), 12-44.

enthusiasts who would enjoy reading of their counterparts one hundred years ago.

In a survey like this, the researcher is always hopeful of making a literary rediscovery. He prays he may find among his thirty volumes at least one book, not already familiar to him, which will excite from sheer diversity and surprise. Such a one, for me, was a novel by an Elizabeth City lawyer Frank Vaughan titled *Kate Weathers.*[52] I shall never forget the evening I turned to the first of its many close-printed pages and began to read. In spite of obvious aesthetic sins, it was the book I had prayed for. Romantic one moment, realistic the next, and often fantastic, it nevertheless plunged me delightfully back to the autumn of 1789 at the height of the wrecker-pirates' activities at Nagshead [*sic*]. The involved action moves evenly along Dare County's banks, mainland, and Roanoke Island. First we have a shipwreck. The rapacious Bankers raise lights on Jockey's Ridge to entice a ship to its doom. As the vessel is foundering, the land-pirates unexpectedly have a change of heart and emulate their Coast Guard descendants of later generations by risking their lives in the violent surf to save the passengers. Once ashore, however, the destitute survivors must flee their wicked rescuers. Eventually they arrive at an inland lake [probably the expanse formed by Milltail Creek on the Dare County mainland] and live an idyllic existence in the manner of the Swiss Family Robinson. There they are protected by the lone residents of the lake—an old man and his two young associates—whose true nobility of spirit is apparent in certain wild animals' relationship with them. The girl's best friends are a flock of cranes, and the boy's, several sociable bears. Basil, as the Rousseauistic old gentleman is called, presently goes to Roanoke Island to ascertain how practicable is the liberation of his shipwrecked companions. There a loquacious madman, living at the house of an illiterate and superstitious island couple, takes him to be the dead, but now resurrected, Doctor Skyelake of Raleigh's 1584 expedition. The fluctuating style of the book can be gathered from these few hints. The tone

[52] Frank Vaughan, *Kate Weathers, or, Scattered by the Tempest* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1878. 437 pp.).

moves from local color to the ultra-romantic to the pseudo-scientific. But, withal, I find *Kate Weathers,* a highly entertaining book. Its principal disappointment is an uncomplimentary representation of the Bankers as a generally predatory, corrupt, and degraded species.

*Bijou,* by Albert Plympton Southwick, must be mentioned on account of its captivating subtitle: *The Foundling of Nag's Head.*[53] The pretty eighteen-year-old title-heroine of this uncommonly worthless bit of literature was, we are told, rescued from a Banker wreck, but she is now living with some friends in a town which, from descriptions, closely resembles Elizabeth City. Not only is this story trifling in plot and composition; it condemns itself irreparably by tiresomely labeling North Carolina people and environs as "coarse," "plain," and "vulgar." I should add briefly, and then say no more, that the author had the misfortune to be born in Massachusetts! *Requiescat in pace.*

The first of two contemporary juvenile novels, Stephen W. Meader's *The Sea Snake,*[54] opens three miles from the Kitty Hawk Coast Guard Station at a beach Volunteer Lookout Post of the Army Fighter Command. On duty is the boy Barney Cannon, son of a Banker fisherman. The German submarine menace of early World War II is at its height. Barney suspects the wealthy German-speaking foreigners on nearby Caldee Island of supplying the enemy, and on a reconnaissance visit to the island he is captured and put aboard the U-432, the *Sea Snake.* There he collects valuable information which is turned over to the authorities on his escape. Most of the book takes up Barney's experiences aboard the submarine, and the pages dealing with life on the banks do not emphasize the local color; but it cannot be denied that *The Sea Snake* is an exciting, well-constructed tale for younger boys.

Colonel S. P. Meek's *Surfman*[55] is set at the Cape Hatteras Lifeboat Station. The author, after visiting Hatteras Island

[53] Albert Plympton Southwick, *Bijou: The Foundling of Nag's Head* (New York: American News Company, 1887. 186 pp.).

[54] Stephen W. Meader, *The Sea Snake* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1943. 255 pp.).

[55] S. P. Meek, *Surfman: The Adventures of a Coast Guard Dog* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. 267 pp.).

in 1949, decided to use the Outer Banks for his setting, but in the Preface he admits that many of the incidents are based on material gathered from other Coast Guard stations. He begins the story by telling of young Curley Graham's coming from Cape Cod to report for duty at Hatteras. Graham wishes to clear up a mystery connected with the disappearance of his father, who many years ago was stationed there. By the end of the book the mystery is solved, but not before young Graham is involved in a number of exciting adventures with his Chesapeake retriever, Surfman. The story is particularly rewarding for its authentic background, its detailed day-by-day picture of life at a lonely Outer Banks lifeboat station. Though the volume carries the usual notice that all the characters are fictitious, at least two of the prominent figures in the book are carefully drawn pen portraits of actual persons: Chief Boatswain's Mate Pennel A. Tillett and the well-known journalist Ben Dixon McNeill of Buxton. One of the wrecked LSTs now on the beach at Salvo is, with poetic license, moved down the coast to Hatteras,[56] where the stirring climax is played out during a hurricane in February!

At this point, my survey is ended. What, if any, conclusions can be drawn? First, the Raleigh colonies have attracted far more writers of belletristic literature than one would think off-hand. In this regard, Roanoke can be said to be a rival of Jamestown and Plymouth. Second, the treatments have been widely divergent, with different estimates of historical characters and events. Third, the mystery of the Lost Colony and the fate of Virginia Dare have fascinated imaginative writers for over a century. Fourth, the Dare County banks, within a similar length of time, have provided setting and character for many writers. One novel, Throop's *Nag's Head,* is of sufficient interest to warrant reprinting. Finally, all thirty titles, with varying degrees of success, have recorded social history, interpreted the ancient documents, or preserved the legends which are the common heritage of North Carolinians everywhere.

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[56] See Ben Dixon MacNeill, "Coast Guardsmen Like Roles in Volume," *The News and Observer* (Raleigh), July 24, 1950.

# ROANOKE COLONISTS AND EXPLORERS: AN ATTEMPT AT IDENTIFICATION

By WILLIAM S. POWELL

If I tell you how I first came to be interested in this problem I hope I will not be thought guilty of revealing state secrets. The very early years of American history have always held a special fascination for me, but this particular effort to identify the Roanoke colonists and explorers as individuals came about in a rather unusual way. Back in 1949 when I was a member of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History Dr. Christopher Crittenden (Director) had to go to Washington on business for a couple of days. For some reason—I suppose he just didn't want to drive up alone—he asked me if I had any "official" business in Washington or any research of an official nature which I could do while there. My title at that time was Researcher so I assumed that almost any research in the field of North Carolina history which might add to our store of knowledge would be legitimate business. I had several days to find a topic so I gave the matter a bit more than just fleeting consideration. For some reason the idea came to me to see if I could find any new material in printed English records concerning the Lost Colonists. In particular, I had in mind examining the extensive lists of students and biographical volumes on the graduates of the universities at Oxford and Cambridge. I promptly set about arranging the names of these colonists in alphabetical order and also indicating those men who probably were married, as suggested by the surnames of the women and children among the colonists. These 116 names were listed on rather large sheets of paper and after them I made three columns headed "Oxford," "Cambridge," and "Other." The latter was to be used to record any miscellaneous information or possible sources of information I might find.

Dr. Crittenden considered my plan a sound one so I got to go to Washington. In the Library of Congress I set to work

with the Cambridge lists compiled by the Coopers and the Venns, and Foster's and Wood's volumes on Oxford.[1] From time to time I found references in these massive volumes which led me to other sources. After a few days of this we returned to Raleigh, but the columns on my pages had more X's (for no reference found) than checks (which meant a *possible* university graduate among the colonists). Of course all I had to work with was names so I was careful to make a check on my page only if the English reference made *no* mention of a graduate's career after 1587, the date of the Lost Colony. And, too, I paid careful attention to birth dates and worked under the assumption that a colonist probably would have been between, say, 18 and 35 years of age.

Well, I wasn't exactly enthusiastic about what I found. I had somehow hoped to discover that among the colonists there was a doctor, a lawyer, a clergyman, a metallurgist, and perhaps even specialists in other fields. Among the possible colonists-graduates—and there were only thirteen with some likely names being checked in both the Oxford *and* Cambridge columns—I did find one who held a degree in civil law from Oxford and one who held a degree in medicine from Cambridge. However, there were intriguing references to other sources, mostly manuscript or printed in volumes not readily available here, which tempted me. Therefore, from time to time for the next several years, I added to my file of notes and gradually began to feel that it might really be worthwhile to give more serious thought to the problem. I decided to go about the research in a more business-like way.

On fairly heavy-weight, 5 by 8 note cards I entered the name (one to a card) of each colonist or explorer of whom I was able to find any mention. This also included officers and

[1] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714, Their Parentage, Birthplace and Year of Birth, with a Record of Their Degrees* (Oxford: Parker, 4 volumes, 1892), hereinafter cited as Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses;* Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London: Rivington, 5 volumes, 1813-1820); Charles H. Cooper and Thomas Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses, 1500-1611* (Cambridge: Deighton, 3 volumes, 1858-1861; Bowes, 1913); John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, From the Earliest Times to 1751* (Cambridge: University Press, 4 volumes, 1922-1927), hereinafter cited as Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses.*

seamen of the ships which visited our coast between 1584 and 1590. On each card I indicated the date or dates of their visit. In the case of the Lost Colonists I also added "L.C." in red and colored the top of the note card with red ink. This was to call my immediate attention to it and warn me in my research to eliminate from consideration any person of the same name about whom anything was known after 1587. After Professor Quinn's recent two-volume set on the Roanoke Voyages[2] appeared I was able to add a number of new names to my list which previously had been drawn principally from Hakluyt. To the file of cards I transferred my notes, which heretofore had been kept in more or less haphazard fashion, and I combed the Quinn volumes for additional information.

The problem had already begun to take shape in my mind. I was trying to discover anything I could about the life of the colonists and explorers in England or wherever they lived before they came to Roanoke; anything concerning their relationship with other colonists and explorers; and anything about their life at home again after their return, if they did, in fact, return.

A very rapid and brief review of the explorations and attempts at settlement on our coast between 1584 and 1590 will set the stage.[3]

On March 25, 1584, Walter Raleigh obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent to "discover, search, finde out, and view" any lands "not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people." The patent was authorization to "goe or travaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie" for a period of six years.

Within a month and two days Raleigh had dispatched a small fleet of two ships commanded by Captains Philip

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[2] David B. Quinn, *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2 volumes, 1955), hereinafter cited as Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages.*

[3] Contemporary accounts appeared in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* published in 1589 and in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation* (3 volumes) in 1598-1600. More readily available today, however, is the *Everyman's Library* edition of Hakluyt published in this country by E. P. Dutton & Co. in 1926.

Amadas and Arthur Barlowe. They sailed from London on the 27th of April by the southern route through the West Indies and sighted land off our coast on the 4th of July, 1584. It was here that they "smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers," their journal reports. Amadas and Barlowe entered Pamlico Sound at present Ocracoke Inlet and a few days later Barlowe and eight of his men reached Roanoke Island. From early July until mid-September this small band of men explored the region as best they could, traded with the Indians, and observed such things as the plants and trees, the soil, the animals, and above all, they seem to have recorded everything they could learn about the Indians and their way of life. We have the names of only eight men "of the companie" in addition to Amadas and Barlowe. Simon Fernandez, the pilot, was one of these. It was on the return voyage that the Indians, Wanchese and Manteo, were taken to England.

The following spring, on April 9, 1585, the first English colony for the New World set sail from Plymouth, in the southwest of England not far from the homes of Raleigh, Grenville, and Drake. This time a fleet of seven ships, well-supplied and manned, sailed under the command of Richard Grenville. Ralph Lane was present as "lieutenant governor" and Philip Amadas as "Admiral of the country." The colony consisted of 108 men, all of whose names are known to us—the artist, John White, and the scientist, Thomas Hariot, being among them. On June 23 this initial colony arrived off Cape Fear (now Cape Lookout) and a few days later entered Pamlico Sound. For a whole year this colony occupied itself largely with exploratory voyages on the mainland but its base was Fort Raleigh on Roanoke Island. One of Lane's parties penetrated the wilderness for approximately 130 miles to the west and northwest, following the Roanoke River certainly as far as the present Northampton County.

In late July and early August, 1585, Grenville, who had brought this colony over, returned to Plymouth. Lane and his men expected to receive supplies and perhaps reinforce-

ments early the following spring. Their expectations of early relief, however, were not met and on June 1, 1586, Sir Francis Drake stopped by Roanoke after an expedition against the Spanish in the West Indies. He intended merely to pay a visit, but, seeing Lane's plight, he agreed to leave supplies and a ship for use in further explorations. Lane was inclined to accept this offer and continue to wait for more substantial relief from home. A severe storm, however, drove some of Drake's ships to sea and the colony decided not to risk their lives further. They accepted the opportunity to return home with Drake.

Within a month after the colony's departure the expected relief arrived in the form of a fleet of three ships commanded by Grenville. Failing to find the colony, Grenville left fifteen or eighteen men "furnished plentifully with all manner of provisions for two years" and returned home. We have evidence suggesting the names of only two of these men whose fate, like that of the Lost Colony, is not known.

The next visit to our shores by Englishmen is perhaps too well known to require more than passing mention. It was to deposit the Lost Colony at Roanoke. The colonists sailed from Portsmouth on April 26, 1587, travelled by the southern route, and arrived on July 16. Among them were 91 men, 17 women, and 9 "boys and children." Governor John White, much against his better judgment, returned to England with the fleet on August 27. Two children were born to the colonists between July 16 and August 27, bringing the total to 119 persons plus the governor. Here again, however, for several reasons it is impossible to be absolutely certain of the total. White says his list is of those "which safely arrived in Virginia, and remained to inhabite there." Included, however, are White himself, Fernandez the pilot, George How who was killed by Indians before White sailed, and Thomas Smith who is recorded in White's journal as having died en route to England. The name of Thomas Harris occurs twice and we do not know whether there were actually two persons of the same name or whether White made an error and recorded it twice.

The final English visit to Roanoke direct from the mother country came three years later when White at last was able to return to search for his friends and relatives. This, too, is now a well known part of North Carolina history and needs no elaboration here.

I think it might be well to tell you now about a problem which plagued me not only in the initial phase of my research, but is one which is still not solved. That is one of names. Surnames had descended somewhat regularly from father to son for less than two hundred and fifty years and, indeed, English records on into the eighteenth-century contain instances of men without surnames or merely individual descriptive names. A middle name was excessively rare indeed. In fact the very earliest instance I have been able to discover of the use of a middle name occurred just ten years before the Lost Colony.[4]

Spelling, of course, was not standardized. We all have heard of the numerous ways Sir Walter, himself, spelled Raleigh.

There was not a great variety of surnames among the Roanoke colonists and explorers, and there were even fewer Christian names. Several men and one woman are identified by only one name—Captain Aubrey, Captain Boniten, Chapman, Coffar, and so on, which are surnames. But some are recorded only as Daniel and Robert, for example. Forty-two family names among all the known colonists and explorers, 1584-1590, are borne by from two to four individuals. I think this is an unusually large number in view of the fact that we have the names of some 278 Roanokers.

Inadequate identification in the records can be blamed for some of the confusion over names. For example, among the men who remained a year with Ralph Lane was a Master Allen; later one Morris Allen was a Lost Colonist. Were they the same person? Haunce Walters was another of Lane's men; four years afterwards John White tells us that Haunce,

[4] George B. Millet, *The First Book of the Parish Registers of Madron in the County of Cornwall* (Penzance: Beare and Son, 1877), 29. Marriages: Jan. 19, 1577/8 "Richard, the sonne of Sampson John Richard, and Grace Harvey."

the Surgion, was with him searching for the Lost Colonists. Was *this* the same person? There are other cases of possible confusion of names which make it impossible to draw up a list and say, without reservation, just who was who.

Well, I plugged away at the problems and, in the meantime, with the encouragement of Paul Green (who first suggested it to me), Inglis Fletcher, Hugh Lefler, and several others, including, of course, Dr. Crittenden, I applied for a Guggenheim Fellowship to pursue the project to what I trusted would be a conclusion. In due course the news I had been hoping for did come and early last spring I sailed for England.

Before going into the detail as to what I found you might be interested to know where I worked. The British Museum in London kept me busy all day long for the better part of two months, while the Public Record Office, the London Guild Hall, the Westminster Guild Hall, and the University of London Library were all useful for special searches. Somerset House where ancient wills, inventories of estates, and other legal records, dating back literally hundreds of years, are kept proved exceedingly fascinating and worthwhile as a place for research. The Institute of Historical Research, housed at the University of London, however, proved to be the most convenient historical reference library I have ever encountered. So far as I could tell from my limited experience, they have everything in the way of printed source material which is essential for research in English and early American history. It is nothing short of a treasure house for the researcher and I especially enjoyed it because attendants are present only to help when called upon. Each researcher gets his own books, uses them where he pleases in the building, and the Institute is open from early morning until late at night.

Several names among the Roanokers *looked* Scottish so I made a brief visit to Edinburgh for a look at some of the records there. However, I found nothing which seemed to indicate that I was on the right trail so I gave up that pursuit.

Incidentally, I'd like to comment that I find historical research somewhat like hunting in the woods. When you start out you never know what you'll see. Perhaps there are tracks to follow but they may lead into a deep gulley or into a thicket. Some tracks may lead you to others, often trails cross, but sooner or later, if you're lucky, you find your game. It may not be the deer you were seeking, but a rabbit or a squirrel *is* game!

This is by way of saying that I didn't go about this research in a pre-planned way. I just followed where the trail led. As has been suspected all along, most of the Roanoke colonists seem to have come either from London or from the west of England—Devon and Cornwall, principally. The public library of Exeter in Devon proved to be a most fruitful place for research. I was particularly delighted with a marvelous manuscript index which is now there.[5] It is made on 3 x 5 slips and filed in something over 300 standard library file drawers. Included are persons, places, things, and events of southwest England. The amazing sources indexed are impossible for me to list. Among them, however, are manuscripts in the British Museum and the Public Record Office; various parish registers; files of newspapers and periodicals located all over England; collections of various sorts owned by local and regional libraries, historical organizations, municipal corporations, churches, and even individuals. The entry cards even contain tempting bits of information extracted from the sources so they really amount to more than just an index. I must say I never heard of such a wonderful guide to this type material in this country and doubt that there is another anywhere. Harvard University has microfilmed sections of the index which are of interest to certain scholars there. This index is largely the work of one man who devoted a lifetime to it prior to his death in the early 1940's. Since then, and occasionally before, other interested individuals have contributed slips to it, however. Sometimes I found clippings from newspapers pasted on the slips and in a few instances

[5] This is known officially as the Burnett-Morris Index.

there were even whole articles from magazines folded up to fit the file and inserted in the proper alphabetical place.

Really, it's impossible for me to sing the praises of this index too highly. Suffice it to say I spent numerous delightful days filling my note cards from it!

The Devon and Exeter Institution, also in Exeter, proved to be an inspiring place to visit. In appearance it is more like a private club than a library or historical society, but when I explained my purpose I was welcomed to its collections.

I was distressed in Exeter to discover that Nazi bombs had destroyed practically all of the early records formerly in the Devonshire Records Office. I felt the loss all the more keenly because in London I had discovered a calendar of the Devonshire manuscripts and among them were numerous choice-looking documents which I hoped would give me more information on the Roanokers. This was undoubtedly the most serious loss of records, so far as my own research was concerned, that I encountered.

In Plymouth the superb local history collection in the public library was quite useful. The library has recently moved into new quarters since its old building was burned out in the blitz. I also took advantage of my stay in Plymouth to use the files of the *Western Morning News* newspaper in its office there to follow up some "leads" from the index in Exeter.

From both Exeter and Plymouth I visited small outlying towns to examine parish registers or to visit houses which I think, with a reasonable degree of certainty, were the homes of Roanoke colonists. From Plymouth I also went out into the county of Cornwall where, in Truro, I used manuscripts in the Cornwall Records Office. I might add in passing that in England there are many counties with outstanding archives offices. The one at Truro was just being re-established in new quarters after being moved from Bodmin. Those in which I worked were staffed by intelligent and eager young people who, without exception, proved to be most helpful. They all seemed genuinely interested in my research and when I explained that I once worked in our State Archives they were

extremely eager to "talk shop." I suppose it is only to be expected in England that these people can read with facility the curious and strange (at least it still seems so to me) handwriting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Passages in manuscripts which seemed extremely difficult to me and over which I might have to puzzle for hours in transcribing, they nearly always were able to read right off as easily as the morning's newspaper.

While still in London I undertook to establish contact with likely sources of information throughout England which I might investigate more carefully when I was touring around researching. From current books of the Who's Who type, particularly Burke's *Landed Gentry,* I noted the names and addresses of living members of families whose names were represented among the Roanoke colonists and explorers and whose genealogies, as best I could determine, were known back to that time. To these people, and there were simply hundreds of them, I wrote brief letters explaining my project and telling them about the colonists whose surnames they bore. Almost without exception I received prompt replies. I must admit that most of them had never heard of Roanoke Island, but they were very much intrigued with the idea that an ancestor might have been such an early American colonist. I was pleasantly surprised at the number of these people—there must have been at least twenty-five—who sent me manuscript family records, some of them dating from the early 1600's, with the request that I use them as long as desired and then return them when I had finished. In one case a lady on the coast of Cornwall replied for her husband who was then at sea. She did not know for certain whether the family was descended from David Williams, who had remained with Ralph Lane for a year, but she did know about the Roanoke settlements. A nephew of hers who now lives in Greensboro, she told me, was graduated from the University of North Carolina a few years ago. I have not pursued this lead to its end, but the idea that a descendant of one of Lane's men might now be living in North Carolina certainly fasci-

nates me. Sometimes I'm tempted to drop this clue for fear I will learn that this Tar Heel is *not* a descendant.

After I had been working in London for several months I began to see something of a regional pattern in so far as the location of families was concerned. Frequently, in the sixteenth century, persons bearing a specific family name seemed to be concentrated in a small area rather than scattered througout the country as later. This fact suggested the possible value of another batch of letters. By using *Crockford's Clerical Directory*[6] I determined the present-day names of the Church of England parishes in which these families had been centered. A letter to the local vicar explaining my work and asking for information from his parish records almost without fail brought me interesting information. In many cases either the vicar or his wife very kindly searched the registers for me and gave me the information I was seeking. In others I was told that there was no entry for the name or names I was seeking or that the registers for that period did not exist. Sometimes I was told that the registers were available, but that the search would be too time-consuming to be undertaken just then. In these cases it was necessary for me either to see the records myself, engage someone locally to make a careful search, or accept the nearly-always-offered suggestion that a search would be made later as time permitted. When I found it necessary to accept the latter course, I gave my Chapel Hill address and now, many months later, I receive an occasional report from a faithful parish priest or his clerk.

During the time I was in England I was so busy searching, following fresh leads, and making notes (to say nothing of writing letters!) that I seldom stopped to take stock of just what I was finding. I felt like I imagine a cow must feel when let into a new pasture in the spring. I was busy eating all the grass I could hold, expecting later to lie down and digest it at leisure.

That's what I've been doing the past few weeks and I'd like to share with you some of my findings. By no means are

[6] *Crockford's Clerical Directory* (Oxford: University Press, 1956).

they all conclusive. I still have much more work to do in digging up material, and more decisions to make on the basis of what I have found and perhaps will still find.

Among the nearly 280 colonists and explorers who came to Roanoke and vicinity during the six years, it seems that twenty-two were not English-born. Three others have foreign-sounding names, but I have been unable to establish them as being foreign. These are Shaberdge, Skevelabs, and Smolkin. Nine nationalities are represented by the twenty-two: German, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Irish, Scottish, Danish, Flemish, and Welsh. The Germans seem to have been mining specialists who had worked in the tin mines of Cornwall and elsewhere in England. The Spanish and Portuguese representatives were pilots; the Dane, Martin Laurentson, was a member of Grenville's expedition in 1585. A letter from Frederik II of Denmark to Queen Elizabeth tells us that Laurentson "intends to devote his attention to the art of naval warfare" and Frederik requested that he be put in the charge of a skilled naval officer for that purpose. Except for the Irish, Welsh, and Scotsmen, the other foreign-born elements appear to have been residents of England for at least several years. These people were about evenly divided among the various expeditions.[7]

Of the whole number of people coming to Roanoke, only fourteen made the voyage over more than once, so far as the records show.[8] As has been stated already, however, we do not have complete lists of all the colonists and explorers and

[7] R. E. G. Kirk and Ernest F. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to that of James I* (Aberdeen: The Huguenot Society of London, 4 volumes, 1900-1908), *passim*, hereinafter cited as Kirk and Kirk, *Aliens;* Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages, passim;* Israel Abrahams, "Joachim Gaunse: A Mining Incident in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," The Jewish Historical Society of England, *Transactions* (1899-1901), IV, 83-103; A. L. Rowse, *Tudor Cornwall, Portrait of a Society* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1941), 55; George Grant-Francis, *The Smelting of Copper in the Swansea District* (London: Henry Sotheran & Co., 1881), 40-57; William Page (ed.), *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509-1603* (Lymington: The Huguenot Society of London, 1893), 89, 116, and *passim.*

[8] Philip Amadas, Arthur Facy, John Facy, Simon Fernandez, William Irish, Edward Kelly, James Lacy, Roger Large, Edward Spicer, Edward Stafford, John Taylor, Hance Walter (assuming that he and Haunce the Surgeon were the same person), John White, John Wright.

it is entirely possible that this figure is too low. John White came the maximum number of times—five. Simon Fernandez came three times, and Philip Amadas came twice. Only two of the Lost Colonists, however, had been to Roanoke before. Seven of the men who spent a year with Ralph Lane returned for a second time. In 1590 when John White returned to relieve, and as it turned out, to search for the colony he had left three years before, he had with him six other men who had been to Roanoke before.

There isn't time for me to go into much detail concerning the information I found of a more or less personal nature concerning the 278 colonists and explorers. In a large number of cases, however, I was able to find in parish registers such information as dates of christenings, marriages, and burials for persons of the same names and at about the right time, but as yet I cannot say that I have actually identified them as Roanokers. The Lost Colonists, I suspect, are of more general interest so I will try to include more of them in my examples which follow in rough alphabetical order.

Marke Bennet and William Berde both Lost Colonists, are described in contemporary records as a husbandman[9] and a yoeman,[10] respectively. Richard Berry, a member of the same group, was described as a "gentleman" and was a muster captain in 1572.[11]

Logically enough among Lane's men who stayed a year there was a shoemaker—John Brocke.[12] Francis Brooke, treasurer of the 1585 expedition, seems later to have been a naval captain who commanded several privateer vessels.[13] And John Fever was a basket-maker[14]—a useful occupation in the colony, no doubt, with corn to be carried and fish weirs to be made.

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[9] Essex Records Office Q/SR 201/68; Q/SR 296/41.

[10] Joseph Foster, *London Marriage Licences, 1521-1869* (London: B. Quaritch, 1887), col. 132, hereinafter cited as Foster, *London Marriage Licences.*

[11] Burnett-Morris Index extracting information from H. Walrond, *Militia,* 11.

[12] Kirk and Kirk, *Aliens,* III, 361.

[13] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages,* II, 742; I, 190.

[14] Kirk and Kirk, *Aliens,* II, 73.

William Brown is a common name, but one of that name was a London goldsmith prior to 1587 when the name appears on the roll of the Lost Colony.[15] Anthony Cage, another 1587 colonist, had been sheriff of Huntington in 1585.[16] Two other Lost Colonists, James Hynde and William Clement, according to contemporary manuscripts now in the Essex Records Office,[17] had been in prison together in Colchester Castle near London, a general jail, for stealing. Perhaps to be described as "at the other end of the ladder," was Thomas Ellis, of the Lost Colony, also. Before leaving his home in Exeter he had been a member of the vestry of his parish church, St. Petrock, which still stands on the main business street of Exeter.[18]

Henry Greene, a member of the very first expedition, the one headed by Amadas and Barlowe, was a graduate of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and it has been suggested that he is of the same family as the ancestors of General Nathanael Greene of Revolutionary War, and especially Guilford Court House, fame.[19]

One of Lane's men, Rowland Griffin, was convicted and sent to prison in 1594 for robbery.[20] On the other hand, John Harris, a member of the same expedition, was knighted in 1603 at the coronation of James I.[21]

There seem to have been at least two college professors among the Roanokers. Thomas Luddington, one of Lane's men, was a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford (and, incidentally, afterwards Preacher to the City of Lincoln)[22] while Thomas Harris, a Lost Colonist, was a fellow of Corpus

[15] Foster, *London Marriages Licences,* col. 203.

[16] Robert Lemon (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1581-1590* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), 274, hereinafter cited as *Calendar of State Papers.*

[17] ASS 35/24/T/6; ASS 35/24/T/4.

[18] Burnett-Morris Index extracting information from R. Dymond, *History,* 68.

[19] Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* II, 255. Robert Halstead, *Succinct Proofs of the House of Greene that Were Lords of Drayton* (No place: Printed for Private Distribution, 1896), [v].

[20] Essex Records Office ASS 35/36/T/21; ASS 35/37/H/39.

[21] William A. Shaw, *Knights of England* (London: Sherratt and Hughes, 2 volumes, 1906), II, 114, hereinafter cited as Shaw, *Knights.*

[22] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *14th Report, Appendix, Part VIII,* the Manuscripts of Lincoln . . . Corporation. (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1895), 75, 78, 79.

Christi College, Cambridge, from 1579 to 1586. He held the master's degree from the same college.[23]

Thomas Hewet may have been the Lost Colonists' lawyer. At any rate he held the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law from Oxford.[24] Robert Holecroft, "of Westminster, co. Middlesex, gentleman," may have held a similar post in Lane's colony. He later appeared in court representing several Thames watermen, as dock and river workers were called.[25]

It is also possible that one of Lane's men did a bit of recruiting for his alma mater. Both William White and Richard Wildye were graduates of Brasenose College, Oxford, and we find that young Thomas Hulme, a member of the same expedition, entered the same college the year following his return home. Hulme later studied law. Another young man in the same group, Richard Ireland, entered Christ Church, Oxford, two years later and eventually was Headmaster of Westminster School.[26]

There probably was some reason for Lane to bring along a customs official, but off hand I haven't discovered it. Anyway, Christopher Marshall is described as "one of the Waiters in the port of London," and Waiter in those days meant customs official.[27]

Lost Colonist William Nicholes may have been a tailor. A "clothworker" of that name was married in London in 1580 and in 1590 we find the grant of a license to someone else "to occupy the trade of a clothier during the minority of George Nicholles, son of Wm. Nicholles."[28]

George Raymond, who came over in 1585, was a captain in the Royal Navy at the time of the Spanish Armada threat. In 1591 when he sailed on an expedition to the West Indies he was described as a "gentleman captain and privateer promoter."[29]

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[23] Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II, 313.
[24] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, II, 700.
[25] Essex Records Office Q/SR 134/22, 24.
[26] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, passim.*
[27] *Calendar of State Papers*, 43.
[28] Foster, *London Marriage Licences*, col. 974. *Calendar of State Papers*, 681.
[29] Julian S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 2 volumes, 1899), II, 150, hereinafter cited as Corbett,

Anthony Rowse, another member of Lane's expedition, had been a member of Parliament the previous year and afterwards was sheriff of Cornwall for several years. He was knighted in 1603 and, at the death of Drake, was executor of his estate.[30] Here again another extreme may be cited. Richard Sare, of the same expedition, is described in contemporary records simply as a laborer.[31] (I have my own personal opinion as to which man was more valuable in the wilds of the New World.)

John Spendlove, later a Lost Colonist, was described on a 1585 muster list as a "gentleman" and reported present with his horse.[32]

John Stukely who came over in 1585 was Grenville's brother-in-law and the father of Sir Lewis Stukely who had an ugly part in the final downfall and death of Sir Walter Raleigh.[33]

John Twyt, one of Lane's men, appears as a London apothecary in 1580.[34]

Both Benjamin and John Wood who came in 1584 with Amadas and Barlowe later enjoyed high positions. Benjamin had an interesting career at sea and was a noted navigator and captain. He has a place in the annals of British naval history for his attempt to reach China. He is known to have arrived at the Malay Peninsula but was later lost at sea.[35] John had already been a muster captain and after returning home became one of the "Jurates" of the town and port of

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*Drake and the Tudor Navy*; Kenneth R. Andrews, "The Economic Aspects of Elizabethan Privateering" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1951), 262, hereinafter cited as Andrews, "Privateering."

[30] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, I, 119, 123, 194; John L. Vivian, *The Visitations of Cornwall, Comprising the Heralds' Visitations of 1530, 1573 & 1620* (Exeter: W. Pollard & Co., 1887), 412-413; Hazel Matthews, "Personnel of the Parliament, 1584-1585" (unpublished masters thesis, University of London, 1948), 194.

[31] Essex Records Office, Q/SR 185/72.

[32] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper, K. G., Preserved at Melbourne Hall* (London: Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 3 volumes, 1888-1889), Appendix, Part I, 6.

[33] A. L. Rowse, *Sir Richard Grenville of the Revenge* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1949), 270.

[34] Foster, *London Marriage Licences*, col. 1372.

[35] William Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* (London: A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1933), 138-142; Kenneth R. Andrews, "New Light on Hakluyt," *The Mariner's Mirror*, XXXVII (1951), 305, hereinafter cited as Andrews, "New Light on Hakluyt."

Sandwich. He was knighted in 1603 at the coronation of James I.[36]

Several of the Roanokers are "famous" enough to be recorded in standard biographical works, especially the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Amadas and Barlowe are examples of this and we need not make further mention of them.

Thomas Cavendish is nearly always given special mention in accounts of the Roanoke colonists and it is generally implied that he is famous and widely known. Perhaps so, but I had to "read up" on him to get the facts. His chief claim to fame is based on the fact that he sailed around the world in 1586, the year after he visited Roanoke. For Grenville's voyage to Roanoke in 1585 he supplied and commanded a ship, perhaps as a sort of training period for his circumnavigation. In 1591 he sailed again on what was to have been a second voyage around the world, but he died at sea in June of the following year.[37]

Marmaduke Constable, a member of Lane's expedition of 1585-1586, might be said to have been famous on a local scale. I cite him here merely as an example, of which there are others, of representatives of prominent families who came to Roanoke. Marmaduke entered Caius College, Cambridge, in 1581, so he must have joined Lane when he was fresh out of college. He is described as a "gentleman" and eventually succeeded his father as local squire, married a neighbor's daughter, and left descendants who still live at the same place. Our Marmaduke is buried in York Minster, one of the "must" cathedrals on all lists for tourists of England to visit.[38]

Next in alphabetical order comes Sir Francis Drake. He, too, is well known and is still one of England's greatest

[36] Burnett-Morris Index extracting information from H. Walrond, *Militia*, 11; W. Bruce Bannerman, *The Visitations of Kent* (London: Harleian Society, 1924), Part 2, 59; Shaw, *Knights*, II, 109.

[37] Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (eds.), *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: University Press, 21 volumes, 1949-1950), III, 1267-1272, hereinafter cited as *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[38] Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I, 380; John Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College* (Cambridge: University Press, 3 volumes, 1897-1901), I, 110. His will is in the York Registry, volume 30, fol. 597.

heroes. His home is now a museum and his famous drum, on display there, is said to be heard at any time when England is in danger. The famous bowl with which he is said to have been playing on the Hoe at Plymouth when the Spanish Armada approached is also there. Incidentally, his home, Buckland Abbey near Plymouth, had earlier belonged to the Grenville family and it is believed to have been the birthplace of Sir Richard.[39]

Edward Gorges was a cousin of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Lord Proprietor of the Colony of Maine, and his mother and Sir Walter Raleigh were first cousins. Edward was a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford, and came to Roanoke in 1585 with Grenville. He later was employed by Queen Elizabeth as a personal messenger to Henry IV of France, and he was knighted by her successor, James I. He is buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, not far from Sir Walter Raleigh.[40]

Thomas Hariot, mathematician and astronomer, is too well known for his scientific report on the newfound land of Virginia to require further identification. It is worth noting, however, that a mathematical study of his embodies inventions which gave algebra its modern form and that he used telescopes simultaneously with Galileo. Dean John W. Shirley of State College is writing a biography of Hariot which undoubtedly will contain much to delight and surprise all who are interested in this period of history.

Sir Richard Grenville, another famous Englishman who is remembered for a brilliant career at sea, was also a member of Parliament before visiting Roanoke. He and Raleigh were cousins, and like Cavendish he died at sea.

Abraham Kendall, who remained a year with Lane's colony, was a veteran navigator and renowned mathematician. He commanded a ship in 1578 in Frobisher's fleet, and 1594-1595 was in the West Indies. Several recent studies have been made of his contributions to navigation and now, as in

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[39] Crispin Gill, *Buckland Abbey* (Plymouth: Underhill, Ltd., 1956), *passim.*

[40] Raymond Gorges, *The Story of a Family Through Eleven Centuries* (Boston: Privately printed, 1944), 79-95.

his lifetime, he is "extolled for his mathematical skill." Sir Robert Dudley, for whom Kendall once worked, considered him one of the most expert mariners produced by England. He is buried in Central America.[41]

Ralph Lane has been frequently "written up" but is still not clearly understood. His temper seems to have been the cause of his near-downfall on more than one occasion, and it appears that he was not able to get along with his fellowmen. He is believed to have served in Parliament in 1558 and again in 1562. It is definitely known that he was sheriff of Kerry in Ireland just prior to sailing with Grenville and that he was knighted in 1593. He was occupied with various military and naval assignments throughout most of his adult life. In 1603 he died in Dublin where he is buried.[42]

Jacob Whiddon, who was with Grenville in 1585 when he brought over Ralph Lane and his colony, was a trusted servant and follower of Sir Walter Raleigh. Raleigh spoke of him as "a man most valiant and honest." Whiddon was sent out by Raleigh to explore the Orinoco River and he was with Raleigh on his voyage to South America in 1595. He died and was buried on the Island of Trinidad in the West Indies.[43]

David Williams, who remained a year with Lane's colony, was a young Welsh lawyer recently called to the bar and later an outstanding London lawyer and judge. He served in Parliament for one year immediately prior to coming over

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[41] Andrews, "New Light on Hakluyt," 307; Eva G. R. Taylor, "Instructions to a Colonial Surveyor in 1582," *The Mariner's Mirror*, XXXVII (1951), 62; Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 2 volumes, 1890), II, 934.

[42] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of the Right Honourable F. J. Savile Foljambe, of Osberton* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1897), 29, 34, 47, 51-53; Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, II, 301, 302, 329, 353; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Salisbury . . .* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 16 volumes, 1883-1933), II, 68; VII, 310-313.

[43] Andrews, "Privateering," 343; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXI, 4-5. There are a number of interesting references to Whiddon in the Burnett-Morris Index. In 1588, for example, he was captain of Raleigh's ship, the "Roebuck," and may have taken part in the abortive effort by John White to relieve the 1587 colony.

and for three more years after he returned. In 1603 he was knighted.[44]

I have my doubts about the identification of John Jones of the Lost Colony with Dr. John Jones, an outstanding Welsh physician, but I'd like to tell you one point in favor of it. The Welshman was a most prolific writer of medical books but his last known place of residence was in 1573 although he published a book in 1579. Might not such an intellectually curious physician have been anxious to visit the New World? [45]

Now, before approaching the Lost Colonists as individuals, let's consider some figures concerning them. There were eighty single men (or at least men without wives along). There were eleven families consisting of husband and wife alone and two families with one child each. There were apparently four men who brought their sons, or perhaps they were younger brothers. There were six single women and three children with no apparent relatives among the other colonists. Incidentally, all the children were boys and, judging from a remark made by John White, one of the children with his mother was so young that he was still nursing at her breast.[46] Two children were born in August, 1587, after the colonists reached Roanoke—Virginia Dare and a Harvey child.

I think it shows remarkable courage or else extreme ignorance and indifference that such a group should have done what they did. Imagine sailing on a ship of 120 tons or less (the "Queen Elizabeth" today is 83,000 tons) with nine children, at least one of whom was an infant, and two pregnant

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[44] *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXI, 389-390; Shaw, *Knights*, II, 114. A portrait of Williams was in storage when I was in England since the home of its owner was being repaired. It is expected that it will be available for photographing sometime in 1957.

[45] Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, II, 485.

[46] On June 22, 1587, according to White's account, "at an Island called Santa Cruz, . . . some of our women and men, by eating a small fruit like greene Apples, were fearefull troubled with a sudden burning in their mouthes . . . . Also a child by sucking one of the womens breasts, had at that instant his mouth set on such aburning, that it was strange to see how the infant was tormented." Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1926), VI, 197.

women. The voyage lasted just ten days short of three months.

There's probably nothing to be gained from trying to guess *why* these people came over. I've found evidence that many of them, not only among the Lost Colonists but among the other colonists and explorers, were apparently related by marriage. Some were undoubtedly friends or acquaintances because they were near neighbors. Edward Kelly and Thomas Wise, for instance, both members of Lane's colony, lived about 2½ miles from each other in Devon.[47] Some were employed by the same person—Atkinson, Fernandez, and Russell, for example, are all spoken of as being in the service of Sir Francis Walsingham.[48] Four others are known to have served in the same military unit, and, as previously cited, two were in jail together. Quinn sets forth a number of them who were from London, particularly a group working on the Thames River.

The single women who came with the Lost Colony, however, pose something of a problem. Two women have surnames almost identical with those of two of the single men and I suspect that they actually were husbands and wives with the discrepancy in spelling explained by the fact that names were often spelled in various ways, as I have already suggested. Audry T-A-P-P-A-N and Thomas T-O-P-A-N, and Joan Warren and Thomas Warner, they are. As further evidence in the latter case I have found that one Thomas Warner married a Johanna Barnes in 1584 and that he was a mariner.[49] A certain controversial event in North Carolina history rests on slimmer documentary evidence than this!

Let's look at some of the other and more obviously single women, however.

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[47] Charles Worthy, *Devonshire Wills: A Collection of Annotated Testamentary Abstracts* (London: Bemrose & Sons, Ltd., 1896), 410; W. G. Hoskins, *Devon* (London: Collins, 1954), 433. The Wise home since 1937 has been used as a school. In that year "the contents of the house, the accumulation of more than 300 years of uninterrupted ownership, were sold and dispersed."

[48] Quinn, *Roanoke Voyages*, I, 170; James A. Williamson, *Age of Drake* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1952), 230.

[49] Foster, *London Marriage Licences*, col. 1416.

AGNES WOOD. In 1549 one Robert Woode of St. Bride's Church, London, to which at least one other member of the colony also belonged, married Johanna Toppam. Was our Agnes their daughter and therefore related to the Tappans?[50] Or was she perhaps the Agnes Traver who married John Wood in London in 1577?[51] John Wood had come to Roanoke in 1584. There may have been some reason for his wife to come.

JANE PIERCE. In Ireland Henry Piers, who died in 1623, had been married to Jane Jones.[52] Could Jane Pierce have been their daughter and related to Griffin, Jane, and John Jones who were also among the Lost Colonists? Another interesting possibility also exists. In 1568 one Jone Pierse, a Portuguese, registered as an alien in London. She was the sister of Simon and Fornando and a tenant of Frauncis White's.[53] Simon, Fornando, and White all sound familiar when spoken in connection with the Roanokers.

JANE MANNERING. All I can find is that Jane was a common given name in the Mainwaring family of Peover and Newton and that the grandmother of Humfrey Newton, another of the Lost Colonists, was named Katherine Mainwaring.[54] Were Jane and Humfrey related?

As to the other single women I haven't even a far-fetched clue. Maybe they were looking for husbands either among their unmarried fellow-colonists or perhaps they already had husbands among the 15 to 18 men left at Roanoke by Grenville the year before and they were coming to join them.

Why would there have been three boys with no apparent relatives among the Lost Colonists? I have two clues and a guess.

THOMAS HUMFREY. There was a Richard Humfrey among Lane's colonists who stayed a year. Perhaps young

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[50] Foster, *London Marriage Licences*, col. 1500.
[51] Foster, *London Marriage Licences*, col. 1498.
[52] *Dictionary of National Biography*, XV, 1155.
[53] Kirk and Kirk, *Aliens*, III, 385.
[54] R. Mainwaring Finley, *A Short History of the Mainwaring Family* (London: Griffith Farran Okeden & Welsh, 1890), 53; J. P. Rylands, *The Visitations of Cheshire in the Year 1580* (London: Harleian Society, 1882), *passim*; J. P. Earwaker, *East Cheshire: Past and Present* (London: Printed for the Author, 2 volumes, 1877-1880), I, 127.

Thomas was his son or brother who liked what he heard from the earlier colonist.

THOMAS SMART. There had been a colonist with the very same name with Lane. The obvious conclusion is to say that this boy was his son. But why did he come? Did he think his father might still be here?

WILLIAM WYTHERS. There were two members of the Taylor family among the Lost Colonists and two others had been here with Lane. One of the latter returned in 1590 with White. In 1592 in London one Robert Taylor married Elizabeth Wythers.[55] There may have been some prior connection or at least acquaintance among the members of the two families.

We have always been disappointed, of course, that John White was unable to prolong his search for the Lost Colony when he returned in 1590. This feeling becomes even stronger when we realize that he had with him three men whose surnames were the same as members of the Lost Colony. There must have been real grief in their hearts when they had to turn away with doubt still clouding their minds. Robert Coleman was with White and among the colonists were Thomas Colman and his wife; Henry Millett undoubtedly hoped to find Michael Myllet; and John Taylor, who surely knew the country well from his stay of a year with Lane, must have been deeply moved to have to turn away without finding Clement and Hugh Taylor, and perhaps the boy, William Wythers, who might also have been a relative.

If we had relatives at a lonely outpost, say near the South Pole, and the sending of supplies to them depended upon the speedy defeat of an enemy who threatened to invade our shores, I dare say we'd buy War Bonds till our last penny was gone. In England there survives a list of persons who subscribed towards the defense of the country at the time of the threatened attack by the Spanish Armada.[56] I have checked this list against the list of family names among the

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[55] Foster, *London Marriage Licences*, col. 1320.

[56] T. C. Noble, *The Names of Those Persons Who Subscribed Towards the Defence of this Country at the Time of the Spanish Armada, 1588, and the Amounts Each Contributed* (London: Alfred Russell Smith, 1886).

Roanokers and believe I have come across some interesting evidence.

Thirty-eight men and one woman with the same family names as the colonists contributed from £25 to £100 each. This represents an enormous sum of money. Of these names only nine were represented among the colonists and explorers before 1587. But twenty-nine contributors had the same family names as Lost Colonists and fifteen had the very same first name as well, making me think that in these fifteen cases, at least, it was the father of a colonist who contributed so generously.

After working with the names of these early colonists for several years I've begun to imagine what some of them looked like. There are portraits or engravings of Raleigh, Drake, Cavendish, Grenville, and perhaps a few of the others who are fairly well known. I also discovered that portraits of Edward Gorges and David Williams exist and that a portrait at Trinity College, Oxford, may be of Thomas Hariot.[57]

One phase of my study which I have yet had only an opportunity to think about is to consider any possible relationships which may have existed between the Roanokers and the settlers at Jamestown twenty years or so later. One instance of a possibility, I will cite, however. John Pory, secretary of the Virginia colony, came down into what is now Gates County in 1622. I had often wondered just why he made the journey and I have now discovered that his sister was married to a man named Ellis and that Thomas and Robert Ellis, the latter a boy, were among the Lost Colonists. I'd like to establish that a relationship existed between the various Ellises concerned.

Finally, I think my most exciting find was that Virginia Dare had a brother—at least a half-brother. His name was John Dare. He was an illegitimate son of Ananias Dare and

[57] The Gorges portrait recently was sold by a descendant and I have as yet been unable to locate it. For a statement on the Williams portrait see note 44, above. The Hariot portrait was published in Stefan Lorant, *The New World* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 154, and accepted without question. For a report on the possible identification of this portrait as Hariot, see Jean Robertson, "Some Additional Poems by George Chapman," *The Library*, XXII (September-December, 1941), 172-176.

the name of his mother appears not to be recorded. He was, nevertheless, acknowledged by his father and bore the name Dare. Under English law, an unaccounted for absence of seven years is necessary for a ruling of presumed death. A relative of young John Dare's, therefore, in 1594 petitioned that John be given his father's property. Ananias, the records show, was a member of St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, London, which still exists, near and almost in the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1597 young Dare's petition was granted. At that time it is obvious that he was over ten years of age.[58] I attempted to leave no stone unturned to trace him, but the only John Dare I could find was one mentioned in a manuscript of 1622 in the Essex Records Office relating to one John Dare who then was a surveyor. If this was Ananias's son, at that time he would have been around 36 years of age. A nineteenth-century Dare family lived in Essex but the records of it now in the county archives threw no light on my problem.

As I have intimated, my research is *not* completed and many of my decisions are tentative. I intend to continue searching for the answers to the many questions which have been asked for a long time about the Roanoke colonists and explorers.

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[58] Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Administrations, April, 1594, and June, 1597, in Somerset House, London.

# NORTH CAROLINA FICTION, DRAMA, AND POETRY, 1955-1956

By C. Hugh Holman

I have been asked to talk about the books of fiction, drama, and poetry which were entered in the competitions this year for the Sir Walter Raleigh Award for fiction (including the drama), the Roanoke-Chowan Cup for poetry, and the AAUW Award in juvenile literature. I stand before you a mixture of pride and humility—of pride that I have been asked to talk to you about these books and of humility because I feel keenly my inadequacy to judge them properly. This sense of my inadequacy will prevent my attempting to make any final critical judgments of these books.

My approach to literature is in the tradition of a comparatively remote examination, and this tradition of essentially historical judgment has two advantages both of which are lost to me today: One is that dead writers are much less restive than living ones; the other is that that most destructive and authoritative of critics, Time, winnows out the chaff from the true wheat if we wait long enough. To be confronted with a living body of writing, still warm from the minting mind of its creators, and to be confronted with it in such protean aspects is a sobering (and, I may add, a very pleasant) experience. Without acceding to the sometimes snide remarks of writers and readers about critics and teachers, I am still very much aware of the danger that I may lay the dead hand of historical scholarship upon the living body of these books, and this I certainly do not wish to do. I shall, therefore, confine most of my remarks to some facts that I think interesting and some tendencies that I think I detect in North Carolina writing.

Twenty-one volumes were entered in these competitions. Three are collections of short stories, six are novels, two are plays, eight are poetry, and two are juveniles. These twenty-one books were written by twenty authors, all but

two of whom are residents of North Carolina at the present time. Three of the books came from Chapel Hill, and two each came from Asheville, Durham, and Greensboro; the others originated at widely scattered points over the State.

Seven of the books were published by "old-line" trade publishers with national reputations—such companies as Dodd, Mead and Company, Houghton Mifflin Company, and the Vanguard Press. The University of North Carolina Press published one entry, a volume of short stories. Jonathan Williams, of Asheville, published two of the volumes, producing in them interesting and remarkably attractive examples of modern book design. Four were published locally by their authors, and the remaining seven books were the products of smaller publishers outside the State.

The short story collections represent so well the variety and richness of the year's offerings in fiction that I shall say a little more about them than I shall have time to say about the other books. Mrs. Frances Gray Patton's collection, *A Piece of Luck,* continues her urbane and charming way of making high comedy of the routine elements of life, of wittily playing with the raw materials of middle-class Durham, and of investing them, as the best comedy always does, with unique perceptions of serious truth. She writes in one of the great traditions of the South, although in this day of Gothic symbolism, time-eaten Doric columns, and unnatural family relationships in the Southern novel, we tend to forget it. This is the tradition of ironic comedy, of witty realism, a tradition in which, as that glorious exemplifier of it, Ellen Glasgow, said, ". . . the creative writer . . . resort[s] to imagination rather than . . . be overwhelmed by emotion."[1]

The collection of short stories by the late William T. Polk, *The Fallen Angel,* is drawn largely from that other body of material, the folkways and the folk humor of the essentially frontier Southern culture, a tradition sharply opposed to the

[1] Ellen Glasgow, *A Certain Measure* (New York, 1943), 150, hereinafter cited Glasgow, *A Certain Measure.*

basically Tidewater art which Mrs. Patton practices. Mr. Polk's stories and sketches preserve excellently the homely and rich sense of place and people and patois which was his, and record with loving artistry his sympathetic vision of a ribald and extravagant people.

In one sense both Mrs. Patton and Mr. Polk are professional writers—professional in the sense of dedication to a craft, of accomplishment in it, and of recognition for that accomplishment. Theirs is the sure control and the happy ease of the professional. The third book of short stories is by a different type of writer, and a type more widely represented in these twenty-one books than is the professional. *The Story of Six Loves* is by an amateur, Richard Carroll Johnson. He is an amateur in the sense that this volume is his first published work, that he is very young, and in the truest meaning of the word, he is clearly a *lover* of the craft he is beginning to practice in these six thematically related stories.

Of the six novels the one which has received the greatest amount of attention outside the state is *Green Pond* by Evan Brandon of Gastonia. This book is large in theme, in plot, in concept, and in treatment. It sweeps the reader through the history of a North Carolina town from the Civil War to the present and, through a series of dramatic exchanges among Gawd, Gabriel, Satan, and Beelzebub on the action of the story, it makes explicit Mr. Brandon's intention that we should view the loves, hates, passions, despairs, and triumphs of Green Pond's citizens as elements in a thematic assertion of the prevailing goodness in the world. Mr. Brandon writes in a poetically rhetorical style that sometimes reminds us of Thomas Wolfe, but the social scope and the objectivity of his novel free it from any sense of major indebtedness. Even with its cosmic action and its universal theme, it remains a striking piece of social realism.

In *My Lord Monleigh* Jan Cox Speas of Greensboro takes us out of North Carolina and into Scotland in 1745. Then, in a sense, she brings us home again by giving us in fine swashbuckling style a historical novel about the Rebellion that sent many Highlanders to this State.

Paul C. Metcalf in *Will West* has produced the most frankly experimental of the year's fictional works. A richly imaginative symbolic record of the land, told in a series of poetic interior monologues of a Cherokee Indian, Will West, this novel's action suggestively traces backward the long, violent history of our southern earth. Although lacking in the firmness of fully realized dramatic action, *Will West* is a powerful piece of writing by a man of sensibility and power.

Two novels are concerned with medicine. Agnes Lucas Phillips in *One Clear Call* has written a narrative about a nurse from the beginning of her career through her course of training. Dr. J. Allen Hunter in *Dear Doctor Dick* has produced a character sketch of a small-town physician and interlarded it with popular poems which the physician loved.

Julia Canaday's *Big End of the Horn* is an account of her early life and an evocative picture of North Carolina around the turn of this century. It presents a "full dress" portrait, done in love and reverence, of her father, James P. Canaday.

In a sense the two books entered in the AAUW Juvenile competition can properly be mentioned along with the novels, for both of them are long fictional narratives, surpassing in scope and seriousness some of the fiction aimed more directly at adults. Manly Wade Wellman in *To Unknown Lands* takes his young readers back in time to the fifteenth century and across ocean and jungle to Yucatan and the romantic mysteries of Aztec civilization. Julia Montgomery Street in *Fiddler's Fancy* invites her youthful readers to the warm and folksy charm of our western mountains in a delightful piece of local color writing.

Both the dramatic offerings are historical. Lucy M. Cobb's *A Gift for Penelope* is a one-act vignette of Blackbeard's swaggering cruelty. Paul Green's *Wilderness Road* employs the devices of the symphonic drama to present an account of a young idealist striving against ignorance, superstition, and prejudice in a Kentucky community just before and during the Civil War. Mr. Green has called his drama "a parable for modern times," and certainly its hero and the

pathetic action which bodies forth his idealism speak obliquely but clearly of many current problems in the South.

Of the eight authors who contributed this year's poetry, two present their works from the vantage point of established national reputations—Helen Bevington, of Duke University, and Charles Olson, of Black Mountain College. The remaining six from vantage points of lesser renown present their poetic records of experience. Poetry, after all, is just that—a peculiar language—the language of imagery caught in the tensions of form—used to express uniquely personal visions of experience. The bulk of these poems reflect the visions of experience which are their basis with sincerity and directness and usually with what William Dean Howells has called "that indefinable charm which comes from good amateur work in whatever art."[2] There is in much of this verse a tendency toward moralizing, a willingness to say again what has been often thought and often expressed, a reluctance to submit the poet's vision to the test of new or varying forms. These are, perhaps, serious objections; and yet I am reminded of Stevenson's words, ". . . a poet has died young in the breast of the most stolid,"[3] and it is good to have this evidence that among these neighbors of ours the poet neither died nor lapsed into inarticulateness.

Each of these poets has, with varying degrees of success, imprisoned his vision of experience in the loving bondage of form. John Mahoney has sung his Catholic vision in metaphysical verse. Ruth Hash Williams has sung her evangelical vision in traditional hymn measures. Julia Montgomery Street has used blank verse to make solemn music on a *Salem Christmas Eve.* Edith Deaderick Erskine in a mixture of dramatic poems and epigrammatic quatrains has sung of people and human actions. Lena Mearle Shull has made music from our mountain speech, customs, and wisdom. Marjorie Craig has used various standard forms to give her

[2] William Dean Howells, *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (New York: Everyman's Library Ed., 1952), 212.

[3] Robert Louis Stevenson, "The Lantern-Bearers," *Across the Plains with other Memories and Essays, The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson* (New York: The Thistle Edition, 1924), XV, 241.

view of her world, and, although she is most consistently good in the sonnet form, I would share with you one of her epigrams:

> By the smoke-tree's nest loud screams the Jay.
> Below a lean cat prowls for prey.
> I cry,
> "O Fate, be kind!"
> And Fate, without an eyebrow's twitch,
> Replies,
> "To which?"

Charles Olson's *Anecdotes of the Late War*, a poetic broadside, is the most experimental of the offerings. In free verse patterns, it employs irony as its major weapon. Its conclusion displays its method well:

> What he said was, in that instance
> I got there first
> with the most men
>
> Grant didn't hurry.
> He just had the most.
>
> More of the latter died.

In charming contrast is the disciplined wit of Helen Bevington, whose *A Change of Sky* makes serious fun of foreign travel, our North Carolina, books, poetry, and authors. From the insouciance of her quatrain:

> "Marriage is a great improver,"
> Wrote Miss Jane Austen, who was moved
> By the connubial bliss about her
> To stay forever unimproved,

to her wry observations on North Carolina:

> It's a debatable land. The winds are variable,
> Especially winds of doctrine—though the one
> Prevailing breeze is mild, we say, and southerly.
> We have a good deal of sun . . . .

> And nobody says, of the region down by Ellenton,
> That winds are gathering there, or that, on the whole,
> They threaten ill. Yet, in the imagination,
> Fear is another shoal,

she sings her thoughts with gallant grace. And in turning from this cursory glance at these books, I would quote Mrs. Bevington again, as she defends the value of the poetical:

> . . . Surely you and I
> Have known its rectitude, its guileless air,
> Its light and lovely virtue, known lifelong
> But unlamenting.—*Od's Life! Must one swear,*
> Inquires the poet, *to the truth of song?*

In looking at these twenty-one books by North Carolinians certain observations about the literature of our State have occurred to me, which I wish to pass on to you.

The first is that North Carolina writing, if these books are representative, has a healthy regionalism. Most of these books are firmly grounded in a sharply realized sense of place. The people, the customs, the speech of North Carolina predominantly constitute the raw materials of these stories, plays, and poems; and even when, as is the case with Paul Green's play, the locale is not North Carolina, the problems discussed and the attitudes taken are distinctly ours.

I call this a *healthy* regionalism, because it seems to me in the main to escape that use of the quaint and eccentric that is characteristic of local color writing, that unhappy school of the uncommon common man with his carefully misspelled dialect and his folksy charm, a form of writing unkindly but justly called the "I swan" school. Most other southern writers who have chosen the calmer, homelier themes which seem to be characteristic of North Carolina fiction (at least last year) have fallen into the trap of such local color writing. But, as Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings once said, ". . . many of the greatest books of all time are regional books, in which the author has used, for his own artistic purpose, a background that he loved and deeply understood. . . .

The best writing is implicit with a profound harmony between the writer and his material. . . ." [4] And it is this use of material, not because it is local or southern, but because it is imaginatively available and artistically negotiable to the writer which seems to me, very happily, to characterize a good deal of the writing in this State.

My other observation is that, with the certain exception of Paul Metcalf's *Will West,* the probable exception of John Mahoney's *Parousia,* and the possible exception of Charles Olson's *Anecdotes of the Late War,* (all North Carolina writers by adoption rather than by birth) these are hopeful and optimistic books. In some cases this optimism is the product of the comic spirit, as it is with Mrs. Patton and Mrs. Bevington. In some cases, it is apparently the expression of a religious confidence, as it is in much of the poetry. In some cases, it finds expression through oblique reformist social themes, as it does in Paul Green's "parable for modern times." In some cases, it is the product of a philosophical position, as it is in Evan Brandon's *Green Pond,* which concludes with Gawd asserting: "I never created any badness. Only goodness. It's certain that the chillun all comes into the ole world alack and they all goes out alack. I make em that way in the beginnin."

This optimistic attitude is noteworthy because it runs counter to the main currents of American writing today and particularly because it runs counter to the main currents of the best southern writing of our generation. As Ellen Glasgow observed a few years ago, ". . . it is significant that, for the first time in its history, the South is producing . . . a literature of revolt. Consciously or unconsciously, the aesthetic sense [of the South] . . . is rejecting the standards of utility in art and of fundamentalism in ideas." [5] But the pessimism implicit in such a literature as she describes and explicit in many of the leading writers of the South is hardly present at all

[4] Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, "Regional Literature of the South," *College English,* I (February, 1940), 385. See, too, Donald Davidson's "Regionalism in American Literature," *American Review,* V (April, 1935), 48-61.

[5] Glasgow, *A Certain Measure,* 147.

in these books. A similar contrary motion in much the same terms was characteristic, too, of Thomas Wolfe, and led mistaken northern critics to declare of this "Yea-sayer" that he was southern only by accident of birth. I think we may safely conclude that this optimistic attitude is significantly characteristic of North Carolina writing. There is, I believe, historical reason for the fact.

The development of a serious literary culture in North Carolina came late. It is, in fact, almost a twentieth-century phenomenon. At the time when the Tidewater regions of the South were formulating the Plantation Tradition in literature, with its tragic backward looking, North Carolinians were engaging to no marked degree in literary expression of any sort; they were, in fact, living and thinking largely outside the complex of ideas and attitudes that made the creation of the Plantation Tradition possible; they were celebrating the Populist Movement and the ideal of public education. Furthermore, this State has accepted from its beginnings the basic assumptions of the industrial New South idea, a view of man and society which rests on the confident belief in social perfectibility and progress and which denies, sometimes tacitly and often openly and directly, as Mr. Green's *Wilderness Road* does, the assumptions of that other militant southern view, doctrinaire Agrarianism. Robert B. Heilman has provocatively suggested that the tragic strength of much contemporary southern writing results from the fact that "the South . . . is the only section of the United States which knows through poignant experience that defeat is possible." This quality, which he calls "the Southerner's discipline of tragedy," accounts for the dark visions of writers like Robert Penn Warren and William Faulkner.[6] And it is this quality which seems most lacking in North Carolina thinking and writing. Here, and almost nowhere else in the South, has the New South movement with its sociological attitudes and its perfectibilitarian inclinations found expression in literature

[6] Robert B. Heilman, "The Southern Temper," in *Southern Renascence: The Literature of the Modern South*, edited by Louis D. Rubin, Jr., and Robert D. Jacobs (Baltimore, 1953), 3-13.

as well as in law and statistical tables and social deeds. And this has been true of North Carolina literature largely, I believe, because the acceptance of the New South assumptions has been more pervasive and complete in this State than it has in our neighboring states. At its worst this tendency has given our writing a too easy optimism and a surface cheerfulness; it has made us too uncritical of the machine age and too complacent about our values. At its best it has made us intolerant of social evils, impatient with the status quo, and it has given us warm and cogent books that assert a deeply humanitarian view of human society.

I have presented these tentative judgments and opinions in the uncomfortable knowledge that good art more accurately measures its critics than its critics measure it. If my judgments seem to you, as well they may, perversely wrong and strangely blind to the light, then I would like to leave you a weapon to use against me in the witty words of Mrs. Bevington:

> Fanny Burney told her son,
> "Never, my child, call anyone
> A fool."—The boy replied the more
> Amazed: "Then, what's the word made for?"

# NORTH CAROLINA NON-FICTION BOOKS, 1955-1956

By H. Broadus Jones

"Some books are to be tasted, others swallowed, and some few chewed and digested." Applying the Baconian dictum, as a member of the Mayflower Board of Award I have been feasting for several months at the Mayflower *table d'hote,* tasting *ad libitum,* swallowing without ill consequences, and digesting at leisure. Altogether there were thirty-eight dishes provided, dainty enough for the most finicky appetite and substantial enough for the most exacting gourmand.

Four weeks ago, after I had written a note to the management expressing my appreciation of the cuisine and my opinion as to some of the best of many good dishes, I got a request from Raleigh: "Tell us more about what you had for dinner and how you liked it." Actually the request was to make a talk of twenty-five or thirty minutes in this luncheon session concerning the volumes that have been considered for the Mayflower Award.

Now that I am here to comply with this invitation while you relax as comfortably as possible, I am like the Old Woman who lived in a shoe: I have so many books I don't know what to do. Three things I must not do: make the Old Woman's horrible mistake; give you any hint as to the winner (a secret that is quite safe with me, because I have not yet heard who has won the award); attempt to render critical evaluations of thirty-eight volumes at the bomber speed of forty-one seconds per volume.

My function on this occasion is like that of the person who displays a baker's products in a show window. There they are beyond the glass—an intriguing array of pies, some with and some without meringue; cakes of various kinds, colors, shapes, and sizes, so enticing that they might easily start a stampede from the street through the plate glass; loaves, rolls, doughnuts, all fresh from the oven with that savory odor that comes straight through the glass.

Here are the books—thirty-eight non-fiction volumes by North Carolina writers, crowding one another on this three-foot shelf, which I hope you are able to see in imagination—books which probably represent more than threescore and ten years of labor. Most of them are substantial volumes, ranging all the way from the 600 pages by a distinguished scholar and author well past the threescore and ten to that little volume of forty-six pages by a college sophomore.

Viewed from the distance of a few feet, it is a colorful and attractive shelf. The jackets provide the external color, all within the bounds of good taste, each distinctly individual and appropriate to the purpose and contents of the volume. The variety of colors within the covers, I assure you, is even more attractive than the external display.

Glancing along this row of books, you see the names of such presses as Rinehart, Crowell, Doubleday, Bobbs-Merrill, Cornell, Louisiana State University, Abingdon, Vantage, Broadman, Morrow, Edwards and Broughton of Raleigh, Blair of Winston-Salem, and other publishers here at home, with the names University of North Carolina and Duke University appearing most frequently.

Let us see now what we can do to get the books out of this comfortable order, or disorder, observing some of the principles applied by a hostess in seating her guests at the dinner table.

Well, here they are in the new arrangement—the best that I can do, since authors are notoriously careless about writing according to types. With a good deal of shoving and straining I have got them into four groups, arranged from the highest to the lowest according to the number of inches occupied on the shelf, the measurements made with precision according to the best traditions of scholarship, as follows:

I. History—15 volumes, 17 inches of shelf.
I. Biography, travel, and sketches—10 volumes, 9 inches.
III. Christianity—7 volumes, 5½ inches.
IV. Miscellaneous—6 volumes, 4½ inches.

Taking the last group first, we find three volumes concerned with matters of law and government. *The Government and Administration of North Carolina,* by Robert S. Rankin, Professor of Political Science and Chairman of the Department, Duke University, devotes more than four hundred pages to "governmental machinery of the State of North Carolina and the manner in which that machinery functions." It is a valuable book for everyone interested in American state government, especially for "government officials and voters, editors and writers, teachers and students, taxpayers' groups and chambers of commerce." *Law and the Press,* a revision of the 1954 edition, by William C. Lassiter, is an invaluable volume for the newspaperman or woman in North Carolina. *Military Justice in the Armed Forces of the United States,* by Robinson O. Everett, former Commissioner of the United States Court of Military Appeals, is considered "an important contribution to the criminal law of the military establishment," useful to both the military and the civilian lawyer, and valuable as a textbook for students.

*Other People's Lives,* by Rosalie Massengale, is a compact brochure of study outlines, one of the series of Library Extension Publications of the University of North Carolina. Raymond J. Jeffreys, author of *Must They Sell Apples Again?* describes his book as "a compilation of facts, figures and information, presenting the justice and need of a Service Pension, based on age alone, for the veterans of World War I." Harry L. Golden, in his volume, *Jewish Roots in the Carolinas,* concludes that "this 'most Gentile' section of America has provided the most favorable 'atmosphere' the Jewish people have ever known in the modern world."

In the next group, under the head of "Christianity," I have placed seven volumes: *The Secret of Happiness,* by Billy Graham, this being an exposition of the Beatitudes in ten brief chapters; *Come Unto Me,* by Julian Butler, Jr., a college sophomore from Laurinburg, a little book of thirty-one devotions intended for the use of young people; *Paths of Shining Light,* by Vera Idol, Professor of English, High Point College, a beautiful little volume of nineteen inspirational

and devotional talks or meditations, beginning with "Roads" and concluding with "God's World," with illustrative photographs interspersed; *Thinking About God,* by Robert Lee Middleton, twenty-five "devotional meditations entreating you to 'draw night to God, and he will draw night to you' "; *The Prayers of Jesus, with Meditations and Verse for Devotional Use,* by Ralph Spaulding Cushman of Raleigh; *Christian Eschatology and Social Thought,* by Ray C. Petry, Professor of Church History, Duke University; *The Pastor's Hospital Ministry,* by Richard K. Young, Director of Pastoral Care, North Carolina Baptist Hospital, in charge of training students and pastors in counseling at Bowman Gray School of Medicine of Wake Forest College, and also Associate Professor of Pastoral Care at Southeastern Theological Seminary. The first five of these volumes, ranging from about 45 to 125 pages, are devotional and inspirational.

Dr. Petry's book could be placed also in the category of history, as indicated by the sub-title: "A historical essay on the social implications of some selected aspects in Christian eschatology to A. D. 1500." As a study in Christianity it is a work of mature scholarship, embodying the best standards of research, organization, and style. Dr. Young's book is especially valuable for professional guidance in a limited area of pastoral responsibility and interesting for general readers.

The nine volumes grouped under the heading "Biography, Travel, and Sketches," run the range from *Daniel Boone in North Carolina,* by George H. Maurice (the smallest volume of the thirty-eight, consisting of nineteen interesting pages of text, maps, and photographs) to *George W. Cable, A Biography,* by Arlin Turner (the largest of the volumes in this group, consisting of about 400 pages, including fifteen pages of bibliography and nineteen pages of index).

Dr. Turner, who is Professor of American Literature at Duke University and managing editor of the quarterly, *American Literature,* presents vividly, interestingly, and thoroughly one of the most striking figures on the American literary scene, thus fulfilling a need that has long been recognized. The volume satisfies the rigid requirements of scholar-

ship and yet keeps within the range of appeal to the average reader.

Next is a volume entitled *Charles E. Maddry, An Autobiography,* which the author tells us was an undertaking of ten years, completed in the midst of a busy and crowded life. This book is of interest not only because it gives the story of Dr. Maddry's rich and active career over a period of eighty years, but also because it is a valuable cross section of church history, particularly of Southern Baptist mission work. In the volume appear many notable persons whom the reader may claim or recall as valued friends, among them the late Dr. R. T. Vann.

A book that has received much attention from reviewers and has become nationally known is *My Brother Adlai,* by Elizabeth Stevenson Ives, assisted by Hildegarde Dolson, a professional writer. This is a biography of much charm, simply and clearly written—a good portrait by a devoted sister of a brilliant man.

We turn now to the volumes of travel and sketches in this group. If you are in the holiday mood, you may take off with Ali-Mat in *Ali-Mat Takes Off,* by Mrs. Alice Clarke Mathewson, for a 152-page adventure to Europe, Africa, Alaska, the Gulf Stream for a Christmas cruise, and South of the Border, concluding with "Characters You Meet on a Sightseeing Bus Across the Continent." After this interesting but strenuous adventure, if you have a hankering for the "good old days" of pioneer life, you can taper off and calm down by turning back time to the year 1912-1913 for a 94-page visit with *A Country Doctor in the South Mountains,* the author and the doctor being Benjamin Earle Washburn of Rutherfordton, who will entertain you with twenty-two stories and sketches of his own adventures as a young physician, of the people, of diseases and local remedies, moonshine liquor, and the dawn of better days.

While your appetite is whetted for unusual experiences, you should go on over to Wilkes and neighboring counties for a visit with *The Parson of the Hills,* who is Charles A. Keys, known as the "Boy Preacher" from the age of four or

five and later as "Sledgehammer Charlie" when he tangled with moonshiners, whose respect he won and retained while he thundered against their sinful ways. You will leave the Parson with increased respect and enthusiasm for home missions, perhaps reflecting that Dr. Washburn was also engaged in the same work whether he knew it or not.

Since we are already in the highlands and on the prowl, let's get into the shadow of Old Smoky at Sylva to begin *Roaming the Mountains with John Parris.* After attaining distinction as a newspaper man at home and abroad, the author (John Parris) has been living in his native town, and since February of 1955 he has been writing for the *Citizen-Times* his popular and widely-read column, "Roaming the Mountains," from which this volume of 246 pages and some seventy selected stories and sketches is made. The volume provides good entertainment, affecting with compelling nostalgia one who is "native here and to the manner born" and giving others an urge to strike out for the highlands.

Back down from the mountains in time for the meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association, we find assembled *Tar Heel Writers I Have Known,* thirty-five of them presented by Bernadette Hoyle of Smithfield with her facile pen and handy camera in an attractive volume of 215 pages —interviews which previously appeared in *The News and Observer.* "More," said Oliver Twist on one occasion, and so say I.

Coming up last in this group is one whose ancestors did not come over in the Mayflower, *Tecumseh, Vision of Glory,* by Glenn Tucker, who has followed Tecumseh's trail with all the skill and cunning of one of James Fenimore Cooper's Indians. As a biography this book portrays vividly and convincingly a man of great talent and noble aims, of iron will and dauntless courage, of great firmness but not without mercy. The book is also history—a valuable contribution to American history, presenting vividly and in clear perspective the climactic conflict between the Indians and the newcomers. In fact, in my first sketch I placed this volume in the history group, having as much trouble about putting Tecumseh in

his place as his enemies had nearly a century and a half ago. Anyhow, how can one separate history and the biography of a great leader of his people?

Of the fifteen books grouped under the head of history, eight are devoted to local history: *Greensboro, North Carolina,* by Ethel Stevens Arnett "under the direction of Walter Clinton Jackson"; *Colonial Bath,* by Herbert R. Paschal; *"Zeb's Black Baby": Vance County,* by Samuel Thomas Peace; *Here Will I Dwell, The Story of Caldwell County,* by Nancy Alexander; *They Passed This Way, A Personal Narrative of Harnett County,* by Malcolm Fowler; *A History of Moore County, 1747-1847,* by Blackwell P. Robinson; *The Living Past of Cleveland County,* by Lee B. Weathers; and *Buncombe to Mecklenburg—Speculation Lands,* by Sadie Smathers Patton (a publication of the Western North Carolina Historical Association).

These volumes vary greatly in purpose, scope, and method, but all are important in capturing and preserving local history for interested citizens and for the future historian. The first one in this list entitled *Greensboro,* a volume of nearly 500 pages, is a record of important events and movements for more than two hundred years, particularly since 1807, when a legislative act was passed creating Greensboro. It is a well-made and well-written volume, extensively illuminated with photographs. *The Living Past of Cleveland County* is the work of a veteran newspaper man who has been editor and publisher of *The Shelby Daily Star* for forty-five years. He has, of course, seen the history evolving, has recorded it day by day through the years, and in the development of his own town and county has had a great part. The history of the county becomes state history and in a way extends beyond state lines because of some of the persons here portrayed.

Turning from the local histories, we come next to *Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860,* by Cornelius Oliver Cathey of the University of North Carolina, this being Volume 38 in the James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, published under the direction of the Departments of History and Political Science of the Univer-

sity of North Carolina. One does not have to be engaged in agricultural work in order to read with interest this valuable contribution to history and in order to understand why the author arrives at the conclusion "that nothing significant occurred in American agriculture during the time which was not reflected in parallel or corresponding developments in North Carolina," and that North Carolina had a significant part in revolutionary changes.

*The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865: An Annotated Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes,* by Henry Smith Stroupe, Professor of History, Wake Forest College, appears as Series XXXII of Historical Papers of Trinity College Historical Society, Duke University. As stated in the Preface, "The portion of this book entitled 'Historical Introduction' narrates briefly the founding of the leading periodicals, explains why they were started, and analyzes their problems, their objectives, and their relations with each other. The attitude of the press toward several notable events is described." A carefully annotated bibliography, for which future investigators will be grateful, occupies about one hundred pages of the volume.

*History of North Carolina Baptists,* Volume II, by the late George Washington Paschal, is a continuation of the work which Dr. Paschal began many years ago under the authorization of the Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, Volume I (1633-1805) having been published in 1930. Like the other publications by Dr. Paschal, including the three-volume history of Wake Forest College, this work is based upon thorough investigation, and the presentation is quite full, with adequate annotation. Among other values, it is a source book for any future writers of the Baptist history of the same time and area.

*Providence of Wit in the English Letter Writers,* by William Henry Irving of Duke University, who is the author of *John Gay's London* and of *John Gay: Favorite of the Wits,* "reviews the history of the Familiar Letter as an art form in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England," giving a

"view of the whole art of letter-writing as a phase in the history of English literature."

*The University in the Kingdom of Guatemala,* by John Lanning of Duke University, is a most thorough work of specialized scholarship, pursued with support from the Guggenheim Foundation and the backing of the Duke University Council on Research, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Social Science Research Council.

*Gray Fox: Robert E. Lee and the Civil War,* by Burke Davis of *Greensboro Daily News,* author of several books, including *They Called Him Stonewall,* narrates with dramatic and climactic effect the role of "one of the great tragic figures of American history" through the tragic era. The national recognition which this book has received is well deserved.

*Ben Franklin's Privateers, A Naval Epic of the American Revolution,* by William Bell Clark of Brevard, makes its timely appearance in connection with the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Franklin. The author, who has written five other books on maritime affairs, dating from 1929 to 1953, tells a captivating story in which Franklin appears "as a much-harrassed Minister Plenipotentiary, a persistent humanitarian, an unwilling judge of the admiralty, and a frequently exasperated gentleman."

There you have it—the display of North Carolina nonfiction books of the past year, figuratively seen through a glass, perhaps darkly—an interesting and valuable collection in which we can take great pride—a collection in which it is easy to find volumes worthy of the Mayflower Award and capable of bringing honor to the tradition.

It is such an attractive shelf that I should like to keep the books just as they are, as a memorial of a notable year of literary work in North Carolina, just as I should like to be able to see somewhere in a shelf the products of each year from 1905 when the first Patterson cup was awarded to John Charles McNeill down to the present. But I suppose we shall have to classify in library style and then distribute, perhaps lose in the stacks, these volumes which are really most congenial and sociable.

Let me conclude with a quotation from the address "To the Great Variety of Readers" which stands as the preface to the first folio of Shakespeare's plays, 1623, over the signatures of John Heminge and Henrie Condell, fellow actors of Shakespeare:

"Well! It is now publique, and you wil stand for your priviledges wee know: to read and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best commend the Booke, the Stationer saies. Then, how odde soever your braines be, or your wisdomes, make your license the same, and spare not. . . . But whatever you do, Buy!" At least, let me add, read!

# LIFE AND LITERATURE

By GILBERT T. STEPHENSON

Returning to North Carolina in 1950, after an absence of twenty-one years, I have been impressed ever since by the cultural progress of our State during that interval. It is manifest in every field of culture: in the extraordinary enlargement and development of our institutions of higher education; in the wealth of creative literature flowing from the pens of our writers; in the works of our artists, such as those recently on exhibit in Plymouth and Winston-Salem; in the composition of our dramatists and musicians and in the annual concert tour of our North Carolina Symphony Orchestra; in the accomplishments of the ten cultural societies in session here this week; and, lastly, in the opening of our State Art Museum, with its paintings by Rubens and Rembrant, and other masterpieces of art.

On this background of cultural progress and this occasion of emphasis upon literature, I should like to speak on Literature and Life with special reference to North Carolina. Furthermore, I hope that it will not be amiss for me to draw most of my illustrations from the northeastern section of our State with whose literature and life I am, by nativity and residence, the most familiar.

Literature is the body of imaginative and interpretive writing expressed in drama, essay, fiction, history, and poetry, as distinct from business, economic, instructional, professional, scientific, and technical writing. However, I should hope to find a good deal of literary merit in the latter group of writings.

Life includes all that Jesus included when he said, "I came that they may have life, and have it abundantly." He must have meant infinitely more than physical existence and length of days on earth. He must have included emotional, mental, sentimental, social, and spiritual life as well, for all of these elements are essential to abundant life.

Of literature and life in North Carolina so defined I shall try to make only two points.

The first point is that in every section of our State there is literary material awaiting appropriation and literary talent awaiting development.

Almost every day, for example, *The News and Observer* publishes on its editorial page "Today's N. C. Poem." These poems come from the farms as well as the towns and cities of our State.

One morning last spring the day's poem, entitled "Around My Back Door," was by one of my neighbors, a farmer's wife. In part it went as follows:

> Around my back door are memories so dear
> How children played and there was no fear
> From childhood to youth they ran in and out
> With laughter and joy and a merry shout.
>
> As years have passed to adults they have grown
> From around my back door they all have gone
> To seek fame and fortune in this big, wide world
> With families of their own, both boys and girls.
>
> Well, listen, here they come from far and near,
> 'Tis grandchildren's voices now I hear;
> "Hi, Grandma," they are calling with merry glee,
> "Know you're surprised this group to see."
>
> Again there are children with laughter so gay
> So around my back door I want them to stay.

Not being a poet, I cannot evaluate these lines as poetry. But, being a grandfather whose grandchildren recently played where our children played only a few years ago, I fully share my neighbor's sentiment. What is poetry but sentiment aflame!

A few weeks ago, for another example, Roy Parker, Jr., Editor, *The Bertie Ledger-Advance,* began a column, "Things cultural seem to pop from the strangest places in Roanoke-Chowan, . . ." and then went on to describe an eighty-three-year-old artist he had discovered near Lewiston in Bertie

County and to predict that he might make authentic additions in the field of art in which Grandma Moses is the acknowledged leader.

Material for literature as well as art is to be found in every nook and cranny of our State—in fact, wherever there is life. Life comes before literature and supplies the material for the writer.

Of the thirty-five *Tar Heel Writers I Know* in Bernadette Hoyle's recent volume by that title, note how many of them found their material at or near their own door-steps. Mebane Holoman Burgwyn has found hers in her native county of Northampton and much of it in that part of the county known as Occoneechee Neck on the Roanoke River. Inglis Fletcher has found the material for her historical novels in the Albemarle and Cape Fear sections of our State. Bernice Kelly Harris has found hers in her native county of Wake and her adopted county of Northampton. Ovid Williams Pierce and William T. Polk each found his in his native county, one Halifax and the other Warren.

When I think of the wealth of literary material at our door-steps I am reminded of the Jules Verne story of the ship at sea signalling another ship, "Water, water, we die of thirst," only to receive the answer, "Cast down your buckets where you are." The distressed vessel was in fresh water at the mouth of the Amazon but did not know it. To the aspiring young writer anywhere in our State in search of material, I would say "Cast down your bucket where you are."

With all this literary material and literary talent all around us, I think that it would be well for the members of our Association to encourage and aid in the organization of regional literary groups for rural areas as well as for towns and cities.

Typical of the kind of organization I have in mind is the Roanoke-Chowan group. It began nine years ago as an informal organization of artists, musicians, writers, and other persons on either side of the Roanoke and Chowan rivers who, although not artists, nor musicians, nor writers them-

selves, were genuinely interested in creative work in cultural fields.

Every year since then the group has met in one after another member's home. One year the emphasis has been upon art; the next, upon literature; and some year in the near future, we hope, it will be upon music. At our 1956 meeting the emphasis was upon art; at our 1957 meeting, with the Roy Parkers (Senior and Junior) for hosts, it will be upon literature.

The interest of the members, instead of fagging after the first flush of enthusiasm, has increased year by year. Our 1956 meeting was in the home of Frith and Mrs. Winslow of Plymouth. After an appropriate address on "Art" by Robert Lee Humber, Mr. Winslow, himself an artist of distinction, gave an exhibit of paintings by local artists that would have done credit to any group of artists anywhere. Among the paintings were those by Francis Speight, a native of Bertie, now an artist of national reputation, connected with the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. Every year he returns to attend and participate in our meetings.

The aim of our group is not only to promote fraternity among our local artists, musicians, and writers who already have achieved recognition and, some of them, distinction in their respective fields but also to discover and encourage young people in our section who have manifested interest, talent, and aspiration in one or another of these fields. Indeed, we are active talent-scouts. This year we discovered a talented young artist now studying under Francis Speight in Philadelphia. Another year we may discover a young writer who some day may rank alongside Wake County's Lucy Daniels.

Would it not be worth while for the members of our Association, coming as they do from every section of our State, to take the initiative in encouraging and aiding in the organization of literary groups similar in purpose to the Roanoke-Chowan group? In our towns and cities it is not difficult to reach these talented young people, and in several towns and cities over the State they already are members of

creative-writers' groups. The young people about whom I am concerned are those in our rural areas. I hope that it never can be said of any spot in our State:

> Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid
> Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;
> Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed,
> Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.

The other point that I wish to make about literature and life in North Carolina is that our writers are under a social obligation to present and interpret our life as a whole rather than certain facts about us.

One day in a classroom a bright young student asked Alfred North Whitehead, "What is reality?" Perhaps he asked the question in the same bantering spirit in which Pilate asked Jesus, "What is truth?" Professor Whitehead's prompt and crisp answer was, "Whatever counts and has consequences." By this definition there is reality in literature in that it does count and it does have consequences.

In literature there is basic difference between being true to life as a whole and being true to only given facts of life. Life is more than the sum of its parts.

Go with me to Warren Place, our home in Northampton County. Let me show you the charred and rotting remains of a century-old oak which had been the pride of our place until the fall of 1954 when it fell, a victim of Hurricane Hazel. Describe this object of death and decay with perfect fidelity. You will be true to that tragic fact, but you will not be true to Warren Place, for life and growth predominate there. Already the remains of the old oak are almost hidden by vegetation climbing up and over them.

On Highway 95 between Lawrence and Leggett in Edgecombe County there is the most dilapidated mule-stable I ever saw. It is a masterpiece of dilapidation. I pass it at least four times a month. Every time I think how a critic of the South might make capital for his purpose by photographing, describing, and publicizing this stable. If he did so, he would be true to that one ugly fact, but how untrue he would be to that prosperous and generally well-kept section.

Not long ago I went into a neighbor's garden to see his roses.

> The roses red upon my neighbor's vine
> Are owned by him, but they are also mine,
> His was the cost, and his the labor, too,
> But mine as well as his the joy, their loveliness to view.

Near the entrance there was a gorgeous red rose in full bloom. I counted forty-five sharp, ugly thorns beneath the rose reaching all the way down the stem almost to the ground. If I were to describe the thorns only, I would be true to one fact, but how untrue I would be to my neighbor's garden. That rose and its companions dominated the scene, hid the thorns, and made the garden a place of beauty.

Photography at its best in true to fact; portraiture, to life. In a single portrait an artist catches and portrays the character and spirit of his subject as a photographer cannot in a thousand photographs. Art is the expression of human personality; photography, the capture of physical likeness.

The news columns of our papers aspire to be true to fact, self-restrained only by *The New York Times* standard, "All the News That's Fit to Print." The editorial columns aim to be true to life.

Go out among our neighbors. Look for their imperfections only and describe them faithfully. We shall be true to certain facts about them, but not true to them. Their goodness far exceeds their badness. "There is so much bad in the best of us and so much good in the worst of us that it ill behooves any of us to talk about the rest of us."

Even in a writer's conscientious aim to be true to life as well as fact it is possible for him to be one-sided in his presentation and interpretation.

There are writers of fiction and history, including biography and autobiography even, who call themselves and who wish to be known as realists. Realism in literature is defined as fidelity to nature or to real life, representation without idealization, and adherence to actual fact. These writers seem to think that to be realistic they must describe only the bad and

the ugly. There are columnists of whom it has been said that they are so accustomed to calling attention to and playing up the bad side of life that, even when they find something they like, they describe it, not as being good, but only as not being bad. Instead of acclaiming the presence of goodness, they only admit the absence of badness.

Some people who postively dislike this kind of literature call these writers by ugly names, such as "muckrakers," and some of the writers nonchantly call themselves "debunkers." Name-calling never makes converts. These writers, many of whom have distinguished literary talent, should, in some kindly and convincing way, be made to understand that authentic realism includes the good and the beautiful as well as the bad and the ugly, the rose as well as the thorns.

There is no better field from which to draw an illustration of the social obligation of writers than that of current interracial relations.

In our State we are in the midst of readjustment of interracial relationships with regard to public education that is comparable with the readjustment with regard to suffrage of about a half-century ago. Upon the maintenance throughout this whole current period of good interracial relations will depend, in large measure, the ultimate and proper readjustment of interracial relationships. By relations I mean how the two races feel towards each other; by relationships, how they deal with each other.

Basically, the relations between the races in North Carolina, certainly in my part of the State wherein the colored people outnumber the white by nearly three to one, are good. Interracial antagonisms are not normal nor typical anywhere in our State. When or if they ever should degenerate into violence or threats of violence, such an unfortunate event would be legitimate news because it would be abnormal and atypical. In that case all that we could ask of our newsmen would be that they restrict their reports to "news that's fit to print."

But we have the right to expect of our columnists, our editors, our essayists, and our novelists that, in the discharge

of their obligations to society, they strive at all times to be true to interracial relations as a whole. It would be well for each of them, after he had drafted his column, his editorial, his essay, or his novel, to read it back and ask himself, "Is this true to life as a whole or true only of particular facts?", and not publish it until he had brought the two fidelities into harmony.

The point that I am making now is well expressed in this sentence which has appeared repeatedly in *The Progressive Farmer* as lately as October, 1956, "If each person of each race each day would now say some kind thing or do some kind act to some person of the other race, it will help to preserve a spirit of peace and friendship in which all problems may be gradually worked out."

Spare us one-sided, and that the ugly-sided, realism in the literature of interracial relations. We need Negro writers, as well as white ones, with literary talent, such as that possessed by J. Saunders Redding, winner of the Mayflower Cup in 1943, to present the better, not the worse, side of interracial relations. From our Negro writers there should come counterparts of Mebane Burgwyn's *Lucky Mischief* and *Moonflower* and Bernice Harris's *Janey Jeems*. Such writers, regardless of race, help to maintain the climate of friendliness in which alone interracial relationships ever can be adjusted or readjusted onto a permanently sound basis.

In the discharge of this and of all its other obligations to society, literature always must be in close partnership with life. Life supplies the material for creative writing; literature, the inspiration of abundant living.

# ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

By Roy F. Nichols

The world today is tremendously complex. So much is happening in so many places which affects the vital interests and even the survival of so many people that mankind must keep up with events and understand their significance if it is to have wisdom enough to keep civilization from destruction. Therefore communication of accurate knowledge is of greatest importance. For this purpose we have the press, the radio, and television. Headlines, commentators, and columnists have tremendous influence. So much of life seems to be easily condensed into slogans or crisp newsflashes, which in today's hurry control thought and opinion. But such means also control the thinking of people elsewhere and often to the injury of the United States.

A few such headlines chosen at random are as follows:

Isthmus Route Closed
England and France Humiliated
Russian Menace in Near East
Cuban Danger
Chinese Belligerence

These headlines, however, are not, as it might appear, taken from today's press or broadcasts. They are such as appeared in the American press one hundred years ago. They are chosen as reminders, in the first place of the fact that conditions long ago bore some resemblance to those of this day and generation and more particularly to serve as a reminder of significant failure of a century ago, a failure of communication which can teach a significant lesson today.

A century ago, the people living in the eighteen-fifties, like those of this generation, were dwelling in the shadow of wars, for in fact, there were three that were just past, pending, or impending: the Mexican War, the Crimean War, and the war between the Union and the Confederacy which was to come as the disastrous climax of these ten years.

The decade had begun with such promise. California had been acquired, gold had been discovered, and a new world had been opened to the United States in the Pacific. This promise had of course produced problems. The fact of the nation's acquisition, California, meant that ways had to be discovered to get there. Also, the extension of interest to the Pacific meant that trade facilities were ripe to be developed to enable the republic to promote its new advantage. The question of travel to California involved such matters as the status of Cuba, proper transportation routes over the several isthmuses, and the building of a transcontinental railroad. Operation in any of these fields invited private enterprise, government, and diplomacy.

In the beginning of the decade, the Government's participation in these matters was in significant part directed by a distinguished son of North Carolina, William A. Graham. A native of Lincoln County, Graham became a member of the Class of 1824 of the University of North Carolina. As a law student of the distinguished jurist, Thomas Ruffin, he had established himself at Hillsboro in practice, and within a short time became a Whig politician who served as United States Senator and Governor. In 1850, when President Fillmore organized his new administration, he invited Governor Graham to serve as Secretary of the Navy. As such, he was much concerned in advancing communication and in enlarging American commercial interests. He played a significant part in developing the coast survey, in exploring the Amazon, and in opening up Japan. He glimpsed the possibilities of his office almost immediately for he had been only a few days in office when he wrote his wife that he was concerned with "war steamers, mail steamers, squadrons in the East Indies, and on the coast of Africa, with the wonderful changes produced by the addition of our Pacific possessions in the commerce of the world."

The Government was also concerned with building communication routes across the isthmuses of Panama, Nicaragua, and Tehuantepec in Mexico. Some American capitalists joined with British associates in developing Panama. The

redoubtable Commodore Vanderbilt undertook to establish a route over Nicaragua and rival American enterprises fought lobby and diplomatic battles for the privilege of developing Tehuantepec.

While all this was going on, it became necessary for the nation to participate in the election of 1852. Over this event more shadows of the Mexican War were cast. One of the incidents of that conflict had been the propensity of the generals to fight more among themselves than with the Mexicans. The war was conducted under the Democratic administration of President James K. Polk (another North Carolinian), who to his chagrin realized that the commanders of his victorious armies were Whigs. In order to redress the balance and perhaps to retrieve some of the glory for his own party, he supplied these Whig generals, Scott and Taylor, with a large number of Democratic associates as major and brigadier generals. In the lofty altitudes of the Mexican plateau, these generals did not forget politics. In fact, the altitude may have stimulated their arguments. At any rate, Scott succeeded in quarreling with a number of his associates who eventually returned to the lowlands with at least one firm idea, and that was that any political ambitions which Scott might have should be scotched. As 1852 approached, however, it became increasingly likely that Scott would be the Whig nominee. Four years before, the party had won with Taylor, and there seemed every indication that they might wish to try it again.

The possibility of Scott's nomination aroused several of the Democratic generals who joined forces with political allies and eventually nominated a Mexican War brigadier general, Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. The campaign which followed resulted in the defeat of Scott and Secretary of the Navy Graham, who had been nominated for Vice President, by Pierce and his running-mate. This opened the way for Pierce and a group of associates to try and duplicate the success of the Polk administration.

On the eve of his inauguration, Pierce's morale was shattered by the horrible death of his little son before his eyes in a railroad accident. When he came to take office, he leaned

particularly upon Mexican War associates and certain exuberant publicists known as "Young America." He and his associates were determined to advance American interests, acquire new territory, develop transportation and trade, open new vistas in the Pacific, and defy British interference in American activities. He called to his side another son of North Carolina, James Cochran Dobbin.

Dobbin, a lawyer from Fayetteville, University of North Carolina, 1832, had been a delegate to the Democratic National Convention of 1852. At a crucial moment in the convention, he had let loose a burst of eloquence which had swept the convention off its feet and impelled the nomination of Pierce. Dobbin now became Secretary of the Navy, as had Graham before him. He joined wholeheartedly in the announcement which Pierce made in his inaugural that "American citizens shall realize that upon every sea and on every soil where our enterprise may rightfully seek the protection of our flag, American citizenship is an inviolable panoply for the security of American rights." Pierce set out promptly to protect Vanderbilt against the British in Nicaragua, to secure from Mexico a further cession of land to enable a southern Pacific railroad to be built to California, to promote the accession of Cuba, and to develop American interests more extensively in the Pacific.

It was one thing, however, to have such grandiloquent plans. It was quite another to put them into effect. Pierce had constructed his administration as a coalition of all factions in his party. This meant a variety of views and methods of operation. To manage the whole series of projects, he had placed the veteran William L. Marcy at the head of the State Department. But he probably took as much advice from Caleb Cushing, his Attorney-General, who was much more expansive and flag-waving in his approach. Cushing had been down in Mexico as a political general and his attitudes were not diplomatic in the fashion of Marcy's—guided by the veteran State Department clerks, well versed in protocol. Jefferson Davis, the Secretary of War, likewise was a Mexican

War veteran and expansive. He too, was Pierce's close confidant.

In appointing the diplomats, Cushing and Davis had more to say about who was to represent the United States probably than Marcy did. And what a group of flag wavers received letters of credence. Caution's veteran, James Buchanan, it was true, was to represent the United States at London, but he was to be accompanied by Dan Sickles as Secretary of Legation and George N. Sanders as Consul at London, two boisterous spokesmen of Young America. Pierre Soulé, former French radical, was to go to the reactionary court of Spain. There he was to seek opportunity to advance our interest in Cuba—perhaps to the extent of intrigue in Spanish financial and political circles, even to the point of revolution. Across the sea in Cuba itself, American filibusters such as General Quitman might be given the nod to aid in the "liberation" of the Island. Soulé, the bizarre "statesman," was a guest at the White House several times in the spring of 1853, and his personality and deportment led a discerning kinswoman of Mrs. Pierce to record in her diary, "I think he will be Minister to Spain but fear Pierce and his cabinet will have reason to regret it." She was right. Solon J. Borland of Arkansas was sent down to Nicaragua to be on the watch to protect trans-isthmus transit interests, particularly Vanderbilt's line, against the hostile "free-city" of Greytown where British antagonists were believed to be operating. A warship under the redoubtable Captain Hollins was to be within call instructed by Dobbin to look after the Commodore's property. James Gadsden, a South Carolina railroad man, was commissioned to Mexico to secure the territory needed to build a southern transcontinental railroad and to look after American Tehuantepec trans-isthmus concessions. William L. Cazneau, and of course with him, the irrepressible Mrs. Jane McManus Storms Cazneau, was sent to Santo Domingo to be on the lookout for a coaling station in the West Indies.

Advantage in the Pacific was likewise part of the Pierce doctrine. The Hawaiian Islands, China, and Japan were points of focus. In the fair islands of the mid-Pacific, the

reigning Kamehameha had been nervous about his independence and feared French motives. Of late years he had been looking to British or United States aid, even annexation. Also certain American maritime operators were eager to secure the islands. This appealed to Pierce and a lookout was to be maintained for opportunity. China at this time was torn by civil war on the eve of the scheduled date for the revision of the treaty of 1844. Evidently this would be an opportune time for securing important new concessions from the Manchu goverment harassed by the Taiping forces. An outstanding statesman must be sent out, and Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker, was selected to be the man. But he was hard to get. Finally after much persuasion he accepted and even went so far as to draw his "outfit" (which cost the sum of $9,000) which was supplied diplomats to enable them to readjust their affairs in anticipation of departure for distant shores. Then at long last his wife's health caused him to decline. Robert McLane, next chosen, did not arrive in China until the dawn of 1854. His efficient efforts were slow to bear fruit. In the meantime word was awaited of the naval expedition to Japan organized by Secretary Graham.

Pierce's foreign policy was not to be quite as flamboyant as the character of many of these ministers might suggest because, after all, Marcy and his clerks were to write the instructions. They were phrased in the proper words of diplomatic caution and not always as the envoys wished. Soulé was probably not in sympathy with the colorless phrases directing him to caution, and Buchanan almost stayed home because of the limits set upon him. When approached by Pierce to take the British mission, Buchanan had requested that the full control of British negotiations, including both Central American limits, United States interest in Canada, and the fisheries, be entrusted to him at London. This Pierce readily promised. However, such was not in accordance with Marcy's judgement, for he believed the time was ripe to settle Canadian affairs in Washington. Buchanan to his disappointment learned that he was to be entrusted only with Central America. He had to yield but with some bitterness.

Thus after a summer of toil the foreign policy was somewhat equivocally projected with radical envoys and conservative instructions representing the curious coalition thinking of the Administration. At first there was some slight success, strangely enough in Mexico. Marcy had sent a South Carolina railroad promoter down there, primarily to buy land suitable for an overland railroad line to the Pacific in what are now Arizona and New Mexico. Gadsden was instructed to show no partiality to two promoters of a transit route over the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, each of whom claimed a grant of a right of way. P. A. Hargous and A. G. Sloo, each had negotiated with Mexico. The latter seemingly had won out as the Mexicans had repudiated Hargous in Sloo's favor, and the Fillmore Administration had secured an acknowledgment of his claim in a treaty. But Hargous had friends who were potent and Pierce and Marcy did not wish to favor either. Senator Benjamin was backing the Hargous claim, while Senator Slidell was agent for Sloo. Gadsden was to be neutral.

The new minister found upon his arrival in Mexico that what the United States wanted could be had for money, so he asked for authorization to spend. Pierce immediately sent down a confidential messenger with authorization to negotiate for purchase. Quite in line with the peculiar notions of propriety then obtaining, Pierce chose C. L. Ward, an officer of the Hargous interests, to carry the confidential instructions. Upon arrival he worked hard to secure an acknowledgment of Hargous' demand for indemnity, and after complicating things for Gadsden, succeeded in inserting such a clause in Gadsden's treaty of purchase.

When this treaty arrived in January, 1854, Pierce and his advisors were disappointed in the small acquisition, and the President was indignant at the inclusion of the Hargous interest. So the Hargous claim was taken out, then the Senate put it back. However, this was no answer for the Senators then rejected the treaty. Slidell and Senator Rusk of Texas, supporters of the Sloo claim, returned to the fray, got their pet project inserted in the treaty, whereupon the Senate accepted it. Pierce, still exercised that his diplomacy was

made the football of interests, was nevertheless prevailed upon to accept the document, and it was to be the law of the land. This slight success, however, was all for the present as lowering war clouds were about to let loose their floods and the Crimean War broke out in Europe.

Russia then, as now, was seeking to expand in the Near East and toward a warm water port. Her movements seemed to endanger Turkey and British interests in India. Russia also found the accession of Napoleon III to the revived imperial throne in France not to her liking, and the parvenu Napoleon III sensed in the Czar a formidable enemy. Consequently, it was only a matter of time before conflict broke out, and in 1854, two years after the final accession of Napoleon III, the conflict came. Before long it involved Great Britain, France, Turkey, Italy, and Russia. Such a general European war was immediately seized upon by the Pierce administration as offering an unusual opportunity. The American diplomats had felt for some time that British and French interests were united in frustrating American interests in all parts of the world. Now these allies were engaged in a war, which, for the time being at least, seemed to command their undivided attention and resources. So therefore, the President and his Secretary of State redoubled their efforts, diplomats were instructed to proceed to negotiate more vigorously for Cuba, for Hawaii, and now for Alaska. Filibusters were even encouraged to operate in Cuba and in Nicaragua.

Events in America seemed to be marching in step to encourage aggressive action. The Spanish authorities in Cuba outraged an American vessel, the "Black Warrior." Quitman sought to press forward with his filibustery expedition to aid the Cubans to liberate themselves. Captain Hollins failing to get satisfaction for "British" abuse to Vanderbilt's agents and the destruction of his property, blew Greytown off the map. Then a Texas promoter, Col. Kinney, began to plan to enlist American "agricultural emigrants" to settle on some land he had "bought" in Nicaragua. Some near to Pierce were not unfriendly. Likewise, another American adventurer, William Walker, with some help from Vanderbilt's associates,

undertook to go to Nicaragua at the invitation of a political faction to restore a peace which would probably be advantageous to the transit transportation over Nicaragua in competition with Panama.

It was at this point that a third son of North Carolina played a role. Dobbin had a political friend, John H. Wheeler, born in Hertford County but educated in Washington, D. C. Wheeler divided his time between his birthplace and the National Capital. He took part in State politics and wrote North Carolina history. Now Dobbin and he agreed that he should have a political office and pressed Pierce to make him a judge in Kansas. That post, however, went to another and Wheeler's disappointment was solaced by his designation as Minister to Nicaragua. For Borland had returned home permanently disfigured by a scar on his face made by a broken bottle heaved at him while he was endeavoring to save an American whom the Nicaraguans claimed to be a murderer. Wheeler went down literally in the wake of Hollins' bombardment of Greytown. First he must take testimony regarding the damage which Hollins had inflicted on local property. This situation was not auspicious for the local population was unfriendly and menacing. As he reported it, he spent "two terrible months, never safe for an hour," even beset by a snake in his bedroom.

When he got to the capital, for a time, things were easier, but Kinney and William Walker soon made diplomacy more difficult. When the latter arrived in September, 1855, he quickly overshadowed Kinney and became the grey-eyed man of destiny. He soon stirred up greater civil strife and Wheeler shortly found himself embroiled on Walker's side, then he attempted some political refereeing which brought him humiliation. By Christmas he received a decided rebuke from Marcy for favoring Walker and when the Nicaraguan-Walker government learned that they were not recognized by the United States, they refused to deal with Wheeler any longer. He then undertook some difficult travel and on the journey his son was accidentally shot and almost killed. Meanwhile, the republic was invaded by its neighbors and as the

fortunes of war fluctuated, those of Wheeler got worse. His health suffered and finally there was a tragedy that was almost fatal. He was lying sick unto death as the city was being ravaged by the invaders. A number of women had fled to his legation for safety, the enemy was firing on his house and banging on the door. The women were screaming in his sick room and preparing for suicide rather than fall into the hands of the lusting soldiers. However, just at this dreadful moment, Walker rescued the city, the women were saved, and Wheeler pulled through. However, he had had enough. So had the State Department, for he had ceased to represent Marcy's policy but followed that of Walker, even defending him for depriving Vanderbilt of his franchise. Had it not been for Dobbin's protection, he probably would have been dismissed. At it was, he was allowed to come home and at length resign. Wheeler's unfortunate experience was one of the accumulating evidences that all of the spread eagle diplomacy might in the end come to naught.

As Pierce and his associates saw the structure of their hopes tumbling down about them, they sought to discover the reason. It was not difficult for them to reach the conclusion that their efforts were being frustrated by a co-ordinated plan devised by Great Britain and France to curb their prospects in the West Indies, in the Isthmuses, and even in Hawaii. Despite the fact that these powers were engaged in a desperate European conflict, they were believed to have time and energy sufficient to spare so that they could circumvent the United States in its efforts to spread enlightenment and liberty.

Marcy became convinced that his major problem was to bring Great Britain to terms. He first sought to settle the Canadian fisheries dispute by entering into a shrewd horse-trading venture which resulted in a package treaty involving both fisheries and Canadian trade on a reciprocity basis. In this he succeeded. But the second problem, that of Anglo-American spheres of influence in the Isthmus region, was made more difficult and much complicated by the destruction

of Greytown by Dobbin's naval officer and the ventures of Kinney and William Walker.

Then came a break. The British Minister at Washington was caught violating our neutrality laws in his efforts to recruit volunteers for the British Army during the Crimean War. This was an opportunity which Marcy sought to use to greatest advantage to force Great Britain to accept American definition of the limits of her interests in the Isthmus region. But if this advantage were to be pressed, American hands must be clean. So the Pierce Administration must enforce its neutrality laws against its own citizens too. Therefore, these filibustery expeditions could no longer be worked. The task forces to Nicaragua and Cuba must be stopped. Col. Kinney must be dropped, Quitman persuaded to remain at home, and Walker ignored and denied recognition, even though Wheeler must be rebuked and at length recalled.

Then everything seemed to go wrong. Civil war so rocked Nicaragua that Walker got into even deeper trouble and the Nicaragua transit route was closed, it developed, indefinitely. Soulé's efforts in the direction of Cuba, even when enforced at Ostend by our Ministers at London and Paris, resulted in the sorry fiasco of the Ostend Manifesto, which left us even further away from Cuba and which poured oil on the fire of American politics, to the violent discomfiture of Pierce.

Our negotiations for a coaling station in the West Indies failed. A riot on the Isthmus of Panama resulted in the destruction of property of the Panama railroad and revealed a hatred of Americans by the people and government of New Grenada, which was disillusioning and humiliating. Our efforts to acquire Hawaii and Alaska failed. Continued civil war in China was endangering hoped for concessions there. The one success in the Far East, the opening of Japan, had been the result of the planning of Fillmore and Secretary Graham.

The Pierce Administration itself had but one triumph in the Pacific, and this a most peculiar one. The destruction of soil fertility particularly in some parts of the South called for fertilizer. The most popular type was guano from the various

bird rookeries on barren islets in the Caribbean and the Pacific. American interests had been trying to get some concessions to purchase at the British operated Lobos Islands off the shores of Peru, but with little success. Then Senator Benjamin came to Marcy with a "discovery." There was much guano on the Galapagos Islands, far off the shores of Ecuador. So instructions were sent off in care of Benjamin to the American Minister in Ecuador to get the concession. A treaty was achieved whereby such privileges were granted in return for a generous loan—and then it turned out the whole "discovery" was a hoax; there was no guano on the Galapagos. Other efforts were made in the Caribbean, but this only got us into difficulties with Venezuela and rival American enterprises cut each others throats.

It was at this point that American guano operators bethought themselves of islets in distant Polynesia. So Dobbin agreeably sent out the Navy to establish discoverer's rights and Congress passed the Guano Act which Pierce signed in August, 1856, providing machinery for American operators to establish claims which the United States would be able to protect. The United States has some of those islets yet, notably Howland, Baker, and Jarvis.

Little had been accomplished. The Gadsden Purchase had been achieved. At long last Britain did make some concessions under the pressure of our indignation at the violation of our neutrality. But the resulting Dallas-Clarendon agreement eventually failed of ratification. The acquisition of new areas dedicated to liberty by the United States had made an almost infinitesimal beginning, slight recompense for four years of ardent toil and constant frustration. The decade that had started out so gloriously had bogged down by 1857, at least as far as diplomatic success was concerned, and might be termed a rather dismal failure.

Today the historian from the vantage point of a hundred year's perspective asks the question: Why this failure? What were the causes of this frustration? The contemporary idea was of course to blame it upon Great Britain. Britain and France were in a combination to frustrate the free United

States. It is apparent now, of course, that a good part of this failure came from the shadow of the third war—the war which was to come. American government was confused by the growing sectional tension. Most of the advances which Pierce wished to make would have been advantageous to the South, and consequently the enemies of the South opposed them. However, there is a more subtle and less apparent cause which, in the light of present day situations, it may be profitable to stress. And that was the reputation which the United States then had in the eyes of some people, and of which citizens of the United States and their government seem to have been utterly oblivious.

The chief minister of Queen Victoria, Palmerston, put it as follows in a letter which he wrote to his colleague Clarendon: "These Yankees are most disagreeable fellows to have to do with about any American question. They are on the spot, strong, deeply interested in the matter, totally unscrupulous and dishonest, and determined somehow or other to carry their point . . . [they] are such Rogues and such ingenious Rogues . . . [that even if the present question were settled] some new cavils would be found or . . . by the indirect agency of such men as Walker and his followers some independent State would . . . be established in Central America . . . in short, Texas over again."

These words, had they been read by any American, would undoubtedly have been shocking. Pierce and his associates and probably most of the citizens of the republic thought of themselves as high-minded and progressive men who were earnest in their efforts to improve the lot of mankind by advancing the ideals of democracy, and by proclaiming liberty. Yet here was the head of probably the most powerful government in the world who had the benefit of the best secret service and intelligence forces then existent, who unequivocally declared that we, particularly our government, were "rogues." Seemingly we had failed completely in our effort to communicate our high idealism and our lofty purpose together with our concern for the welfare of mankind. We were completely misunderstood.

It was but one of the failures of those bitter ten years. The decade of the 1850's which began so auspiciously with great opportunity and with the demonstration of the nation's great capacity to avoid danger by compromise, indeed, as we know, proved to be the decade of the nation's greatest failure. It ended in the disastrous conflict between the Union and the Confederacy. But this great failure is not of immediate concern in this discussion, rather that other failure of this decade, which in view of the nation's present international situation should be of great moment to all. This failure is the failure to communicate, illustrated by Palmerston's attitude just quoted.

Palmerston's opinion illustrates so clearly that in the 1850's the United States failed to communicate its message of hope and idealism. Today there is too much evidence that the nation is again failing to communicate the message of democracy to the nations. In the 1850's we were younger, less mature, but vigorous in our faith in the righteousness of our purpose, in our manifest destiny to offer hope and freedom to those who were living under the rule of government which in most part was repressive and decadent. Even enlightened England, more nearly like the republic in spirit than the other more despotic governments, could not seemingly comprehend. Now, a hundred years later, we still have the message. We still believe in it intensely. Furthermore, we have reached maturity and should possess wisdom. The world needs this message probably more than it did a century ago. But again, the nation is not getting its message across. Why?

In the first place, the United States is now facing not a declining monarchial system but a younger ideation, enthusiastic and on the march. The United States, on the other hand, is showing signs of too great self-satisfaction, a pride in its achievements which is justified by their magnitude but nevertheless blinding and enervating. The people are not sufficiently alert—just as a hundred years ago they were not perceptive, neither are they now. Those of other ideations are more ingenious, have greater enthusiasm and drive. They perceive the nation's weakness and capitalize it. They know the United

States thinks it can do anything with its money and therefore neglects to go out into the missionary field preaching the gospel of example. The United States buys tractors—it is not skillful in distributing tracts or in preaching by example.

To improve the nation's capacity to communicate the message of democracy, at least two things are needed. The people of the United States and those who bear rule over them need more critical knowledge of the current situation and greater perception of the significance of their knowledge. Too many attitudes and opinions are acquired by the easy means of listening to or reading the views of only one program, one commentator, one columnist, one newspaper or one periodical. It is essential to listen to or read a greater variety of reports. It is only in this way that the people will be able to find out and to perceive the opinions which other people have about the United States, to learn how hostile in many cases they really are, how based upon misunderstanding of national motives. By this knowledge and perception can the nation correct these views and avoid making the mistakes which serve to re-enforce them among those who might otherwise be our friends.

Liberty, freedom, democracy—the things we believe in so thoroughly—should be contagious. The nation should be proclaiming them so vigorously that their great power would be compelling. But this can be done not so much by spending money, which to many today seems to be the answer to every problem, but by ministering to the spiritual needs of mankind, by preaching by example, by sharing friendship and understanding, and the powerful example of sincere and consistent operation of uncorrupted democracy.

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RANKIN, ROBERT STANLEY. The government and administration of North Carolina. New York, Crowell, 1955. xiv, 429 p. Il. $4.95.

REDDICK, DE WITT CARTER. Church and campus, Presbyterians look to the future from their historic role in Christian higher education. Richmond, John Knox Press, 1956. 178 p. il. $1.00 pa., $2.00 cloth.

ROBINSON, BLACKWELL PIERCE. The history of escheats. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1955. 62 p. pa.

RUTLAND, ROBERT ALLEN. The birth of the Bill of Rights, 1776-1791. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955. vi, 243 p. $5.00.

SPURLOCK, CLARK. Education and the Supreme Court. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1955. xv, 252 p. $3.75.

STOVER, JOHN F. The railroads of the South, 1865-1900, a study in finance and control. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955. xviii, 310 p. $5.00.

SWANSON, ERNST WERNER. Public education in the South today and tomorrow, a statistical survey edited by Ernst W. Swanson and John A. Griffin. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955. xiv, 137 p. $5.00.

WARE, CHARLES CROSSFIELD. A history of Atlantic Christian College. Wilson, N. C., Atlantic Christian College, 1956. 248 p. il. $4.00.

*Science*

CARSON, RACHEL LOUISE. The edge of the sea. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1955. 276 p. il. $3.95.

DUDLEY, RUTH HUBBELL. My hobby is collecting sea shells and coral. New York, Hart Book Co., 1955. 127 p. il. $2.95.

HICKERSON, THOMAS FELIX. Beam deflection when I is constant or variable. [Chapel Hill?], The Author, 1955. 100 p. $3.50.

NORTH CAROLINA. COUNCIL OF CIVIL DEFENSE. State of North Carolina Long-range Hurricane Rehabilitation Project. Raleigh, 1955. 64 p. il. pa.

PEARL, RICHARD MAXWELL. Rocks and minerals. New York, Barnes & Noble, 1956. 275 p. il. $1.95.

REINEMUND, JOHN ADAM. Geology of the Deep River coal field, North Carolina. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1955. v, 159 p. il. $4.25.

TANNEHILL, IVAN RAY. The hurricane hunters. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1955. 271 p. il. $3.00.

*Applied Science and Useful Arts*

GROSS, HERBERT HENRY. Exploring near and far. Chicago, Follett Publishing Co., 1955. 288 p. il. $3.12.

HOFFMANN, MARGARET JONES. Sew easy! For the young beginner. New York, Dutton, 1956. 93 p. il. $2.75.

MILLS, LOIS. Three together, the story of the Wright brothers and their sister. New York, Follett Publishing Co., 1955. 160 p. il. $3.16.

SNOW, EDWARD ROWE. Famous lighthouses of America. New York, Dodd, Mead, 1955. 314 p. il. $4.00.

WILMINGTON, N. C. MINISTERING CIRCLE. Favorite recipes of the Lower Cape Fear. Wilmington, 1955. 184 p. il. $2.25 pa.

*Fine Arts*

FRIEDMAN, ALBERT B. The Viking book of folk ballads of the English-speaking world. New York, Viking Press, 1956. xxxv, 473 p. $4.95.

LANGSTAFF, JOHN M. Frog went a-courtin'. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1955. unpaged. $2.50.

LOGAN, WILLIAM A. Road to Heaven, twenty-eight Negro spirituals. University, University of Alabama Press, 1955. 38 p. $1.50 pa.

NORTH CAROLINA. MUSEUM OF ART. Catalogue of paintings, including three sets of tapestries, by W. R. Valentiner. Raleigh, 1956. 90 p. il. $1.50 pa.

*Poetry*

BAY LEAVES no. 3: Prize poems, Poetry Day contests . . . 1954-1955. [West Asheville], Poetry Council of North Carolina, 1956. 28 p. Order from C. A. Shull, Box 6252, Asheville, N. C. $1.00 pa.

BEVINGTON, HELEN SMITH. A change of sky, and other poems.[2] Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1956. 144 p. $3.50.

CRAIG, MARJORIE. The known way. Francestown, N. H., Golden Quill Press, 1955. 80 p. $2.50.

EATON, CHARLES EDWARD. The greenhouse in the garden. New York, Twayne Publishers, 1955. 64 p. $2.75.

HEWITT, ANDREW. Pickapot, and other poems. Charlotte, Peak & Pine Press, 1956. unpaged. il. $2.50.

HOLMES, EDISON PARKER. Nothin' ain't no good. Winston-Salem, Clay Printing Co., 1955. 123 p. il.

HUFFMAN, MINNA R. Come into my garden, and other poems, with monthly garden reminders. Durham, Religion & Health Press, 1955. 58 p. $1.00 pa.

HUTCHINS, JAMES HILL. My native town. New Bern, New Bern Historical Society Foundation, 1955. unpaged. il. pa.

MORRIS, ROBERT. Hurricane. Chapel Hill, Old Well Publishers, 1956. 13 p. $1.00 pa.

MULLIS, NELLIE HUGHES. Wings of Gold. Dallas, Story Book Press, 1956. [copyright 1955] 48 p. $2.50.

SIEBER, HERMAN ALEXANDER. Something the West will remember. Chapel Hill, Old Well Publishers, 1956. 18 p. $1.00 pa.

WEAVER, GUY. Rime thoughts and jingle smiles. Asheville, Biltmore Press, 1955. 70 p.

*Drama*

BLYTHE LEGETTE. Voice in the wilderness. A play with music, song, dance and pantomime. Staged in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the establishment of Presbyterianism in the region of Old Mecklenburg. Charlotte, William Loftin, 1955. 87 p. il. $1.90.

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[2] Winner of the Roanoke-Chowan Award for poetry, 1956.

GREEN, PAUL ELIOT. Wilderness Road, a symphonic outdoor drama. New York, French, 1956. 166 p. il. $3.00.

WALSER, RICHARD GAITHER, ed. North Carolina drama, with plays by William Norment Cox [and others] and two comedies by Paul Green. Richmond, Garrett & Massie, 1956. 229 p. $4.00.

### *Literature, Other Than Poetry, Drama or Fiction*

DUFFEY, FRANK M. The Early *Cuadro de Costumbres* in Colombia. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1956. (University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, no. 26) 116 p. $2.50 pa.

HOGAN, HELEN B. Books as windows to your world. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Library, 1956. (Library extension publication, vol. 21, no. 3) 30 p. $.50 pa.

MORRAH, DAVE. Heinrich Schnibble, and even more tales mein Grossfader told. New York, Rinehart, 1955. 111 p. il. $1.50.

———— Sillynyms. New York, Rinehart, 1956. 93 p. il. $1.50.

### *Fiction*[3]

ANGELL, POLLY. Andy Jackson: long journey to the White House. New York, Aladdin Books, 1956. 192 p. il. $1.75. Juvenile.

BRANDON, EVAN. Green Pond. New York, Vanguard Press, 1955. 506 p. $4.75.

BRUCKER, MARGARETTA. A doctor for Barbara by Margaret Howe [pseud.] New York, Avalon Books, 1956. 224 p. $2.50.

CREDLE, ELLIS. Big doin's on Razorback Ridge. New York, Nelson, 1956. 125 p. $2.75. Juvenile.

FORBUS, INA B. The magic pin. New York, Viking Press, 1956. 138 p. il. $2.50. Juvenile.

HARGROVE, MARION. The girl he left behind; or, All quiet in the Third Platoon. New York, Viking Press, 1956. 191 p. $2.95.

HUNTER, JOSHUA ALLEN. Dear Doctor Dick, the story of a small-town physician. New York, Exposition Press, 1955. 53 p. $2.50.

JOHNSON, RICHARD CARROLL. A story of six loves. New York, Pageant Press, 1955. 52 p. $2.00.

KOCH, DOROTHY CLARKE. Gone is my goose. New York, Holiday House, 1956. unpaged. il. $2.25. Juvenile.

KROLL, HARRY HARRISON. Summer gold. Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1955. 176 p. $2.75. Juvenile.

MARTIN, FRANCES GARDINER. Pirate Island. New York, Harper, 1955. 215 p. il. $2.75. Juvenile.

MILLER, HELEN TOPPING. Her Christmas at the Hermitage. New York, Longmans, Green, 1955. 89 p. $2.50.

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[3] By a North Carolinian or with the scene laid in North Carolina.

———— Slow dies the thunder. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1955. 310 p. $3.50.

MOORE, BERTHA B. Summer on Breezy Hill, by Betsy McCurry [pseud.]. Grand Rapids, Zondervan Publishing House, 1955. 57 p. il. $1.00.

MOZINGO, EDGAR. Mama's little rascal. New York, Exposition Press, 1955. 104 p. $3.00.

PATTON, FRANCES GRAY. A piece of luck.[4] New York, Dodd, Mead, 1955. 248 p. $3.00.

PHILLIPS, AGNES LUCAS. One clear call, a novel about nursing. New York, Exposition Press, 1955. 120 p. $3.00.

POLK, WILLIAM TANNAHILL. The fallen angel, and other stories. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1956. 180 p. $3.00.

SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. The scarlet cord, a novel of the woman of Jericho. Garden City, Doubleday, 1956. 352 p. $3.95.

SPEAS, JAN COX. My Lord Monleigh. Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1956. 309 p. $3.75.

STREET, JULIA MONTGOMERY. Fiddler's fancy.[5] Chicago, Follett, 1955. 157 p. $2.50. Juvenile.

TURNER, ORREN JACK. Lightly lies the earth. New York, Vantage Press, 1955. 304 p. $3.50.

WELLMAN, MANLY WADE. Flag on the levee. New York, I. Washburn, 1955. 209 p. il. $2.75.

———— To unknown lands. New York, Holiday House, 1956. 202 p. il. $2.75. Juvenile.

———— Young Squire Morgan. New York, I. Washburn, 1956. 172 p. il. $2.75. Juvenile.

### *Genealogy*

ALLISON, CHARLES WALTER. Reverend John Tillett family history. Charlotte, Observer Printing House, 1955. 194, 64, 171 p. il. $15.00.

BASS, IVAN ERNEST. Bass family history: Esau Bass (Revolutionary soldier) his brother, Jonathan Bass, and their descendants. Washington, 1955. 449 p. il. $10.00.

CRAIG, MARJORIE. Family records of Henrietta Alberta Ratliffe and Jasper Newton Craig. Reidsville, The Author, 1955. unpaged.

DAVIDSON, CHALMERS GASTON. Gaston of Chester. Based chiefly on the notes and records preserved by Judge Arthur Lee Gaston. [Davidson? N. C., 1956]. 146 p. il.

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[4] Winner of the Sir Walter Raleigh Award for fiction, 1956.
[5] Winner of the AAUW Award to juvenile literature, 1956.

GETZENDANER, GEORGIA BELLE, comp. George Washington Patterson family history. West Hartford, Conn., Chedwato Service, 1956. 73 p. $2.25 pa.

MCKOY, HENRY BACON. The McKoy family of North Carolina and other ancestors including Ancrum, Berry, Halling, Hasell, Usher. Greenville, S. C., 1955. 198 p. il.

MCNAIR, JAMES BIRTLEY. McNair, McNear, and McNeir genealogies. Supplement, 1955. Los Angeles, The Author, 1955. 457 p. $9.75.

MORRIS, WHITMORE. A Morris family of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. [San Antonio? 1956]. 128 p. $4.00.

SHAW, JESSIE OWEN. The Johnsons and their kin of Randolph. Washington, 1955. 214 p. il. $10.00.

STONE, DOLLY MARY. Samuel Stone and his wife Mary Ann Chunn. San Antonio, Naylor Co., 1955. 87 p. $5.00.

WYATT, LILLIAN REEVES. The Reeves, Mercer, Newkirk families. [Jacksonville? Fla., 1956]. 374 p. il. $5.00.

*History and Travel*

ALEXANDER, NANCY. Here will I dwell. (The story of Caldwell County.) Lenoir, Nancy Alexander, 1956. 230 p. il. $5.00.

BRIDGERS, EMILY. Africa: South of the Sahara. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Library, 1955. (Library extension publication, vol. 21, no. 1) 44 p. $.50 pa.

CATHEY, CORNELIUS OLIVER. Agricultural developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1956. (The James Sprunt studies in history and political science, v. 38) 229 p. $2.50 pa.

CURTIS, ROBERT S. The history of livestock in North Carolina. Raleigh, Agricultural Experiment Station, N. C. State College, 1956. (Its Bulletin 401) 116 p. il. pa.

DILL, ALONZO THOMAS. Governor Tryon and his palace. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955. xiii, 304 p. il. $5.00.

FERGUSON, THOMAS WILEY. Home on the Yadkin. Winston-Salem, Clay Printing Co., 1956. 242 p. il.

FOWLER, MALCOLM. They passed this way: a personal narrative of Harnett County history. No place, Harnett County Centennial, Inc., 1955. 167 p. il. $2.00 pa.

ISBELL, ROBERT LEE. The world of my childhood. Lenoir, News-Topic, 1955. 208 p. il. $2.25.

JEFFREYS, RAYMOND J. Must they sell apples again? Columbus, Capitol College Press, 1956. 101 p. il.

KNIGHT, KEN, ed. North Carolina travelbook. Winston-Salem, Collins Co., 1956. 105 p. il. pa.

LEFLER, HUGH TALMAGE. History of North Carolina. New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1956. 4 vols. il. $87.00.

MATHEWSON, ALICE CLARKE. Ali-Mat takes off. Raleigh, Forest Hills Distributors, [1956?]. 152 p. $2.75.

PARRIS, JOHN A. Roaming the mountains with John Parris. Asheville, Citizen-Times Publishing Co., 1955. 246 p. $2.50.

PASCHAL, HERBERT RICHARD, JR. A history of colonial Bath. Raleigh, Edwards & Broughton Co., 1955. 69 p. il. $2.50.

PATTON, SADIE SMATHERS. Buncombe to Mecklenburg—speculation lands. Forest City, Western North Carolina Historical Association, 1955. vi, 47 p. $2.00 pa.

PEACE, SAMUEL THOMAS. "Zeb's black baby," Vance County, North Carolina, a short history. Henderson, 1955. 457 p. il. $5.00.

ROBINSON, BLACKWELL PIERCE. A history of Moore County, North Carolina, 1747-1847.[6] Southern Pines, Moore County Historical Association, 1956. viii, 270 p. il. $7.50.

QUATTLEBAUM, PAUL. The land called Chicora, the Carolinas under Spanish rule, with French intrusions, 1520-1670. Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1956. 153 p. il. $3.75.

QUINN, DAVID BEERS. The Roanoke voyages, 1584-1590, documents to illustrate the English voyages to North America under the patent granted to Walter Raleigh in 1584. London, Hakluyt Society, 1955. 2 vols. il. $22.00.

ROBERTS, ELLIOTT. One river—seven states, TVA-State relations in the development of the Tennessee River. Knoxville, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, 1955. (The University of Tennessee record. Extension series, vol. 31, no. 1) vii, 100 p. $1.50 pa.

SAVAGE, HENRY. River of the Carolinas: the Santee. New York, Rinehart, 1956. 435 p. il. $5.00.

SNELL, JOHN LESLIE, JR. The meaning of Yalta, Big Three diplomacy and the new balance of power. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1956. xiii, 239 p. il. $3.75.

STEPHENSON, WENDELL HOLMES. The South lives in history, Southern historians and their legacy. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1955. 163 p. $3.50.

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES, SOUTH OF THE RIVER OHIO. GOVERNOR, 1790-1796. The Blount journal, 1790-1796, the proceedings of government over the Territory of the United States of America, South of the River Ohio, William Blount, esquire, in his executive department as governor. Nashville, Benson Printing Co., 1955. vii, 157 p. $3.00.

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[6] Winner of an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History, 1956.

TUCKER, GLENN. Tecumseh, vision of glory.[7] Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1956. 399 p. $5.00.

WASHBURN, BENJAMIN EARLE. A country doctor in the South Mountains. Asheville, Stephens Press, 1955. 94 p. il. $2.00.

WEATHERS, LEE BEAM. The living past of Cleveland County, a history. Shelby, Star Publishing Co., 1956. 269 p. il. $4.00.

*Autobiography and Biography*

BURNHAM, GEORGE. Billy Graham, a mission accomplished. Westwood, N. J., Revell, 1955. 158 p. $2.00.

CHAMBERS, WILLIAM NISBET. Old Bullion Benton, Senator from the new West: Thomas Hart Benton, 1782-1858. Boston, Little Brown, 1956. 517 p. il. $6.00.

COE, JEFFREY. The picture story of Daniel Boone. New York, Wonder Books, Inc., 1956. 64 p. il. $.25 pa. Juvenile.

DAVIS, BURKE. Gray Fox, Robert E. Lee and the Civil War. New York, Rinehart, 1956. 466 p. il. $6.00.

HEDDEN, WORTH TUTTLE. Two and three make one, by Winifred Woodley [pseud.] New York, Crown Publishers, 1956. 167 p. $2.75.

HIGH, STANLEY. Billy Graham, the personal story of the man, his message, and his mission. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1956. 274 p. il. $3.95.

HAYWARD, ARTHUR LAWRENCE. The book of pirates. New York, Roy Publishers, [1956?]. 239 p. il. $2.75.

HOYLE, BERNADETTE. Tar Heel writers I know. Winston-Salem, John F. Blair, Publisher, 1956. viii, 215 p. il. $4.00.

IVES, ELIZABETH STEVENSON. My brother Adlai, by Elizabeth Stevenson Ives and Hildegarde Dolson. New York, Morrow, 1956. 308 p. il. $4.00

LEMMON, KATHLEEN. House in the Woods, a biographical sketch of Juliette and Crosby Adams. Asheville, Inland Press, 1956. 89 p. $2.75.

MCBRIDE, ROBERT MARTIN. Portrait of an American loyalist, James Cotton of Anson County, North Carolina. Nashville, Tenn., 1954. 64 p. pa.

MASSENGALE, ROSALIE. Other people's lives. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Library, 1956. (Library extension publication, vol. 21, no. 2) 42 p. $.50 pa.

MAURICE, GEORGE H. On the trail of Daniel Boone in North Carolina. Eagle Springs, N. C., The Author, 1955. 19 p. il. $1.25.

NORTH CAROLINA FEDERATION OF MUSIC CLUBS. North Carolina Musicians, a selective handbook. Chapel Hill, University of

[7] Winner of the Mayflower Award, 1956.

North Carolina library, 1956. (Library extension publication, vol. 21, no. 4) 82 p. $1.50 pa., $3.00 cloth.

PEELE, HERBERT. Mr. Albemarle, some quotations from Herbert Peele's editorials and Peelings, compiled by his wife, Kate. Winston-Salem, Collins Co., 1955. 205 p. il. $5.00.

SHACKFORD, JAMES ATKINS. David Crockett, the man and the legend. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1956. xiv, 338 p. $6.00.

SMATHERS, FRANK. The last pioneer of Western North Carolina. Coral Gables, Fla., Glade House, 1956. 42 p. il.

WOLFE, THOMAS. Letters, Collected and edited, with an introduction and explanatory text, by Elizabeth Nowell. New York, Scribner, 1956. xviii, 797 p. $10.00.

*New Editions and Reprints*

DUNCAN, NORVIN C. People, places, things. [Asheville? 1955]. 96 p. il. pa.

JARRELL, RANDALL. Poetry and the age. London, Faber and Faber, 1955. 240 p. $2.52.

JONES, HUGH. The present state of Virginia, from whence is inferred a short view of Maryland and North Carolina. Edited with an introduction by Richard L. Morton. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1956. xiv, 295 p. il. $5.00.

KINCAID, ROBERT LEE. The Wilderness road. Harrogate, Tenn., Lincoln Memorial University Press, 1955. 392 p. il. $4.00.

LASSITER, WILLIAM CARROLL. Law and press, the legal aspects of news reporting, editing and publishing in North Carolina. Raleigh, Edwards & Broughton, 1956. xvi, 262 p. $7.50.

MYREN, RICHARD ALBERT. Investigation of arson, and other unlawful burnings. Chapel Hill, Institute of Government, 1956. (Its Guidebook series, May, 1956) 90, 14 p. $1.50 pa.

NEWMAN, WILLIAM S. The pianist's problems . . . New York, Harper, 1956. xiv, 168 p. il. $3.00.

NORTH CAROLINA. UNIVERSITY. INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT. Notary public guidebook. Chapel Hill, Institute of Government, 1956. (Its Guidebook series, May, 1956) 82 p. il. $2.00 pa.

PATTON, FRANCES GRAY. Good morning, Miss Dove. New York, Pocket Books, Inc., 1956. 165 p. $.25 pa.

———— ———— London, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1956. 217 p. il. $1.50.

PIERCE, OVID WILLIAMS. La plantation. Roman traduit de l'américain par Hubert Audigier. Paris, Librairie Plon, 1955. 254 p.

RICHARDSON, ETHEL PARK. American mountain songs. New York, Greenberg, 1956 [copyright 1955] 120 p. il. $3.50.

SIEBER, HERMAN ALEXANDER. In this the Marian year. Chapel Hill, Old Well Publishers, 1956. 27 p. il. $1.75 pa., $3.00 cloth.

SLAUGHTER, FRANK GILL. The song of Ruth, a love story from the Old Testament. New York, Permabooks, 1955. 288 p. $.35 pa.

STREET, JAMES HOWELL. Drengen og Lady. Copenhagen, Thorkild Becks Forlag, 1955. 219 p.

TRACY, DON. Roanoke renegade. New York, Pocket Books, Inc., 1955. 346 p. $.35 pa.

WOLFE, THOMAS. La ragnatela e la roccia. Verona, Mondadori, 1955. 707 p.

# BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of Willie Person Mangum. Edited by Henry Thomas Shanks. Volume V, 1847-1894. (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History. 1956. Pp. xxxvii, 812. Illustrations, errata, and index. $3.00.)

This is the final volume of the Mangum papers. About half of the volume is taken up by letters to Mangum and members of his family, written previous to Mangum's death in 1861. His wife and two daughters resided during these years at Walnut Hall, established on the Mangum ancestral estate in Orange (now Durham) County; another daughter was married and lived on a plantation in Randolph County; while his only son, William Preston Mangum, divided his time amongst the home, two academies, a short stay in Washington with his father, attendance at the University of North Carolina, and service in the Confederate army prior to his death from a wound received in the First Battle of Manassas. Six years of the period constituted Mangum's final term as Senator in his thirty year span of almost unbroken service in the United States Congress. He lapsed into bad health following a severe fall in 1851, retired from the Senate in 1853, and spent his declining years at Walnut Hall.

The net result of the foregoing circumstances coupled with fortunate preservation and skillful editing is a series of interesting and historically useful documents. Mangum's financial and professional interests in the law and the close attachment of the family to the soil meant that the usual family and personal greetings were interspersed with bits of information revealing much of the agrarian life of the period. He and members of his family were intellectually alert and alive to the educational currents of the day. These letters, therefore, furnish an excellent cross section picture of social and economic conditions as well as some incidental facts conerning Mangum's role as an elder Whig statesman.

Most of the latter half of the volume is made up of several of Mangum's speeches in Congress. It is the humble opinion

of this reviewer that these speeches are of questionable worth for publication as original historical sources. Most of them are already available in the *Register of Debates* and *Congressional Globe,* they contain numerous typographical errors and have been subjected to relatively little by way of editorial embellishment. Seventeen pages devoted to reminiscences of Mangum's descendants furnish some interesting anecdotes that may, as the editor hopefully suggests (p. 746 *n*), stimulate further research in the career of a significant figure in the politics of North Carolina and the nation.

Paul Murray.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

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Agricultural Developments in North Carolina, 1783-1860. Volume XXXVIII of the James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. By Cornelius Oliver Cathey. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. v, 229. $2.50.)

Historians may add this volume to their shelf of state agricultural histories for, in spite of Professor Cathey's modest disclaimer that he has not attempted to record the history of North Carolina's agriculture in the ante-bellum period, he comes very close to doing just that. The volume fills a basic need in a field that is worthy of much careful study. Professor Cathey states that his interest was first drawn to the field by Professor Fletcher M. Green, of the University of North Carolina. Over the past several years, nearly every piece of historical research relating to the agricultural history of North Carolina has carried a similar acknowledgment.

Professor Cathey compromises the historian's dilemma of a chronological or topical organization in his work by discussing colonial agricultural in his first chapter; post-Revolutionary changes to 1820 in his second; land-holding, labor, and agricultural implements from 1783 to 1860 in his next two; agricultural reform from 1820 to 1860 in his fifth; and devel-

opments respecting major commodities from 1820 to 1860 in his next four. The concluding chapter is an excellent summary of agricultural progress from 1783 to 1860.

The outstanding impression left by the volume is that North Carolina was, like other states, moving away from a partially self-sufficient agriculture towards a commercial agriculture throughout the period studied. Not every farmer made immediate changes, yet every development that was changing the nation's agriculture was paralleled in North Carolina. Leading agricultural reformers, for example, were emphasizing intensive rather than extensive cultivation on both the national and state scene. The author states that because of the conservatism, superstition, and ignorance of many farmers, reform moved very slowly. It might also be noted that intensive agriculture carried on far from transportation facilities and markets was not economically feasible. With allowances for these inadequacies, it seems obvious from this study that North Carolina farmers were moving at about the same pace as those of other states.

Professor Cathey concludes that by 1860 the foundations of a better agriculture had been firmly established in every community in the State. It may be hoped that the author will continue his researches and prepare a companion volume on the agriculture of North Carolina from 1860 to the present.

Wayne D. Rasmussen.

U. S. Department of Agriculture,
Washington, D. C.

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Sherman's March through the Carolinas. By John G. Barrett. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 325. $6.00.)

Sherman always considered his march from Savannah to Goldsboro the greatest achievement of his military career, and was convinced that it had been "an important factor in . . . the glorious triumph of the Union cause." Americans since have argued about the need and responsibility for the

damage inflicted by Sherman's "bummers," military critics have disagreed over the influence of the campaign on the outcome of the war, but not until the appearance of *Sherman's March through the Carolinas* has anyone made a detailed study of this controversial chapter in the Civil War.

It is not a pretty story. Correctly interpreting the campaign as an application of what today is called "total war" rather than a grandiose raid, Dr. Barrett does not gloss over Sherman's imperfections and the many incidents of brutality and indiscriminate destruction. Yet he does not join the Confederate partisans. He understands Sherman, his intense conviction that the South had to be taught it had acted in error, and his desire to bring the war to a quick end and just end; he admires him for his "refusal to be bound by orthodox strategy and stubborn military tradition." Above all, he appreciates the fact that, aside from the question whether Sherman's devastating march actually had an appreciable effect upon Lee's surrender (Dr. Barrett believes that it did not), Sherman's policies were not always in harmony with the goal he sought—"a more perfect peace."

The author has attacked without fear or favor such perplexing problems as the burning of Columbia, the battle of Bentonville, and the prolonged negotiations between Sherman and Johnston. His fully documented narrative is never without interest (readers will enjoy especially his account of Kilpatrick's frustrating experience at Monroe's Cross-Roads) and can be regarded as the best book on the subject.

Jay Luvaas.

Duke University,
Durham.

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A History of Atlantic Christian College: Culture in Coastal Carolina. By Charles Crossfield Ware. (Wilson: Atlantic Christian College. 1956. Pp. 248. Appendices, bibliography, index, and illustrations. $4.00.)

*A History of Atlantic Christian College* is more than the title indicates, for Dr. Ware not only gives the history of this

four-year, coeducational college, founded in Wilson in 1902 by the Disciples of Christ, but gives in the first chapter a brief history of early education in the State, beginning in 1708 when North Carolina had its first professional teacher of record, Charles Griffin, of the "Parish of Pascotank," a "reader" and ad interim minister. Co-incidentally, the author has given much of the history of the Disciples of Christ church, which he is ably qualified to do, since for nearly forty years he has been gathering the Carolina Discipliana Library, now housed at the college at Wilson.

Dr. Ware says in the Foreword: " . . . the administration of Atlantic Christian College wanted me to write a factual history of the institution—to give an authentic story of its background and its fifty-four years of activity." This book could easily have been just that and no more, but, in addition, it is a gripping and scholarly story. The struggle of this college, faced at all times with financial difficulties and uncertainties, affected by wars and depression, to survive and carry out its object, "the dissemination of knowledge, religious, scientific, and practical . . . to meet the requirements of advancing Christian civilization and enlightenment" becomes very real and important to the reader. The book contains a number of illustrations, some of documents prior and relating to the founding, some of the presidents, trustees, and college groups and buildings. There is an appendix giving a roster of the presidents, faculty, and trustees.

Dr. Ware, a native of Kentucky and a graduate of Transylvania College, has been a resident of North Carolina since 1910 and has served as Executive Secretary of the Tar Heel Disciples for nearly forty years. He is at present Curator of the Carolina Discipliana Library, composed of 10,000 volumes, providing a splendid historical research center for eastern North Carolina. His experience and associations have eminently prepared him for this splendid job which is well done.

Dr. Ware's previously published works include: "A History of the Disciples of Christ in North Carolina," 1927; "Barton

Warren Stone—Pathfinder of Christian Union," 1932; "Tar Heel Disciples," 1942; "Christian's Reveille" (play), 1944; and "Rountree Chronicles," 1947.

J. D. Messick.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

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Stories Old and New of the Cape Fear Region. By Louis Toomer Moore. (Wilmington: Privately published. 1956. Pp. xv, 261. $5.00.)

For a pleasant evening or two of entertaining reading there is much in this book to be recommended. If spread out over a longer period, perhaps kept near at hand and read from occasionally, it might be even more enjoyable since there is a certain amount of repetition, perhaps unavoidable in a book of this type. It is a book of stories—tales and traditions—and must be accepted as such rather than as a local history in spite of the author's use of such a phrase as "glamorous tradition of fact" in support of many of his statements.

In narrative form the author gives us much history of the Lower Cape Fear region, however. In addition to fact there are fancy, humor, and at times tragedy to characterize the nearly sixty sketches which make up the book. For the most part they deal with the colonial period (which the author on page 134 has taken the liberty to extend to about 1806) and the era of the Civil War although a few bring us up to fairly recent times. Some of the stories will be familiar to readers of the Sunday feature sections of many Tar Heel newspapers — "Sacred Painting Found on Pirate Ship," "Moore's Creek Battle—Mary Slocum's Ride," and "Governor Dudley's Remark to Governor Butler" among them.

The sketches are of uneven quality and appeal and often are marked by verbose sentences. The author is a good storyteller, nevertheless, and has added much to our understand-

ing of the local scene by keeping alive these traditional tales of the past.

William S. Powell.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

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Ocracoke. By Carl Goerch. (Raleigh: Privately printed. 1956. Pp. 223. Pen drawings. $3.00.)

The highly loquacious and literarily prolific Carl Goerch has produced another chatty, informal volume about the State. In this work on Ocracoke the genial Mr. Goerch covers the island from north to south and inside out. His fascination, lasting over a quarter of a century, is obvious. Starting with its location, he delves into every phase of life—animal, vegetable and human—on the island. He reaches back into history to tell the story Edward Teach, of memorable storms and famous wrecks, and the island's part in wars and early settlement. He comments on the latest developments—the coming of paved roads and the advent of the federal government in form of the National Park Service now that Ocracoke is part of a national seashore recreational area.

Subjects encompassed by Mr. Goerch's nimble pen include romance (including advice to single young girls), a square dance, a funeral and the island's burial association, the renowned wild ponies, the only Negro family, the pronunciation of "I" (known far and wide as "Oi"). In matters of speech he falls into the general error of other publicists who imagine that certain localisms exist only in the area under their inspection. Undoubtedly there is a distinctive flavor about Ocracokers' lingo, but some of the expressions Mr. Goerch believes native to the island are found generally in North Carolina—"I don't fault you," "ain't fittin'," "ca'm" for "calm," and "slick" for "calm."

Following the free-wheeling style which resembles his famed radio delivery, Mr. Goerch gives Ocracoke the "once over lightly" treatment. He has produced no definitive study, weighted down with sociological gobbledygook and statisti-

cal tables. (He is invariably entertaining if not deeply penetrating. One wonders, for example, if there is not more drama than he suspects in the only Negro family on Ocracoke.) Mr. Goerch's *Ocracoke* is personal, direct, appealing—and successful in that he creates a burning desire in the reader to visit and see for himself this interesting "oiland."

Holley Mack Bell.

Greensboro.

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Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution. Book K. Edited by Wylma Anne Wates. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1956. Pp. viii, 60. $2.50.)

Another in the series of volumes of indent stub entries being published by the South Carolina Archives Department, Book K is similar in format and general content to Book G-H reviewed by this writer in *The North Carolina Historical Review,* XXXIII (April, 1956), 261-262. It achieves the objectives announced by the editor for the series and maintains the standard set by the preceding volume. The 293 entries are for the period from August, 1784, to January, 1785. They encompass a variety of items that the reader would expect to find in such a collection. Of passing interest are payments for such goods and services as: "two duffill Blankets impressed" (No. 1); "1183$^{lb}$. Indico supplied" (No. 14); "making swords" (Nos. 135 and 141); "Medicine and attendance paid doct. Maryan by said Joshua Jones when [he] was wounded by the Enemy in riding Express to Governor Rutledge" (No. 53); "the Valuation of the ship James her tackle and apparrell—she having been sunk to Obstruct the passage into Cooper River by Order of His Excellency Governor Rutledge" (Nos. 59-61); and "twenty days Service on board the Hibernia as Flag-Master to negotiate an Exchange of prisoners in Charlestown" (No. 90).

Lawrence F. Brewster.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612) by William Strachey, gent. Edited by Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund. (London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society by Robert Maclehose and Co., Ltd. The University Press, Glasgow. 1953. Pp. xxxii, 221. Introduction, maps, appendices, and index. $7.50.)

William Strachey was the secretary for the Jamestown Colony and spent three years, 1609-1612, in the New World. *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612)* represents a draft from his notes and includes excerpts from Hakluyt, Gosnold, John Smith, and others. It was first published by the Hakluyt society in 1849. The present edition is intended to be an exact transcript of a manuscript at Princeton University.

In the introduction the editors present a history of the existing manuscripts, and an account of Strachey and his work in relation to the attitudes and interests of his day. They point out the sections of Strachey's work that were borrowed from earlier writers.

Strachey presents a justification for colonization and an argument for England's right to settle the New World. In their review in the introduction the editors say that the most original portions of the manuscript are those dealing with the Indians. Strachey gives the location of various Indian groups and discusses something of their trade relations with the colonists, and the economic, social, political, and religious aspects of Indian life, along with a list of the plants and animals utilized by them. It is in this respect that the reviewer feels that the book will be of considerable interest to anthropologists and archaeologists who are interested in constructing a picture of Indian culture.

The appendix contains a vocabulary of Indian words which would be of particular interest for anthropologists who are specialists in Algonquian linguistics. It also has a statement by Reverend James A. Geary, professor of Celtic languages and comparative linguistics at the Catholic University in Washington, D. C.

Strachey's *Historie* is the most recent of several books edited by Louis B. Wright that are transcripts of early American documents. In making this manuscript available to the anthropologists and students of early American history who otherwise could not have read it, the editors are to be congratulated.

Stanley South.

State Department of Archives and History,
Mt. Gilead.

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Auraria: The Story of a Georgia Gold-Mining Town. By E. Merton Coulter. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1956. Pp. x, 149. $3.00.)

In 1829 gold was discovered in the Cherokee Nation of Georgia and thousands of miners flocked into the region. The Georgia state government extended its authority over the region and distributed the land by lottery in 1832. One center of the mining activity was given the name of Auraria. It became temporarily the seat of government of Lumpkin County and within a year had a population of above one thousand. Here were established several stores, taverns or hotels, and tailor shops, two churches, a bank, a tin shop, a newspaper, and a post office; and the mining town was connected by stage coach lines with the leading cities of Georgia and South Carolina. A rival mining center developed at Dahlonega which became the permanent seat of county government. Lawyers, doctors, merchants, and business enterprises moved from Auraria to Dahlonega; and after a United States Mint was established in Dahlonega in 1838 Auraria lost its early importance. When the Georgia miners migrated to the California gold fields in 1849 Auraria became another of the dead towns of Georgia.

Professor Coulter writes an interesting and worthwhile account of this Georgia mining town. After a brief account of the discovery of gold and the establishment of Auraria he devotes a chapter each to "Merchants, Bankers, Lawyers, Barbers, Doctors," "Editor, Preachers, Schoolmasters,"

"Crime," "Social Life," "Government and Politics," "Auraria Versus Dahlonega," and "The Dissolution of Auraria." This is excellent social, local history, but it is broader than the description implies. For instance the merchants of Auraria imported all sorts of fine goods from such faraway cities as Charleston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. The book also treats of general problems, including frontier life, Indian removal, the nullification-state rights controversy, Georgia state politics, the Texas Revolution, and the contributions of Auraria miners to the California gold fields.

I would offer one major criticism of the book: namely, Professor Coulter goes too far afield in his account of Auraria. For instance, much of his material on runaway slaves and education does not apply to Auraria. Again much of the descriptive matter on stray horses is trivial detail. One might also question the accuracy of Professor Coulter's statement (p. ix) that Auraria was the first gold-mining town in America. Some of the gold-mining towns in North Carolina were established earlier and had a larger population than Auraria.

Professor Coulter has discovered a complete file of the *Western Herald,* published in Auraria during 1833-1834. This newspaper is the main source for much of his story, and heretofore was not known to be extant. This reviewer cannot excuse Professor Coulter for not making known to his readers the location of this file so that they might make use of it in their researches.

Fletcher M. Green.

The University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

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John Filson of Kentucke. By John Walton. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 130. Illustrations, index, and pocket map. $4.00.)

Although he tried desperately and in many ventures from the time of his youth in Pennsylvania until his death in Ohio, John Filson was a successful man, perhaps, in only two

respects: his promotion of the settlement of Kentucky and his idealizing of Daniel Boone as a frontier American. His map of Kentucky and his book, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke,* both printed in 1784, were classics and aided immeasurably in attracting settlers to Kentucky. In eulogizing Boone, Filson also helped create a national hero. As a farmer, as a school teacher, as a land speculator, the latter on a relatively small scale, Filson was a financial failure. Still, his life was very interesting and adventuresome. He was associated, although not too intimately, with intrepid men who were opening up a great continent; through his writings and his map he stirred men to move westward; he was a sort of press agent for Boone; accordingly, he made contributions unmatched by thousands of his contemporaries. He failed to make a "good living" perhaps, because he aspired to the "grand manner." Seeking the grandiose, he lost the ordinary as well as his life.

Professor Walton has written a little book which surveys and interprets the discoverable phases of Filson's life (1753—?). Another biography on the subject is not necessary. Walton is both a genealogist and historian, one who knows where to leave off folklore and genealogy and turn to discernable history. Most of his pages are written in a straightforward style; some are filled with conjectures; others include charmingly penned interpretations about incidents and people associated with the Filson story, sometimes closely, sometimes remotely and vaguely. Walton himself has indeed had an intriguing adventure in his research and writing of Filson's biography. Materials utilized in preparing the book were widely scattered, but he seems to have tracked down the existing materials on his subject. The result is an interesting and informative one. The reproduction of Filson's famous map of Kentucky, inserted in a cover pocket of Walton's book, is alone worth the price of the volume.

Weymouth T. Jordan.

Florida State University,
Tallahassee, Florida.

Cherokees of the Old South. By Henry T. Malone. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1956. Pp. xiii, 238. $4.50.)

This study of Cherokee transition from "forest" people to agrarian nationhood relates the story of the rise and fall of the Cherokee Republic. In 1785 the United States declared its intention "to lead the Cherokees to a greater degree of civilization." As game disappears in the Cherokee nation, under Federal stimulus agriculture advances. Most of the tribesmen resist Jefferson's invitation to go west, and a strong leadership of mixed breed descendants of eighteenth-century traders takes over.

These leaders achieved prosperity in lands, slaves, and goods. They opposed white encroachment and sought literacy for their children by encouraging the mission schools. They developed constitutional government, enfranchised all adult male Cherokees, and founded the planned capital city of New Echota. To counter hostile propaganda they established an English language newspaper which demonstrated Cherokee cultural progress by printing articles in Sequoyah's Cherokee syllabary. Eventually the republic falls before the Georgia assault and the Jacksonian determination to force it out.

Malone seeks and generally achieves scholarly impartiality. He recognizes that the Cherokees attained a "peculiarly mixed" red and white culture in which the missionary efforts failed to capture the core of Indian society. Though primarily concerned with the "progressives," Hicks and Ross and their associates, as pictured in the mission records, he indicates "nativist" distrust of this leadership. His views of the situation might have been enriched, however, had he consulted the Payne Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago. Most Cherokees lived in unfloored cabins in the woods without benefit of plows and spinning wheels. While the enlightened sought white doctors, in the country shamanism prevailed. Ceremonial dances continued, and in quiet places sacred fires burned all year. The ancient prestiges, the dark look, and ostracism as social and political weapons still held. Path-

killer, the Fire King, was "broken" and Doublehead, the orator, assassinated by "progressives."

Though some of these matters are relegated to notes in the excellent appendix, Professor Malone's well-documented presentation redresses the partisanship of previous works and will not soon be superseded.

D. H. Corkran.

Roosevelt University,
Chicago, Illinois.

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The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South. By Kenneth M. Stampp. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Pp. xi, 436. $5.75.)

Insight into the character of this new study of American Negro slavery is afforded by the prefactory statement: ". . . the historian's . . . knowledge of the present is clearly a key to his understanding of the past. Today we are learning much from the natural and social sciences about the Negro's potentialities and the basic irrelevance of race, and we are slowly discovering the roots and meaning of human behavior. . . . I have assumed that the slaves were merely ordinary human beings, that innately Negroes *are* after all, only white men with black skins, nothing more, nothing less. This gives quite a new and different meaning to the bondage of black men."

Thus does the author, a forty-four-year-old native of Wisconsin, professor of American history at the University of California and author of two books about the Civil War, declare himself an advocate and a practitioner of historical relativism. Most present day historians probably agree with him as to the appropriateness and value of each generation rewriting history in the light of its own knowledge and experience. At least they would concur in the recent statement of a Harvard scholar that relativism is something that historians have decided they must live with.

Ulrich B. Phillips, whose *American Negro Slavery*, published in 1918, first treated "the peculiar institution" with

scholarly comprehensiveness, approached the subject in an intellectual atmosphere heavily charged with Social Darwinism. The Social Darwinists preached the gospel of Anglo-Saxon supremacy and assumed the innate inferiority of colored peoples. They held, in the words of William Graham Sumner, that "nothing is more certain . . . than that inequality is a law of life. No two persons were ever born equal. They differ in physical characteristics and in mental capacity."

*The Peculiar Institution* is revisionary not only with respect to basic assumptions about race, but also with regard to many other important points. Professor Stampp attempts more than any other general historian of slavery to explore the attitudes of Negroes toward their bondage. His findings indicate much less of contentment on the part of slaves than is suggested in the writings of Phillips, L. C. Gray, and their contemporaries.

While admitting great diversity in different regions and among individual owners, in general he pictures slavery as a considerably less humane institution than previously represented. He rejects the idea that slavery was by its very nature an unprofitable system. Rather, he holds, when properly administered, it was much less costly than free labor. The evidence that he marshals to show the ever-increasing profitableness and expansion of slavery, and the growing conviction of its usefulness as a mode of social control, casts serious doubt on the often repeated claim that, left alone, the institution would have died a natural death.

Using material much of which was not available to Phillips' generation, Stampp investigates with unprecedented thoroughness slavery as it existed on levels below the plantation. Among the farmers, as among the planters, he finds great variation of practice, though he concludes that in general bondsmen who worked side by side with their owners experienced less of cruelty than those who toiled under overseers hired by absentee owners.

*The Peculiar Institution* is based on a vast amount of research in both published and manuscript sources. Especially good use is made of Helen Catterall's monumental compila-

tion, *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro.*

Professor Stampp evidences a desire to be scrupulously fair in his judgments. His organization is logical, his narrative lean, and his style appealing.

*The Peculiar Institution* is a book of rare merit, bearing out fully the exceptional promise demonstrated by the author in his prior volumes.

Bell I. Wiley.

Emory University,
Emory University, Ga.

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Rebel Brass, The Confederate Command System. By Frank E. Vandiver. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xvii, 143. $3.00.)

Professor Frank E. Vandiver of Rice Institute has in a mere 126 pages given a forceful and clear account of the failings of the Confederate command system. (Command is used here in the broadest sense to include both military and civil leadership.) The author has not attempted a definitive study of the subject. Some questions are left unanswered. It is his hope, however, that this incompleteness will stimulate historical criticism in a relatively untouched field of study.

Throughout the Civil War the South was handicapped in its war effort by a "split personality." Founded on principles of state sovereignty, the Confederacy found it exceedingly difficult to wage a war which called for strong nationalism. Preparations for conflict were made in terms of the Mexican War, as Confederate leaders failed to realize that Fort Sumter marked the beginning of a total war which called for the abandonment of old techniques and concepts. Sorely needed but never created was a centralized agency to unify military operations and to co-ordinate the civil with the military efforts. What unity of program there was came from the President and his Secretaries of War and Navy.

The sketches of Davis and Secretary of War Randolph are especially revealing. The President is pictured as a constitu-

tionalist attempting to lead a revolution and the Secretary as a cabinet member of considerable ability not given his proper due by historians. The author points out that it was Randolph, almost alone, who was responsible for focusing Davis' attention on the West and for this reason he deserves a high place in the southern political heirachy.

Since Professor Vandiver is an acknowledged expert in the field of logistics, his conclusion demands the close attention, if not acceptance, of all serious students of the Civil War. He wrote, "With a solid unifying direction to whip all the erring elements of supply into line, Confederate logistics might well have been completely successful. And had all of the economic and human resources of the South been managed for a total war effort, the Rebels could have won the War."

A select bibliography, index, and map showing the Confederate military departments add to the value of this volume.

John G. Barrett.

Virginia Military Institute,
Lexington, Virginia.

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A Guide to Early American Homes—South. By Dorothy and Richard Pratt. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. Trade Department. 1956. Pp. viii, 227. Preface, illustrations, and index. $6.95.)

In 1950 Richard Pratt, for twenty years architectural and garden editor of *The Ladies Home Journal,* and his wife, Dorothy, published *A Treasury of Early American Homes* and five years later issued a second volume with the same title. These books, beautifully illustrated with colored photographs, are considered as classic examples of their kind by many authorities as well as garden club members and armchair travelers. Due to an irrestible mental comparison of the books, their newest, smaller in size( as well as in price) and minus the colored pictures, tends at first to disappoint the reader. This is, however, prior to a growing awareness of the meticulous care, the careful editing, and the wealth of infor-

mation in these sometimes thumb-nail sketches in the newer volume.

Here in half and quarter-pages the following information is given: the name of the house, approximate date it was built, its relation or accessibility to the nearest town, seasons, days, and hours the houses are open, fees charged, present residents (many are privately owned), the historical or patriotic organization sponsoring restoration, and individual outstanding features. In addition to nationally known shrines such as Mount Vernon, Monticello, and The Hermitage, hundreds of houses in Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia are featured.

Each state has an introductory section describing the types of architecture, the furnishings of the homes, and other essential information in sufficient detail to render annual pilgrimages or unplanned trips equally rewarding. The restoration projects at Old Salem and Tryon Palace will interest North Carolina readers as well as the observations about the varied types of architecture found in the State. The charms of old Natchez, New Orleans, and Charleston, the splendor of restored Williamsburg, and the uniqueness of the coquina-walled houses in Florida are vividly depicted in this well-written guide.

This volume with its companion, *A Guide to Early American Homes—North,* makes available descriptions of more than 1,000 open houses and 700 private ones. The attractive format and entire book merit praise. It is the polished and authoritative result of expert craftsmen working enthusiastically as a team on an enjoyable project, and may be used as a source book by researchers with confidence.

Elizabeth W. Wilborn.
State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

Wilson: The New Freedom. By Arthur S. Link. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 504. Illustrations. $7.50.)

Professor Link's *The Road to the White House,* the first volume of his biography of Wilson, appeared in 1947. *The New Freedom* is his second volume. In both books the scholarship is sound, the research meticulous, the writing objective, the narrative interesting. The author began his research on Wilson while a graduate student at Chapel Hill almost twenty years ago. Since that time he has spent all of his spare time on the Wilson Era. His books show that he has spent his time well.

*The Road to the White House* dealt with Wilson from his birth in 1856 to his election to the Presidency in 1912. *The New Freedom* treats only two years of Wilson's career—November, 1912 to November, 1914. Little of significance has escaped Professor Link's watchful eye. In fact, the author mentions Wilson's love for his cousin in this volume (p. 25) but not at all in volume one, though the romance occurred in 1879-1881.

One reads that Wilson's "Seven Sisters," were enacted by the New Jersey legislature to control big business and prevent monopolies, but soons learns that the laws were temporary remedies, not permanent reforms. Moreover, Wilson, as the author states, was decisively defeated on the constitutional convention issue and the jury reform question. Wilson endeavored to hold the reigns of control in New Jersey long after he left Trenton for Washington. Eventually conditions on the national stage forced him to accept the bosses in New Jersey.

For this reviewer, Mr. Link is at his best in characterization. His chapter, "The President of the United States," is one of the most penetrating sketches of Wilson ever written. The treatment of the Wilson circle is very good. The author usually has a brief sentence or phrase that he uses as the key to the personality being presented. Many will be interested to learn that Colonel House and Mrs. Wilson decided in 1916 to eliminate Secretary Josephus Daniels and Joe Tumulty

from the inner circle; Mrs. Wilson was to oust the latter while House would force Daniels out.

Wilson controlled Congress so well from 1913 to 1917 that it was necessary for him to appeal to the people over the heads of the members of Congress only once. There were several important issues stubbornly contested in the halls of Congress during these years—the tariff, the currency, and the trust issues. In the Federal Reserve Act, Wilson gave the American people the best type of responsible leadership.

In foreign affairs the writer contends, and accurately so, that the New Freedom was "marked more by contradiction and failure than by consistency and success." Although Wilson had visions of the New World republics living in peace there were contradictions between his professions and his practices. The novice, Wilson, who was ignorant of the intricacies of diplomacy, certainly forced England to accept his conclusions in regard to Huerta. Candid with England, Wilson was not as frank with the Amerian people as he might have been.

Many books have been written about Wilson and down through the years others will be added to the list. Certainly foremost among those written in this generation will be Professor Link's. It will place Mr. Link among the best biographical writers of his time.

George C. Osborn.

University of Florida,
Gainesville, Florida.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the State Department of Archives and History, spoke on January 8 to the provisional members of the Junior League of Raleigh on "The History of Raleigh." On January 10 Dr. Crittenden and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, attended the meeting of the Charles B. Aycock Birthplace Commission in Goldsboro at which time reports were made on the present status of the project and it was voted to seek an additional appropriation from the General Assembly. On January 11 Dr. Crittenden talked to the Caswell-Nash Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on "The History of Raleigh." On January 23 he and Mr. Tarlton met in the Johnston County Courthouse with a large group of citizens representing Johnston, Sampson, and Harnett counties to discuss the preservation of Bentonville Battleground. This group, which was later incorporated as The Bentonville Battleground Association, Inc., decided to launch a movement to purchase and preserve a portion of the Battleground, scene of the largest battle ever fought on North Carolina soil. Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting of the Council of the American Association of Museums in New York on January 25. He attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Tryon Palace Commission in New Bern on January 29 and a joint meeting of the Executive Committee and the Garden Committee on the following day. He gave an illustrated talk on "Historic Houses in North Carolina" to the Colonel Robert Rowan Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution which met on February 12 in the Fayetteville Woman's Club. Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting of the Long-Range Planning Committee of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Washington on February 21. He and Mr. Tarlton met with The Bentonville Battleground Association, Inc., at the Bentonville Community House on March 1 where plans for future work were discussed and reports on pledges were made.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, Mr. Norman C. Larson, Historic Site Specialist, and Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips of the staff of the Hall of History made a trip to Bentonville Battleground on January 2 to photograph the battlefield. On January 11 Mr. Tarlton made a survey of the Town of Bath in order to recommend a program for the preservation of various historic structures there. He was interviewed by Mr. Sam Beard of Radio Station WPTF on NBC's "Monitor" program on January 18 in a discussion of Ocracoke Island. On January 22 he visited Morrow Mountain State Park with Mr. Thomas W. Morse to inspect the Kron House and to make recommendations concerning its restoration. Mr. Tarlton attended a meeting on January 25 of a group representing the Bertie County Historical Association and participated in a discussion of ways and means to preserve "Hope," birthplace of Governor David Stone. On February 1 Mr. Tarlton presented a slide-lecture program, "Historic Houses of North Carolina," at the annual meeting of the American Institute of Architects held in Chapel Hill. This group is celebrating the one-hundreth anniversary of their organization. Mr. Tarlton talked on February 25 to the Beaufort County Historical Society and Colonial Bath, Inc., on preserving historic houses in Bath.

Mr. Stanley South, Historic Site Specialist of the Town Creek Indian Mound, and Mr. Joffre Coe, Professor of Archaeology at the University of North Carolina, appeared on February 14 on Channel 4, WUNC-TV, in a 30-minute program about the Town Creek Indian Mound.

On January 9 and 10 Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator of the Department of Archives and History and Miss Barbara McKeithan of the staff of the Hall of History, made a trip to New Bern to make recommendations concerning the disposal of artifacts which were excavated on the site of Tryon Palace. On January 17-18 Mrs. Jordan attended the council meeting of the Southeastern Museums Conference which was held in Gainesville, Florida. On January 22 she made a talk on "North Carolina Quilt Patterns" to the Junior

Committee of the Caswell-Nash Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; and on March 1 she repeated the talk to the members of the Caswell-Nash Chapter.

Mrs. Fannie Memory Blackwelder, Records Center Supervisor of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, has completed her 237-page typewritten "Records in North Carolina," a compilation of North Carolina public laws relating to records. Thus for the first time the Department has in concise form the laws regarding the records of state and local government units. Although the compilation is not available for distribution, interested persons may consult the office copies at the Department. On January 28 Mrs. Blackwelder led a discussion on domestic relations courts at the Institute of Religion held at the United Church in Raleigh.

Mrs. Rachel R. Robinson began temporary leave on March 1 and is being replaced by Miss Ruth Haines, a winter history graduate of Meredith College. Mrs. Suzanne G. Bell has been employed temporarily in the Records Center to replace Mrs. Betty W. Hunter who resigned in February.

Among the more important accessions by the Division of Archives and Manuscripts during the past quarter were the following: map of Albemarle River by James Lancaster, 1679, positive photocopy from the original in the John Carter Brown Library; Charles M. Hines Papers, ten feet of microfilm from the original papers, mostly deeds from Dobbs and Lenoir counties; "Palatine Settlers on the Neuse and Trent Rivers, 1710," typewritten article by Mrs. Lillian F. Wood of New Bern; general correspondence and other official papers of Governor Luther H. Hodges, November, 1954, through December, 1955; "A Plan of the Town of Haywoodsborough," drawn by Jonathan Lindy, 1799, photocopy courtesy of Mrs. E. M. Chappell of Durham; and microfilm copy of 1890 special census schedule of Union veterans and widows in North Carolina.

Mrs. Elizabeth House Hughey, State Librarian, was the speaker at a staff meeting held in the Assembly Room of the

Department of Archives and History in January. A film, "Your National Archives," was presented at a similar meeting in February.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, and Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, appeared before the General Assembly's Joint Appropriations Committee on February 28 and requested funds for four additional employees for the Archives Division. The recommendations of the Advisory Budget Commission had included no increase in funds for the manuscripts section. Dr. Crittenden and Mr. Jones pointed out that no new employees had been added to the Archives staff in the past ten years, whereas services during the past twenty years, 1936-1956, had increased per biennium as follows: visitors 2,999 to 5,398; mail research 3,000 to 5,500; photocopies and microfilm prints 0 to 6,789; microfilm 0 to 3,042 feet; and lamination 0 to 12,946 pages.

The Department of Archives and History has collaborated with WRAL-TV in its "Our Heritage" series of monthly telecasts with the following programs: January, "Settlements in North Carolina"; February, "Social Life and Amusements"; and March, "Education in North Carolina." On April 21 the final program of this series will be telecast and will describe various phases of the practice of medicine in North Carolina, emphasizing the early methods.

On March 20 the Department presented a program of North Carolina Folklore to the Sir Walter Cabinet. The program consisted of a discussion of native folklore, the singing of folk songs, the telling of folk tales, and a demonstration of "play-party" games. Mr. Norman Larson acted as narrator, Mr. Douglas Franklin sang, the dancers were Misses Jean Denny, Ann Kilby, Barbara McKeithan, and Mary Whitaker, and Mesdames Betsy Moss and Bessie Bowling. Hostesses for the occasion were Mrs. Fannie Memory Blackwelder and Mrs. Grace B. Mahler. Following the program a coffee hour was held.

The Department held an exhibit opening in the Hall of History as the first ceremony of the two-day inaugural program of Governor Luther H. Hodges. Featured were the gowns of ten wives of former governors, from Richard Caswell, first governor of the State of North Carolina, 1776-1780, and again 1784-1787, through William B. Umstead, 1953-1954. Present for the occasion were governor's wives Mrs. O. Max Gardner, Mrs. J. C. B. Ehringhaus, Mrs. J. M. Broughton, and Mrs. Luther H. Hodges, together with a large number of members of the Sir Walter Cabinet.

On Washington's Birthday, February 22, a state-wide meeting of the Sons of the American Revolution ended with a banquet at the Woman's Club in Raleigh held in combination with the Colonel Polk and Caswell-Nash chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Mr. J. A. Kellenberger, Treasurer of the Tryon Palace Commission, spoke on the reconstruction of Tryon Palace. The local chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution presented Distinguished Citizens Awards to Mrs. J. A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, President of the Tryon Palace Commission; Mr. John Sprunt Hill of Durham (accepted by Mr. Watts Hill in the absence of his grandfather); and Mr. H. Smith Richardson of Greensboro.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Chairman of the Department of History at the University of North Carolina, announces the following news items: Dr. James L. Godfrey has been elected Vice-President of the Society for French Historical Studies. On February 26 he gave a lecture to the Charlotte League of Women Voters on "Suez: Oil and Water." He read papers at the Duke Commonwealth-Study Center Seminar on February 18 and April 1, on the following topics: "The Labor Government and the Commonwealth, 1945-1951," and "Political and Constitutional Developments in the Gold Coast." Dr. Hugh T. Lefler spoke to the New Comers Club of Chapel Hill on February 13 on "Historic Places in North Carolina." Dr. George V. Taylor read a paper before the Society for French Historical Studies in New York on February 1 on "Social

Classification of French Businessmen in the Eighteenth Century." Mr. Leon Helguera, doctoral candidate in history, is an Instructor in Social Science at North Carolina State College for the Spring Semester, 1957. Dr. Green gave two lectures in Milledgeville, Georgia, on February 26. He gave an address to the Assembly of the Georgia State College for Women on "The Incidence of Greatness in Georgia," and addressed the Old Capital Historical Society on "James Habersham, Colonial Builder of Georgia."

The Trinity College Historical Society met on February 12 at the Union Building at Duke University with Dr. Frontis W. Johnston, Professor of History at Davidson College, as principal speaker. Dr. Johnston spoke on "The Politics of Zebulon B. Vance."

Dr. Philip Africa, Head of the History Department of Salem College, announces an addition to the faculty there: Miss Mildred I. Byers of Greensboro, who is presently completing her work for the Ph.D. degree at Radcliffe, will begin her teaching duties in September.

Mr. Robert O. Conway, formerly of Waynesville, has joined the staff of Old Salem, Inc., as director of publicity. Mr. Conway, a native of Ashland, Ky., has also worked in Ohio and Virginia. Old Salem, a Moravian congregation town, settled in 1766, is now being restored and preserved in present-day Winston-Salem.

The Moravian Music Foundation, Inc., of which Mr. Donald M. McCorkle is Executive Director, announces the fourth Early American Moravian Music Festival and Seminar (under the auspices of the Moravian Church in America, Northern Province) to be held at the Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from June 23 to June 30. Dr. Thor Johnson, Music Director of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, will be Director of the annual event.

Dr. Charles Crossfield Ware, Curator of the Carolina Discipliana Library at Atlantic Christian College in Wilson, is the editor of a pamphlet, "Onslow's Oldest Church," which

was released in December, 1956. The history of a number of the earlier churches is briefly given, as well as lists of ministers including biographical sketches of the Mulkey preachers. This family had four successive generations of ministers. This pamphlet is another in a series being issued by the Historical Commission of the North Carolina Disciples of Christ.

Dr. J. E. Hodges, Maiden, President of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians, presided at a business meeting of that group in Chapel Hill on February 3. The principal business discussed was the planning of tours to historic sites to be sponsored in 1957.

The Department of Archives and History has received a copy of an article, "Origin, Early History and Revival: Historical Society of North Carolina," which appeared in the Salisbury *Sunday Post,* October 21, 1956. This article, which was prepared by Dr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill, was originally delivered by Dr. Henderson at a meeting of the society at Duke University.

The quarterly meeting of the Carteret County Historical Society was held in Morehead City on January 19 with the President, Mr. Thomas Respess, presiding. Principal speaker for the evening was Miss Amy Muse whose paper, "Crime and Punishment in Carteret County," covered records beginning in 1835. Officers elected for the year include Mr. Respess who was re-elected President; Mrs. T. T. Potter, Secretary; Miss Amy Muse, Curator; and Mr. F. C. Salisbury, Treasurer. The April meeting of the society will be held at the home of Misses Mary and Georgia Whitehurst.

The annual meeting of the Beaufort County Historical Society was held February 25 at the Glebe House in Bath. This organization which was begun in 1955 has at present 85 members. Officers are: Mr. Edmund H. Harding, President; Miss Adeline Mayo, Secretary; and Mr. Fred Mallison, Historian. The meeting was held jointly with Colonial Bath, Inc., in order that all persons interested in the restoration of the Town of Bath might attend.

*The Journal-Patriot* (North Wilkesboro) carried in its issue for February 4 a brief history of the Wilkes County Historical Association. Organized in 1954, this group has as its officers for the year: Mr. T. E. Story, President; Mr. Fred Gilreath, Vice-President; Mrs. Winnie Duncan, Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. Lawrence Critcher, Curator; and Mrs. W. R. Absher, Mr. Thomas Ferguson, Mr. Roland Potter, Mr. R. O. Poplin, and Mrs. W. M. Barber as Directors. One of the aims of the society is to acquire and present information on subjects relative to Wilkes County. The article written by Mr. Story listed a number of subjects available for study.

Mrs. W. B. Beasley, Secretary of the Johnston County Historical Society, is the author of an article on the Mitchener family of Johnston County which was published in *The Smithfield Herald,* January 11. The article presents a brief sketch of this prominent family from its emigration from Pennsylvania to North Carolina down to the present day.

*The Gaston County Historical Bulletin,* official organ of the county historical society, carried the following articles in its fall issue: history of early Gaston County, Hoffman genealogy, list of the members of the county historical society, and a story of relics of interest in the John C. Pasour home near Dallas.

Dr. W. H. Plemmons, President of Appalachian State Teachers College, and Miss Ora Blackmun, retired Asheville teacher, presented the program to the members of the Western North Carolina Historical Association at the winter meeting held at the Biltmore School on January 26. Dr. Plemmons read a paper, "Asheville as a Health Resort," and Miss Blackmun gave a paper, "Along the Trading Paths, 1700-1743." Mr. George Jarvis, principal of the Biltmore School, extended a welcome and Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville presided at the meeting. A nominating committee composed of Mr. Alfred McLean, Mrs. Mary Jane McCrary, and Miss Ruth Greenlee was appointed and requested to report at the April meeting when officers for 1957-

1958 will be elected. Miss Cordelia Camp gave a report, Mr. Bruce C. Harding of St. Paul, Minn., spoke briefly, and Mr. George W. McCoy introduced the speakers.

The Forest History Foundation, Inc., 2706 West 7th Blvd., St. Paul 16, Minnesota, desires information on the location of materials on forest history. Persons knowing of any records, diaries, correspondence, photographs, and the like that are not in suitable depositories are asked to notify the Foundation. Mr. Bruce C. Harding of the Foundation states that the Foundation is not a collecting agency itself, but that it does help in placing materials in local or regional depositories which will process and make the information available to scholars.

The University of North Carolina Press has released the information that Dr. Michihiko Hachiya, Director of the Hiroshima Communications Hospital and author of *Hiroshima Diary*, and Dr. Warner Wells, Assistant Professor of Surgery at the University of North Carolina Medical School in Chapel Hill, and translator of the bestseller, have donated their royalties from the sale of the book to establish the Hiroshima Yurin Scholarship Foundation. The book, published by the University Press in August, 1955, was the first eye-witness account of the bombing of Hiroshima and the aftermath. The fund, which will be used by orphans to attend Japanese high schools, has been accepted by the Japanese nation and has received world-wide publicity.

The Albert J. Beveridge Award in American History, established by the American Historical Association, announces its annual competition with May 1 as the dead line for the acceptance of manuscripts. Manuscripts in the field of American history (United States, Latin America, and Canada), may be written covering any period from 1492 to the present. Dr. John Hope Franklin is Chairman and applications may be filed with him at the Department of History, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, New York.

Books received during the last quarter include: Joseph Charles, *The Origins of the American Party System* (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1956); Robert A. Lively, *Fiction Fights the Civil War—An Unfinished Chapter in the Literary History of the American People* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957); LeGette Blythe, *James W. Davis: North Carolina Surgeon* (Charlotte: William Loftin Publishers, 1957); Bernhard A. Uhlendorf, *Revolution in America. Confidential Letters and Journals, 1776-1784, of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1957); Louis B. Wright, *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1957); Thomas W. Ferguson, *Home on the Yadkin* (Winston-Salem: Clay Printing Company, 1956); Harry R. Stevens, *The Early Jackson Party in Ohio* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1957); James A. Servies, *A Bibliography of John Marshall* (Washington, D. C.: United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundreth Anniversary of the Birth of John Marshall, 1956); Paul Quattlebaum, *The Land Called Chicora. The Carolinas Under Spanish Rule with French Intrusions, 1520-1670* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1956); Clement Eaton, *Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1957 [The Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin]); Worth S. Ray, *Index and Digest to Hathaway's North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register, with Genealogical Notes and Annotations.* Part I, *The Lost Tribes of North Carolina* and Worth S. Ray, *Colonial Granville County and Its People.* Part II, *The Lost Tribes of North Carolina, An Index to Names* (Baltimore, Maryland: Southern Book Company, 1956, Reprints); Francis B. Dedmond, *Lengthened Shadows: A History of Gardner-Webb College, 1907-1956* (Boiling Springs: Gardner-Webb College, 1957); J. Carlyle Sitterson, *Studies in Southern History. In Memory of Albert Ray Newsome, 1894-1951. By His Former Students* (Chapel Hill: The University of North

Carolina Press, 1957. Volume 39. The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science); Warren W. Hassler, Jr., *General George B. McClellan: Shield of the Union* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957); Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., *James K. Polk, Jacksonian, 1795-1843* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957); and George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (Cleveland [Ohio] and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1957).

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW



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COVER—Biltmore House, near Asheville, was designed by Richard Morris Hunt and landscaped by Frederic Law Olmsted, Sr. and was completed in 1895 for George W. Vanderbilt. In 1892 Vanderbilt appointed Gifford Pinchot superintendent of the Biltmore Forest where Pinchot instituted the first large-scale reforestation project in the United States. See pages 346-357.

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**Entered as second class matter September 29, 1928, at the Post Office at Raleigh, North Carolina, under the act of March 3, 1879.**

E. Vandiver; Rowse's *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia*—By William S. Powell; Hassler's *General George B. McClelland. Shield of the Union*—By John G. Barrett; Stevens's *The Early Jackson Party in Ohio*—By William S. Hoffmann; Wright's *The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763*—By Richard Walser; Charles's *The Origins of the American Party System*—By V. O. Key, Jr.; and Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*—By William S. Hoffmann.

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## JOHN LAWSON'S ALTER-EGO—DR. JOHN BRICKELL

By PERCY G. ADAMS

Eighteenth-century commentators on America were, of course, notorious for plagiarizing each other, but one of the strangest and most successful literary thefts committed by any of them was that perpetrated by Dr. John Brickell in 1737 when he published *The Natural History of North Carolina.* The case has been a strange one because it was so flagrant and the victim so well known. It has been successful because for over two hundred years Dr. Brickell's book has been an important source of information about early America, and that in spite of a warning published early in the nineteenth century. Perhaps the warning should be restated.

Little is known of Dr. Brickell except that in the 1730's he resided for several years on the coast of North Carolina before returning to live in England and publish his *Natural History.*[1] Of the book, more is known. Although the *Journal des Sciences* in Paris carried a notice of it in April, 1739, announcing that it was written "Par M. Jean Bricknell [*sic*], Docteur en Médecine," the London periodicals seemed to ignore it, even though its list of subscribers included the name of one who at the time was reviewing such books for *The Gentleman's Magazine* — Samuel Johnson. However, by the end of the century, *The Natural History of North Carolina* had gradually attained popularity. For example, ten years after its publication it was not used by Emanuel Bowen in his *A Complete System of Geography,* which depended on

[1] Some biographical information is to be found in the preface to the 1911 Raleigh edition, edited by J. Bryan Grimes, hereinafter cited as Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History.* All references in this paper will be to this 1911 edition.

Harriss, Purry, and Archdale for information on Carolina; but in 1771 it was an important source for *A New System of Geography,* compiled by D. Fenning and J. Collyer.[2]

The early nineteenth century provides three interesting references to Dr. Brickell's book. André Michaux, the younger, in his description of the trees of the United States, used it twice, but both times with some reluctance.[3] Jacob Bigelow in the *North American Review,* in an article entitled "Botany of the United States," said of it, "the most complete work of this kind is Brickell's *Natural History of North Carolina.*"[4] But shortly after these two writers had enhanced the reputation of the book, Jared Sparks attempted to annihilate it. In 1826, in an article on "Materials for American History," Sparks, after a two-page discussion of John Lawson's *History of Carolina,* had this to say in a footnote:

> A book was published in Dublin in the year 1737, entitled *Natural History of North Carolina,* by John Brickell, M.D., which is remarkable for being an almost exact verbal transcript of Lawson's History, without any acknowledgment on the part of the author or even a hint that it is not original. Periods and paragraphs are transposed; parts are occasionally omitted, and words and sentences here and there interpolated; but, as a whole, a more daring piece of plagiarism was never executed. The fact that the volume was published by subscription only 19 years after Lawson's History is presumptive evidence, perhaps, that this latter work, for reasons now unknown, had become so rare, as to render a detection of the plagiarism improbable.[5]

Such an accusation, made by such a noted scholar, would ordinarily be enough to cause students and historians to be

[2] Published in London in two volumes. In the treatment of Virginia, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, references to and quotations from Brickell are often used.

[3] Michaux's work was translated into English as *The North American Sylva* (Philadelphia, 1817), in three volumes, and went through many editions. For the use of Brickell, see I, 157, and II, 222.

[4] *North American Review,* New Series, IV (July, 1821), 102.

[5] *North American Review,* New Series, XIV (October, 1826), 288-289. Sparks was incorrect in his opinion that Lawson's book was a rare item. It was first published as *A New Voyage to Carolina,* in John Stevens' *A New Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1708, 1711), republished separately in 1709, and as *The History of Carolina,* in 1714 and 1718; translated into German in 1712, it was reissued in that language in 1722. The latest edition, that of Frances Latham Harriss, is called *Lawson's History of North Carolina* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, 1937, Second Printing, 1952). In the present paper all references to Lawson are made to the 1937 edition and are hereinafter cited as Harriss, *Lawson's History.*

very careful in using *The Natural History;* and, in fact, for nearly a century it was almost completely avoided. But Jared Sparks was not permanently successful in his attack, perhaps for two reasons. First, he put his accusation in a footnote, apparently believing it unimportant because he knew of so many such examples of plagiarism. And second, he provided no specific evidence.

But whatever the reason, he was unsuccessful, for in 1911 Dr. John Brickell's *Natural History of North Carolina* was republished in Raleigh with a preface that defended Brickell, calling his book the "Most interesting of early histories of the state." Here is the defense almost in full:

> Dr. Brickell's history is the best description we have of the natural, social, and economic conditions in the Colony of North Carolina, but its merits have been obscured and its value largely depreciated by careless and unjust reviewers.
>
> Jared Sparks and others charged him with plagiarizing Lawson. Of this Dr. Stephen B. Weeks says:
>
> "These statements are only partially correct and do grave injustice to Brickell. He acknowledges in his preface that his work is a 'compendious collection of most things yet known in that part of the world.' But it is a good deal more than a slavish reprint of Lawson. It is further increased almost one-half in bulk . . . his 'Journal of a thousand Miles Travel' . . . is not used by Brickell.
>
> "Brickell took the book of Lawson, reworked it in his own fashion, extended or curtailed, and brought it to his time. The effect of his professional training is seen everywhere, for there is hardly a description of a plant or animal which does not have some medical use attached to it. His work is fuller, more systematic, and seems more like that of a student; Lawson's work seems more like that of a traveler and observer. There is, besides, much more relating to the social conditions of the Colony in Brickell, who has a section on 'The religion, houses, raiment, diet, liquors, firing, diversions, commodities, languages, diseases, curiosities, cattle, etc.,' while Lawson sticks close to the natural, economic, and Indian history of the Province."

As more evidence that *The Natural History* was original, the twentieth-century editor pointed to that part which tells of a trip Brickell claimed to have made among the Indians: "His description of this journey is most interesting, and though overdrawn, is a distinct contribution to our history of the habits of the North Carolina Indians."

Apparently this defense in the prefatory note to the 1911 edition succeeded in restoring Brickell's reputation. At least, the book was now more easily available and became a popular source work. One noted writer, while describing Lawson as "the first historian of North Carolina," echoed the statement that *The Natural History* was "by no means a slavish reproduction"; and in 1937 a history of North Carolina, while making only limited use of Lawson, referred frequently to Brickell.[6] A year later, in his *Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel,* G. E. Cox repeated Sparks' charge, saying, but without the evidence, that Brickell's material was "stolen" from Lawson.[7] Nevertheless, in 1946 an article called "Traveller's Tales of Colonial Natural History"[8] depended heavily upon Brickell but made no mention whatever of Lawson. An important collection of early documents reprinted in 1948, entitled *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries,* prefaced its selection from Brickell with this statement:

> One of the most interesting accounts of the social and economic life of the colony is found in *The Natural History of North Carolina,* written by Dr. John Brickell of Edenton about 1731 and published in Dublin in 1743. Although he copied much from Lawson's *A New Voyage to Carolina,* he went far beyond that writer and gave detailed descriptions of many things not even mentioned by Lawson.[9]

And in 1954 the latest history of North Carolina made extensive use of the Doctor but included no comment on his connection with Lawson.[10] But perhaps the best evidence for the success of the 1911 apology is to be found in the pages of *The North Carolina Historical Review,* where at least six articles published since 1926 contain important references

[6] C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New York, 1934), III, 258; and Guion G. Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 48, 97, 738-739, 747, 753, hereinafter cited Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina.*

[7] G. E. Cox, *Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel* (Seattle, 1935-1938), II, 103.

[8] James R. Masterson, in *Journal of American Folklore,* LIX (January-March, April-June, 1946), 51-67, 174-188.

[9] Hugh T. Lefler (ed.), *North Carolina History Told by Contemporaries* (Chapel Hill, 1948), 61-65.

[10] Hugh T. Lefler and Albert R. Newsome, *North Carolina, The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill, 1954), hereinafter cited as Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina.*

to *The Natural History*.[11] Of all these twentieth-century books and articles that used Brickell, only one mentioned Jared Sparks' charge, and the author of that one,[12] having no access to a copy of Lawson, was unable to compare the two books in question.

But they must be compared in order to show how easy it is to give John Brickell credit for something which he did not originate. It is best, perhaps, to begin with the 1911 defense, which can be reduced to three points: 1) Because of his "professional" training, Dr. Brickell's *Natural History* is more "systematic" than Lawson's *History* and more replete with information about the medical properties of the flora and fauna described; 2) His work is bigger than Lawson's by one-half, containing, for example, "much more" on social conditions in North Carolina; and 3) The account of his trip to the Indians "is a distinct contribution."

As for the first defense, Dr. Brickell's "system" was hardly original. Lawson, after a preface and an introduction, began with his "Journal of a thousand miles travel among the Indians from South to North Carolina," a section which Brickell omitted—for the time being. But if we start on page 61 of Lawson's *History* and page 1 of *The Natural History*, we find that the two books follow almost exactly the same order, even to the sub-sections. There are two differences: Brickell added the essay entitled "The Religion, Houses, Raiment, . . . of North Carolina" and waited until the big final section on the red man to include the account of *his*

[11] W. Neil Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, III (October, 1926), 539-575, hereinafter cited as Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina"; Charles Christopher Crittenden, "Inland Navigation in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, VIII (April, 1931), 145-155, hereinafter cited as Crittenden, "Inland Navigation"; Douglas L. Rights, "The Buffalo in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, IX (July, 1932), 242-250; Julia Cherry Spruill, "Virginia and Carolina Homes before the Revolution," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XII (October, 1935), 320-341, and "Southern Housewives before the Revolution," XIII (January, 1936), 25-47, hereinafter cited Spruill, "Southern Housewives before the Revolution"; Alonzo Thomas Dill, "History of Eighteenth Century New Bern," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXII-XXIII (January, 1945—October, 1946), in eight parts, 1-21, 152-175, 293-319, 460-489, 47-78, 142-171, 325-359, 495-535, hereinafter cited as Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern"; and Wendell H. Stephenson, "John Spencer Bassett as a Historian of the South," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXV (July, 1948), 289-318, hereinafter cited Stephenson, "Bassett as a Historian."

[12] Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," 539-575.

thousand miles travel among the Indians. Here are the two tables of contents, with the page numbers:

| Lawson | | Brickell | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Preface | | Preface | |
| Introduction | | (No title in Brickell, but the contents fit the corresponding title in Lawson.) | (1-14) |
| Journal of a thousand miles | (1-61) | The Corn of North Carolina | (14-27) |
| A Description of North Carolina | (61-75) | The Present State of North Carolina | (27-35) |
| A Description of the Corn of Carolina | (75-80) | The Vegetables of North Carolina | (57-107) |
| The Present State of Carolina | (80-90) | Of the Beasts | (107-171) |
| Of the Vegetables of Carolina | (90-118) | Of the Birds | (171-215) |
| The Beasts of Carolina | (118-140) | Of the Fish of North Carolina | (215-251) |
| Birds of Carolina | (140-159) | Further Observations on the Present State of North Carolina | (251-277) |
| The Fish | (159-172) | | |
| The Present State of Carolina | (172-179) | | |
| An Account of the Indians of North Carolina | (179-260) | An Account of the Indians of North Carolina | (277-409) |

Although his table of contents was not original, Dr. Brickell did include more medical lore than is to be found in Lawson, as the 1911 apology claimed. However, he often reported old wives tales, as when he said of ". . . *Blackmackred flies* . . . The powder of these insects and their Juice cures Baldness." And of the Moth, ". . . An Oil made of them is said to cure Deafness, Warts, and the Leprosy. . . ." [13] Many more such examples could be given, especially from the section on animal life. The original and worthwhile medical information is found in such paragraphs as that on the "Ipecacuana" [14] and in a four-page sub-section on the diseases of North Carolina—from the ague to stomach ache to whooping cough—all of which the Doctor told about in some detail, and for which he prescribed either his favorite remedy or that

[13] Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 160.

[14] Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 21. This plant, not mentioned by Lawson, was apparently one of the many North American substitutes for the tropical Ipecacuanha.

of the colonists.[15] But usually he was not original, invariably transcribing the many medical uses furnished by his predecessor, as the following quotations will show:

. . . The Vertues of Sassafras are well known in Europe. This Wood sometimes grows to be above two Foot over, and is very durable and lasting, used for Bowls, Timbers, Post for Houses, and other Things that require standing in the Ground. 'Tis very light, It bears a white Flower, which is very cleansing eaten in the Spring with other Sallating. The Berry, when ripe, is black; 'tis very oily, Carminative and extremely prevalent in Clysters for the Colick. The Bark of the Root is a Specific to those afflicted with the Gripes. The same in Powder, and a Lotion made thereof, is much used by the Savages to mundify old Ulcers, and for several other Uses, being highly esteemed among them.

The *Sassafras* is very common, and grows large, its Wood being sometimes above two Feet over, 'tis durable and lasting for Bowls, Timber Posts for Houses, and other things that require standing in the Ground, notwithstanding it is very brittle and light, it hath a pleasant smell. The Leaves are of two sorts, some long and smooth, the others indented about the edges (especially those growing at the top of the Branches) sometimes like those of the *Fig-tree,* it bears a small white flower, which is cleansing to the Blood, if eaten in the Spring with other Salating; it likewise bears a small Berry, which when ripe, is black and very oily, Carminative, and extremely prevalent in Coughs: The Bark and Root help most Diseases proceeding from Obstructions, and of singular use in Diets for the *French Pox,* it strengthens the whole Body, cures Barrenness, and is a Specifick to those afflicted with the Gripes, or defluctions of Rheum; the same in Powder, and strong lotions being made thereof, is much used by the Savage Indians, to mundify old Ulcers, and several other uses; it is a beautiful and odoriferous Ever-green, makes a delightful and fragrant Fire, but very sparkling.[16]

[15] Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History,* 46-50.
[16] Harriss, *Lawson's History,* 96; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History,* 76.

*The Natural History* is almost entirely unoriginal in its order and seldom original in its medical lore, but it would seem to contain a great deal of new matter of some sort; for —to consider the second defense of the 1911 preface—it is over half again as long as Lawson's *History*. But on inspection one discovers that Brickell's additions are largely embellishment. The material on the sassafras, quoted above, offers a key to the problem. There, by furnishing new facts about the shape of the leaves, about the kind of fire made by the wood, and about how the plant cured the French Pox and barrenness, the Doctor was able to make twenty lines out of eleven. Throughout his book he was usually content with Lawson's words or with some sort of embellishment, supplying only two original sections of any length. The first of these, the part called "Of the Religion, Houses, . . ." is twenty-two pages long and contains the "much more" material on social conditions. But even here almost one-fourth is based on Lawson.[17] Another original section, about the same length, is that which contains information on insects. Whereas Lawson had dismissed them in a few words, Brickell went into detail on such creatures as bees, butterflies, wasps, grasshoppers, crickets, fire-flies, ants, spiders, weevils, and mosquitoes,[18] all of which, it should be noted, could be found in Europe as well as in America. In addition to these some thirty-five pages which can not be attributed to Lawson, Brickell provided a few facts in other parts of his book. For example, he increased Lawson's one page on whales to five, found four kinds of owls not listed by his predecessor, changed four varieties of woodpeckers to five, and told of seeing twenty-four runaway Negroes hanged in Virginia.[19] By a rough but generous estimate, all of the additions amount to no more than sixty pages out of a total of 409.

But after we have discovered these parts not taken from Lawson, we have still another problem to deal with in considering the length of the two books: Since Lawson's trip

[17] After reading Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 35-56, compare with Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 14, 82-90.

[18] Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 153-171; Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 139.

[19] Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 178, 187-188, 215-220, 357; Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 149-150, 162-163.

among the Indians was recounted in a sixty-page Journal and Brickell's journey required only six in the telling, what happened to the other fifty-four pages? The answer is that the later writer did make use of his predecessor's journal by taking from it much of the information about Indian life—tribes, burial customs, foods, sex, etc.—and putting it in his last chapter, the "Account of the Indians of North Carolina," which is considerably longer than Lawson's chapter with the same title. For example, in order to describe the feast of the "Waxsaw" Indians at the Harvest of Corn and to give the names and locations of the Sapona Indians, the "Toteras," and the "Keyawees," Brickell had to glean his facts from the journal of Lawson, who had actually traveled among those tribes.[20]

The third defense advanced by the 1911 preface is that the "journal" of Dr. Brickell's trip among the Indians, made, it is said, in 1730, is a "distinct contribution" to history. The six pages of this account tell how ten white men and two Indian guides made a remarkably easy journey, saw beautiful scenery, found abundant game, and had a delightful time. To give an idea of their idyllic existence, the author told of a typical night's "camp out" and then added, "It would not be proper to trouble the Reader with the Adventures of each Day. . . . Let it suffice to inform them, that after fifteen Days Journey, we arrived at the foot of the Mountains, having met with no Human Specie all the way."[21] Lawson, it must be noted, had traveled in the same direction thirty years before and had encountered numerous Indian tribes and villages. On arriving at the "Mountains," Brickell's party was discovered by "Iroquois" scouts, whose "King" sent an "Ambassador . . . painted as red as *Vermillion*," to find out if the party was for peace or for war. Lawson, in similar fashion, had told how, while he was visiting with the 'Waxsaws," the King of the Saponas had sent an "Ambassador . . . painted with Vermillion all over his Face. . . ."[22] The Iroquois King entertained his visitors in the "State House," just as Lawson's Waxhaw King had done. Both Brickell and Lawson slept on

[20] Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 332 ff., 343; Harriss *Lawson's History*, 34 ff., 44-45.
[21] Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 387-393.
[22] Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 389; Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 32.

"benches" covered with animal skins, and both were privileged to see dances performed and games played in their honor.[23] The only original fact supplied by Brickell is his insistence on having given copious supplies of rum to the Indians. Perhaps the best bit of evidence against his having made a trip is the claim that the Indians he visited were Iroquois, who, he said, were ". . . very powerful, and continually at War, wandering all over the Continent betwixt the two Bays of *Mexico* and *St. Lawrence.*"[24] The Iroquois were not known to go so far south, although their relatives, the Tuscaroras had—years before this supposed trip—been moved north to increase the Five Nations to Six. It would seem then that Dr. Brickell's journey among the Indians was as spurious as were many others of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—one by John Lederer in the same territory, others by Lahontan and Hennepin in the Mississippi region, and another by Chateaubriand in the Gulf Coast country.[25]

Since invented trips were so common among early travel writers, perhaps Dr. Brickell may be forgiven for borrowing his journey from John Lawson. And a very lenient reader might agree with him that his book is a "compendious collection" of facts about North Carolina, even though six-sevenths of the compendium is collected from John Lawson. But probably the most partial of readers should hesitate to approve of Dr. Brickell's being so unimaginative as to adopt some of John Lawson's own experiences, narrating them almost word for word, even to the use of the first person pronoun. Here are two examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Yet I knew an European Man that had a Child or two by one of these Indian Women, and afterwards married a Chris- | I knew an *European* Man that lived many Years amongst the *Indians,* and had a Child by one of their Wom- |

[23] Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History,* 391; Harriss, *Lawson's History,* 30, 34-36.

[24] Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History,* 389.

[25] For Lederer's second journey, the last part of which he took alone and the stories of which contain his "prettiest fable," see, for one discussion, J. B. Brebner, *Explorers of North America* (New York, 1933), 274-275; for Lahontan and Hennepin, see any one of a number of historians, such as Jared Sparks, Parkman, and Father Delanglez; and for Chateaubriand, see Gilbert Chinard, *L'Exotisme américain dan l'oeuvre de Chateaubriand* (Paris, 1918). These four men actually travelled in North America but all of them pretended to have done more than they actually did.

tian, after which he came to pass away a Night with his Indian Mistress; but she made Answer that she then had forgot she ever knew him, and that she never lay with another Woman's Husband, so fell a crying and took up the Child she had by him, and went out of the Cabin (away from him) in great Disorder.

en, having bought her as they do their Wives, and afterwards married a *Christian.* Sometimes after he came to the *Indian* Town, not only to buy Deer-Skins, but likewise to pass away a Night with his former Mistress as usual, but she made answer, *That she then had forgot that she ever knew him, and that she never lay with another Woman's Husband;* so fell a crying, took up the Child she had by him, and went out of the Cabin in great Disorder, although he used all possible means to pacifie her, by offering her presents of several *Toys* and *Rum,* but all to no purpose, for she would never see him afterwards, or be reconciled.[26]

. . . two Families of the Machapunga Indians, use the Jewish Custom of Circumcision, and the rest do not, neither did I ever know any others amongst the Indians that practiced any such things, and perhaps, if you ask them, what is the Reason they do so, they will make you no manner of Answer; which is as much as to say, I will not tell you. Many other Customs they have, for which they will render no Reason or Account.

There are some few of them that use the *Jewish* Custom of *Circumcision,* though this kind of Practice is but seldom used amongst them; I never knew but two Families in all the Nations of *Indians* I have conversed with, that were so; the Reason whereof I could never learn, notwithstanding I was very intimate with them, and have often urged them to give me an account on that Head, but could get no manner of Answer, which with them is as much as to say, *I will not tell you.* They have many other strange Customs amongst them, that they will render no Reason for, or give any Account of to the Europeans.[27]

[26] Harriss, *Lawson's History,* 199; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History,* 299.
[27] Harriss, *Lawson's History,* 223; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History,* 368.

The point is that Brickell made use of almost everything in Lawson, sometimes attempting to cover his theft by a slight rearrangement of words or by shifting some bit of information from one part of the book to another; but very often—as in these two instances—he was so bold as to use his source without any pretense at hiding his tracks. Furthermore, the quotations demonstrate clearly how one book can be half again as long as the other, for Lawson's 160 words were increased to 260 by the later writer.

However, Dr. Brickell's lack of originality is not our primary concern; what is important is that his plagiarizing has caused scholars to give him credit for much that was the work of another man. One article, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," quoted Brickell many times; but almost every time the reference should have been to Lawson.[28] Another, "Inland Navigation in North Carolina, 1763-1789," gave credit to both Lawson and Brickell for information about the periauger and the cypress tree, when the information was originated by Lawson, and gave credit only to Brickell for the statement —first made by Lawson—that in North Carolina both sexes were adept at handling the canoe.[29] One full-length history, while referring on two occasions to something original in Brickell—on Negro slaves and on the excessive drinking of the white settlers—sometimes attributed to Brickell facts that had been taken from Lawson, as in the description of the "Yaws"—Lawson's "Pox"—or when telling of Indian superstitions and Indian magic.[30] Another book includes a four-page selection from Brickell, a little over half of which is from one of the two original sections in *The Natural History.* However, the rest is found in Lawson, for example, this paragraph on exports, which was stolen almost word for word.

[28] Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," 561, and then compare Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History,* 16-17, with Harriss, *Lawson's History,* 277; see Franklin, "Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina," 357, and then compare with Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History,* 15, and with Harriss, *Lawson's History,* 76.

[29] See Crittenden, "Inland Navigation," 148 ff., and then compare, Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History,* 32, with Harriss, *Lawson's History,* 86.

[30] See Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina,* 14, 48, 738-739; then compare Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History,* 10, 48, 370, with Harriss, *Lawson's History,* 14, 19-20, and 88-89.

Our Produce for Exportation to Europe and the Islands in America, are Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins, Furs, Pitch, Tar, Wheat, Indian-Corn, Peas, Masts, Staves, Heading, Boards and all sorts of Timber and Lumber for Madera and the West-Indies, Rozin, Turpentine and several sorts of Gums and Tears, with some medicinal Drugs, are here produced; Besides Rice and several other foreign Grains, which thrive very well. Good Bricks and Tiles are made and several sorts of useful Earths, as Bole, Fuller's-Earth, Oaker and Tobacco-pipe-Clay, . . .

The produce of this Country for Exportation to *Europe* and the Islands, are Beef, Porke, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins, Furs, Wheat, *Indian-Corn,* Pease, Potatoes, Rice, Honey, Bees-wax, Myrtle-wax, Tobacco, snake-root, Turpentine, Tar, Pitch, Masts for Ships, Staves, Planks and Boards of most sorts of Timber, Cotton, and several sorts of Gums, Tears, with some medicinal Drugs; Bricks and Tile are made here, likewise several useful Earths, such as Bole, Fullers-Earth, Tobacco Pipe Clay. . . .[31]

And finally, the latest and best history of North Carolina, while it prefers Lawson's information on Indians and, from Brickell, obtains original facts about slaves, sometimes gives perhaps too much credit to the Doctor. Here, for example, is its account of early North Carolina birds:

The whole Carolina region was teeming with birds and wild fowl, especially turkeys "in flocks of 500 or more," pheasants, quail, wild geese, ducks, and wild pigeons so numerous that, according to Dr. John Brickell, they would fly "one flock after another for above a quarter of an Hour together." . . .[32]

Now, compare the following passages on wild turkeys and wild pigeons, which show that Lawson, and not Brickell, originated the information:

I have seen about five hundred in a Flock. . . .

You shall see five hundred or more of them in a flock together. . . .[33]

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[31] Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 83; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 65.
[32] Lefler and Newsome, *North Carolina*, 71.
[33] Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 156; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 181.

These Pigeons, about Sun-Rise, when we were preparing to march on our Journey would fly by us in such vast Flocks that they would be near a Quarter of an Hour before they were all passed by. After Sunrise I have seen them fly, one Flock after another, for above a quarter of an Hour together.[34]

Elsewhere in the same history we find this statement: "Lawson and Brickell, contemporary writers, observed that "Marriages were early and frequent, most houses being full of little ones.'" Here is what the two sources say:

The Women are very fruitful, most Houses being full of Little Ones.

The Women are very fruitful, most Houses being full of Little Ones. . . .[35]

Is it a matter of an agreement between two authors? Or is it a matter of a literary theft? [36]

The warning of Jared Sparks, repeated briefy by G. E. Cox, should be stated again, perhaps in this way: Although historians need not stop using Dr. John Brickell entirely, they should be very careful in giving him credit for anything, since six-sevenths of his material was taken from John Lawson, a first-rate narrator and observer whose reputation would be even greater if it had not suffered because of the over-long life of his alter-ego.

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[34] Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 148; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 186.
[35] Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 85; Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 31.
[36] There are other examples of what would seem to be an overrating of Dr. Brickell: Stephenson, "Bassett as a Historian," listing Brickell and Lawson side by side as providing "substantial contemporary evidence" of early North Carolina, 305; Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern," speaking of "The naturalist Brickell," 462, 468; and Spruill, "Southern Housewives before the Revolution," 27, quoting Grimes, *Brickell's Natural History*, 10, 30, on the hospitality of southern women when she should be have quoted Harriss, *Lawson's History*, 63.

# THE DUGGER-DROMGOOLE DUEL

By Henry W. Lewis

In the earliest decades of the [nineteenth] century and onward to its middle "the duello" was the recognized custom of the best people from New York to the utmost limits of the then Union. . . . The death of Gen. Hamilton at the hands of Burr was the first blow severe enough to change public opinion so far as to make it not absolute social and political ruin to refuse to fight.[1]

With these words Warner Lewis, signing himself as "Monitor," [2] introduced his story of the duel between Daniel Dugger and George C. Dromgoole to the readers of the *Brunswick Gazette* of Lawrenceville, Virginia, on January 19, 1893. The account is sufficiently interesting to be made generally available, and its authenticity in detail has been so generally attested by later research that it can be relied upon as an accurate record.

The action took place in 1837 in the middle Roanoke River Valley—in Brunswick County, Virginia, and its neighboring county of Northampton in North Carolina. It was here that the seeds of Methodism had found such favorable soil. One of the earliest circuit riders assigned to the territory was Edward Dromgoole, an Irish convert, who came into the area about 1775 as a bachelor but soon married a Virginia girl,

[1] [Joseph] Warner Lewis, "Dugger-Dromgoole Duel; A Local Incident of Fifty Years Ago," *Brunswick Gazette* (Lawrenceville, Virginia), January 19, 1893. Unless otherwise identified, all quotations in this paper are taken from this newspaper article which Lewis signed with the pen name "Monitor."

[2] Lewis (1833-1900) was the son of Dr. Henry Lewis (1792-1879) and Frances Gibbons (Stuart) Lewis (1801-1861) of Lawrenceville, Virginia. See John Bennett Boddie (ed.), *Southside Virginia Families* (Redwood City, California: Pacific Coast Publishers, 1955), 317, and *Alumni Directory, University of North Carolina* (Durham, North Carolina: Seeman Printery, 1954), 530, hereinafter cited as *Alumni Directory*. In the Confederate Army Lewis attained the rank of captain. Later he lived in his home town as a bachelor newspaperman, and according to tradition, served as good companion for hunters, good company for the ladies, and *raconteur par excellence*. He edited the weekly *Brunswick Advocate* (Lawrenceville, Virginia) for its entire life, 1874-1879. See Lester J. Cappon, *Virginia Newspapers, 1821-1935* (New York: University of Virginia Institute of Research in the Social Sciences, Monograph Number 22, 1936), 110, hereinafter cited as Cappon, *Virginia Newspapers*.

Rebecca Walton.[3] With a good education, a powerful voice, and a great zeal, the Rev. Mr. Dromgoole preached throughout the Roanoke River country. His home plantation called "Canaan" lay in the midst of his flock in southern Brunswick County.[4] His youngest child was George Coke Dromgoole, one of the principals in the celebrated duel.

George C. Dromgoole was born in Brunswick County, May 15, 1797. He attended the University of North Carolina (1813-1814) and William and Mary College (1817-1818; 1819-1820), and he studied law. In 1823 he was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates from Brunswick, and with one brief interlude he continued to hold legislative positions until his death. From 1823 through 1826 he was a member of the House of Delegates; from 1826 until 1835 he served in the Virginia Senate. It is worth noting that in 1829 Dromgoole was a delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention, and that in 1832 his fellow senators picked him to preside over their deliberations. On March 4, 1835, Dromgoole began his first term as a Democratic member of Congress, the position he occupied when the present narrative begins.[5]

These are the biographical facts about the man of whom Monitor wrote:

> No man born within the limits of Brunswick County ever filled so large a place in the estimation of its people as George C. Dromgoole. Indeed there was but one in the Congressional District he so long represented who in any way ranked as his peer,

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[3] Jane Morris, *Adam Symes and His Descendants* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1938), 175, hereinafter cited as Morris, *Adam Symes.*

[4] Within a few miles of the Dromgoole plantation stood the Thomas Eaton place near the ferry of that name. Several members of the Harrison, Mason, Robinson, and Beasley families lived on nearby plantations. Down the Roanoke from the Eaton place (but in Northampton County) stood "Mt. Rekcut," home of Thomas Goode Tucker; still lower down the river near Gaston stood "Belmont," home of William Wyche Wilkins and his sons, Edmund and William Webb Wilkins. Most of these families played some part in the story.

[5] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress 1774-1949* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1950), 1104, hereinafter cited as *Biographical Directory.* See also *A Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, from 1693 to 1888* (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1941), 16; and *Alumni Directory,* 242.

and he [Judge James H. Gholson], did not approach very near to those gifts and attainments that go to make up a mighty tribune of the people. . . .[6]

In the year 1837 an entertainment was given at the hotel in Lawrenceville. The intelligence and character of the county were present. It was purely a social gathering. Politics was tacitly forbid; for political feeling was running high, and strange to say, though the issues were then of a sentimental character compared to subsequent periods, the bitterness was as intense as when the interests of nearly half the country were at stake.[7]

Gen. Dromgoole was among those present at the entertainment. The hotel was under the management of Daniel Dugger, Esq., both its proprietor and keeper. Mr. Dugger was an unambitious man, of fine character and average ability, and many lovable traits. He had been a rich young man and was still of fair fortune, but was embarrassed as many young men of that day were by his connection with and love of the "turf," and was at the time of which we write, the owner and breeder of the celebrated race horse Wagner.[8]

On this special evening [Mr. Dugger] was at the head of his table and carving a fowl. Some ill-advised guest addressed to him a political question. The decanter had circulated rapidly, and Gen. Dromgoole who sat immediately at Mr. Dugger's right

[6] "The exception that we note was [General Dromgoole's] sometime rival for popular favor, Judge James Harvey Gholson, also a native of Brunswick County, and who while wanting in the accurate parliamentary acumen and political information, superb command of language and resonant voice, was more than [Dromgoole's] equal in purely personal attractions, and elegance of deportment, exquisite culture in the highest branches of English and classical literature, and those lighter graces which so adorn and beautify social life." Gholson (1798-1848) served in the Virginia House of Delegates (1827-1831) and in the 22, 23, and 24 Congresses. Later he served as circuit court judge for Brunswick County. Although Monitor gives his middle name as "Harvey" other authorities show it as "Herbert." See *Biographical Directory*, 1205.

"In forming an estimate now, from what we remember of the past, we would say that had Gen. Dromgoole lived to attain his full stature he would have been 'primus inter pares' in an arena with Calhoun, Webster, Clay and Benton, and that Judge Gholson as a representative of his county would have graced any court of any age. Both died before they had reached the zenith of their promised fame. The one a martyr to conjugal duty and the other a victim to the public sentiment of the times—for we hold that though he lived [for ten] years afterwards, that the perfect fruition of a matured manhood was marred by the incident and its consequences . . . in the career of Geo. C. Dromgoole we propose to narrate."

[7] Here Monitor wrote as a Confederate veteran.

[8] Presumably Monitor based his statement about Dugger's ownership of Wagner on local information that he believed to be correct. When Dugger's personal property was inventoried shortly after his death in 1837 no mention was made of this horse, although the inventory lists other horses, Brunswick County (Virginia) Will Book 13, 561-567. This does not mean that Monitor's information was incorrect, but it probably indicates that Dugger had disposed of this particular horse prior to the duel.

hand and who had drunk freely, said (before Mr. Dugger could reply) in a loud voice, showing complete intoxication—

"Dugger, Damn Dugger as a political mentor! Why he is below infamy and beneath contempt!"

These words had scarcely passed [General Dromgoole's] lips when Mr. Dugger struck him fiercely across the face with his open right hand, knocking him from his chair and half across the room, and then threw at him the carving fork as he tried to rise.[9] Their friends intervened and raised Gen. Dromgoole to his feet. He seemed dazed and unconscious of what had occurred, and asked for his spectacles which had fallen from his face. He was very near sighted and wore glasses always. The matter was easily adjusted by their friends, and the next morning they drank together a glass of wine. The matter was supposed to be ended, and as "inter pocula," to be forgotten—such then was the custom among fierce convivialists of the day. The rising sun dispelled the deeds and darkness of the wine cup and the night.

Departing from Monitor's account, it is pertinent to notice a portion of Chapter VIII of the duellists' *Code of Honor:*[10]

5. Intoxication is not a full excuse for insult, but it will greatly palliate. If it was a full excuse, it might well be counterfeited, to wound feelings or destroy character.

Dromgoole's fondness for the bottle seems to have been a matter of general knowledge and of considerable concern to those interested in his career. When elected to preside over the Virginia Senate some five years before the incident at Dugger's hotel, Dromgoole's friend and contemporary, John

[9] The *Scaevola* (Tarboro), for November 17, 1837 (hereinafter cited as *Scaevola*), reported, "We have not been informed what cause led them to resort to this expedient form but expect it grew out of some political misunderstanding which could not be adjusted otherwise." This supposition was closer to the facts than Stephen B. Weeks' statement that "This duel arose from a supposed insult given by Dugger in the presence of ladies." See Weeks, "The Code in North Carolina," *Magazine of American History,* XXVI (December, 1891), 453, hereinafter cited as Weeks, "The Code in North Carolina."

[10] John Lynde Wilson, *The Code of Honor; or Rules for the Government of Principals and Seconds in Personal Difficulties* (Charleston, South Carolina, 1838), 17; reprinted in *The Code of Honor; Its Rationale and Uses* (Charleston, South Carolina, 1878), a pamphlet bound in Volume 14 of the "Dawson Pamphlets" in the Library of the University of North Carolina, 44. Hereinafter these two publications will be cited as Wilson, *Code of Honor* and Dawson Pamphlet.

Y. Mason,[11] then serving his first term in Congress, wrote the General from Washington:

I compliment you on the high compliment which our brethren of that most excellent body, the Senate, have paid you, in placing you in the Chair. Permit [me], my dear friend, to ask you to be somewhat more circumspect in your convivial enjoyments than you have been.
A Destiny, of which any man may justly be proud, awaits you if you will temper your social feelings with discretion—You will excuse this Lecture and attribute the suggestions to that pure, disinterested friendship, which I bear you—[12]

In a few weeks the campaign for [election to the 26th] Congress opened. It was conducted with great bitterness. The Whig party had no champion able to cope with the "Brunswick Lion," as Gen. Dromgoole was then called, before the people.

The party papers seized hold of the unfortunate private broil with Mr. Dugger, and used it unsparingly. The "Brunswick Lion" after all was but a poltroon and a craven. "He had been bearded in his den, and had his jaws slapped, and was wanting in manhood to resent an insult so great and so infamous. Could a man who would tamely submit to such an indignity be entrusted to protect the rights of a brave and proud people? If he would not protect his own rights would he protect theirs?" were some of the things said, besides many more of a kindred kind.

The Whig party became exultant and vaunting, the Democrats, snarling and sour, and bets were made and taken that Dromgoole would not fight, and if he did, that Dugger would kill him.

Gen. Dromgoole was then in command of one of the militia brigades of the State. In a few weeks several of his staff officers sent in their resignations and wrote significant letters. Something had to be done. He at once addressed a polite note to Mr. Dugger telling him that the partisan press was taking unfair advantage, and making use of an unfortunate private and personal difficulty to injure him politically, and asking Mr. Dugger to publish a card putting the matter in its proper light.

Under the advice of his friends Mr. Dugger sent no formal reply. Such an opportunity to get rid of so able an advocate of

[11] Mason (1799-1859) had at that time served in the Virginia House of Delegates (1823-1827) and in the Virginia Senate (1827-1831), and, when he wrote the letter quoted, was a member of the Twenty-Second Congress. Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 21 volumes, 1933—), XII, 369-370; *Biographical Directory*, 1511.

[12] Letter, John Y[oung] Mason to George C. Dromgoole, December 24, 1832, Edward Dromgoole Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, hereinafter cited as Edward Dromgoole Papers.

the Democracy was not to be foregone. In an unfortunate hour he harkened to their counsel. Mr. Dugger, however, stated informally to the bearer of the note, "that he was not the curator of Gen. Dromgoole's reputation, or the guardian of his honor. That a wanton insult had been offered him at his own table. At the moment he had shown all proper resentment. Farther satisfaction he had foregone for reasons well known to Gen. Dromgoole. That while he did not desire to disguise any of the incidents of the occasion, and would make private explanations when asked, he still less desired [that] their disgraceful broil should become any more public than it already was, and that he declined to make any statement about it for public use. That Gen. Dromgoole could make any statement he pleased, and he was ready even before hand to accept it as a verity, and would vouch for the truth of anything he would say. That he presumed that Gen. Dromgoole was amply able to settle with anyone who might question any statement made. That he was content as matters stood, and that Gen. Dromgoole must right any wrong that others had or might do him."[13]

A peremptory demand that [Dugger] comply followed. This was treated with contemptuous silence. A challenge then followed at once. It was promptly accepted.

The 1838 *Code of Honor,* in general, outlines with some precision most of the steps Monitor described. Among other directions, it provides in Chapter III:

2. Upon the acceptance of the challenge, the seconds make the necessary arrangements for the meeting in which each party is entitled to a perfect equality. . . .[14]

This seems to have been the case in the Dugger-Dromgoole affair. Monitor wrote:

Mr. [Hiram] Haines, the editor of a Democratic paper in Petersburg,[15] acted for Gen. Dromgoole. W. H. E. Merritt was

[13] Commenting on this course of conduct, Monitor wrote: "That Mr. Dugger had the right to act in this way, few will deny; but was it generous to a former friend? The conclusion proved that [Dugger] was lending himself against his better nature, to his friends for a partisan purpose. That purpose was to ruin the political standing of Geo. C. Dromgoole. From this standpoint is Mr. Dugger an object of sympathy? We trow not."

[14] Wilson, *Code of Honor,* 11; Dawson Pamphlet, 39.

[15] The *Scaevola* identified Haines as "late editor of *The Constellation,*" intending presumably to point out that his paper was inactive at the moment. Cappon identifies the paper as *The American Constellation,* a triweekly Democratic paper established May 24, 1834, by Haines in Petersburg, Virginia, and states that the last known issue was dated December 21, 1838. Only random issues of the paper have survived. For a short time in 1839 Haines edited another Petersburg paper called *Peep o'Day.* See Cappon, *Virginia Newspapers,* 148, 151.

the advising friend, and T. Goode Tucker, a young lawyer who had [until that year] resided in Lawrenceville, represented Mr. Dugger as a field second.

Under the *Code,* once the seconds had been selected, they took over all negotiations. The principals were required to remain strictly aloof. It is with this understanding that one should examine the letter Haines wrote to Dromgoole, his principal, on October 12, a day or two after the challenge had been accepted. Writing from Petersburg to the General who by that time had returned to his Congressional duties in Washington, Haines said:

My Dear Friend.

I this day received a note from Mr. T. Goode Tucker relative to the arrangements for the final meeting between his friend Mr. Daniel Dugger and my friend Geo. C. Dromgoole, some time called "General." Mr. Tucker proposes that the meeting shall take place near Gaston, No. Ca.[16] *Agreed to.* He proposes that the usual weapons (pistols of course) shall be used. *Agreed to.* He proposes further, that Mr. D. wanting some further time to settle his worldly affairs desires until the 1st of November to arrange them. *Agreed to*—inasmuch as I had given Mr. Dugger a verbal assurance that such time should be given. . . .[17]

What were these "worldly affairs" Mr. Dugger had to attend to? They take on a somewhat less solemn air in Monitor's account:

Mr. Dugger availed himself of his right under the "Code of Honor," and postponed the meeting for three weeks. He was on the eve of starting to New York to attend the celebrated contest between the horses Henry and Eclipse.[18]

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[16] The plantation ("Canaan") General Dromgoole inherited from his father was located within eight miles of Gaston, Morris, *Adam Symes,* 180-181.

[17] Letter, H[iram] Haines to George C. Dromgoole, October 12, 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers.

[18] Here Monitor made the kind of error that would have embarrassed him. Henry and Eclipse ran at the Union Course on Long Island on May 27, 1823. The race Dugger probably attended was the one at Camden, New Jersey, on October 26, 1837, in which Boston beat Betsy, Andrew, and Tipton. See Henry William Herbert, *Frank Forester's Horse and Horsemanship of the United States and British Provinces of North America* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1857), I, 183, 277.

Monitor next recounted that, "Mr. Tucker acting for Mr. Dugger demanded all his rights under the 'Code,' and drew up the cartel." This seems to be a reference to what an annotated edition of the Code calls the "Terms of Meeting."[19] If Monitor is correct on the point, there is evidence that these Virginia duellists were somewhat behind the times in their procedures, for the 1838 Code says:

> The old notion that the party challenged was authorized to name the time, place, distance and weapon, has been long since exploded, nor would a man of chivalric honor use such a right if he possessed it. . . .[20]

Just what provisions this cartel contained is not entirely clear. Haines wrote Dromgoole:

> On Saturday morning I expect to leave for Gaston on a visit to Mr. T[ucker], to arrange definitively day, hour & ground. . . .[21]

It must have been during this visit that Mr. Tucker presented the cartel to Haines.

> The third article of this agreement was that they should fire until one or the other should be "killed, mortally wounded or so disabled as to be unable to fire."
>
> Mr. Haines on behalf of Gen. Dromgoole protested against these terms as unusual and murderous. His protest was without effect, for there was a latent opinion among Mr. Dugger's friends that Gen. Dromgoole was wanting in spirit. It was a most unfortunate opinion.

Notice another portion of Haines' letter to his principal:

> So soon as Congress adjourns repair to Petersburg (notifying me of the night of your arrival) and I will meet and conduct you to my
>
> "snug fire-side and a jorum."
>
> I wish to initiate you a little in the mysteries of a "preliminary," which your adversary and his friend must attend to for themselves.[22]

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[19] Dawson Pamphlet, 39.
[20] Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 12; Dawson Pamphlet, 40.
[21] Letter, Haines to Dromgoole, October 12, 1837.
[22] Letter, Haines to Dromgoole, October 12, 1837.

On its face this part of Haines' letter conveys very little meaning. But Monitor's next statement may be illuminating:

> Haines availed himself of the long interval to teach his friend the use of his weapon. He became very expert,[23] for the bloody terms of his antagonist left that the only way out of the difficulty. He desired to disable, not to kill his former friend, if possible.
>
> Mr. Dugger never seemed to realize and appreciate the responsibility of the event he was to face, or else he was one of those quiet but determined men who are careless of danger. . . .
>
> The meeting was arranged to take place on the border of North Carolina, at a place two miles west of Gaston, and about half a mile from Mr. Tucker's residence.

Although Monitor often visited this neighborhood he is wrong in his statement of distances. No spot can be both two miles from the site of old Gaston and half a mile from Tucker's plantation. "Mount Rekcut," as Tucker called his place, lies in Northampton some four miles below Eaton's Ferry and about five or six miles above Gaston by water. Stephen B. Weeks' account more accurately says the meeting place was six miles from Gaston.[24] The evidence is undisputed about the duel having taken place on Tucker's property.

Selection of a site in North Carolina is not to be explained by its having had less stringent laws against duelling than did Virginia.[25] Convenience for the principals and the relative remoteness from general curiosity must have been the controlling factors in the choice of the Roanoke River site.

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[23] Shortly after the duel one of Dromgoole's political advisers in Brunswick County wrote him as follows: "Myself alone, as far as I have heard, is the only one who think you should not have met your assailant in fair or equal combat. The disparity was too wide—and he only was urged to the field by a party who cared not a groat for him, but wished only to use him to destroy you. . . ." Letter, R. R. Brown to George C. Dromgoole, December 2, [mistakenly written "Novr" in the letter] 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers. Just what was this wide disparity? Was Dugger an older man? Probably not. A poorer shot? Monitor seems to take a contrary view. Or was this a reference to Dromgoole's acquired proficiency with smooth bore and hair-trigger pistols?

[24] Weeks, "The Code in North Carolina," 453.

[25] North Carolina had first enacted anti-duelling laws after Richard Dobbs Speight was killed in 1802. The North Carolina Code of 1837 reenacted the prohibition, Weeks, "The Code in North Carolina," 443-444. See Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante Bellum North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 43-45.

The day selected for the meeting was Monday, November 6.[26] ". . . Mr. Dugger reached Mr. Tucker's about two days before the appointed time, coming direct from New York. He brought neither surgeon nor weapons."

On the eve of the appointed day, Dr. W. W. Wilkins,[27] a physician residing near Gaston, received a note from Dr. F. W. Harrison,[28] asking him to put aside all engagements and meet him at Mr. Alex. Harrison's. He did so, and on reaching the place found Gen. Dromgoole, Mr. Haines and Dr. Harrison. Dr. Harrison took him aside and told him why he sent for him: That Mr. Dugger was at Mr. Tucker's and that he knew Dr. Wilkins to be a personal friend of both parties, and a political compatriot [Whig] of Mr. Dugger; that unaided the responsibility was too much for him to bear, and asked his professional assistance, as Mr. Dugger had brought no surgeon with him. Dr. Wilkins made some inquiries looking to peace, but found matters had gone too far to be stopped.

The next morning the three gentlemen [Dromgoole, Haines, and Dr. Harrison] in a carriage, and Dr. Wilkins in his gig, repaired to the designated place. In a few minutes Messrs. Dugger and Tucker came on the ground with a wagon in which there was a bed, for either party that might require it.

The place selected was a level plateau on the banks of the Roanoke River, as smooth as a carpet and covered with a green sward.

Mr. Haines was in the ballroom dress of the period—lace ruffles at his bosom and at his hands, silk stockings and pumps.

The parties greeted each other with a stern and polite civility. Messrs. Haines and Tucker conferred together for a few minutes and agreed upon the ground and stuck up the pegs. The distance was ten paces,[29] which they stepped off together. They then, in the presence of each other, loaded the pistols, two pairs of which Mr. Haines and Gen. Dromgoole had brought. Mr. Dugger

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[26] *Scaevola*, November 17, 1837.

[27] See footnote 39, below.

[28] Frederick William Harrison of Eastville, Virginia (a post office in either Brunswick or Greensville county), received an A.B. degree from the University of North Carolina in 1825, a M.A. in 1832, *Alumni Directory*, 377.

[29] Chapter III of the Code states: "5. The usual distance is from ten to twenty paces, as may be agreed upon, and the seconds in measuring the ground usually step three feet." A footnote in the annotated edition reports that "Tape line is used," Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 12; Dawson Pamphlet, 40. Weeks' statement that "the parties stood four paces apart" can hardly be credited, Weeks, "The Code in North Carolina," 453.

came unprovided. A coin was tossed for word and position.[30] Mr. Tucker won the word and Mr. Haines the position.

The combatants took their positions and the seconds handed each a pistol. Mr. Tucker placed himself midway between the combatants and some yards out of the line of fire. Mr. Haines advanced to the remaining case of loaded pistols, and taking one in each hand placed himself in a similar position and opposite to Mr. Tucker, and announced how the word would be given, in a clear and distinct voice.[31]

"Gentlemen, are you ready? If prepared, keep silence. If not, speak. Fire!-one-two-three. Stop! with an interval of about a second between words." This explanation he followed with the declaration—

"Should either of you fire before the word 'fire,' or after the word 'stop,' he falls by my hand."[32]

Both men were as cool as a summer's morn. Mr. Tucker gave the word. There was but one report as heard by those present. There was a commingled report as heard by those at a little distance, and who suspected what was taking place. Who fired the first shot is not known.

As the smoke lifted Mr. Dugger was seen to stoop forward, and then pitch heavily face foremost to the ground. The two surgeons advanced and turned him over. His face was colorless and his lips blue. Gen. Dromgoole had tried to shatter his pistol hand or break his arm. The charge of powder was probably not sufficient as the bullet was two inches too low, hitting him in the arm pit,[33] and, from subsequent developments, not making the usual penetration from such perfect weapons.[34]

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[30] "After all the arrangements are made, the seconds determine the giving of the word and the position by lot, and he who gains has the choice of the one or the other, and selects whether it be the word or position, but cannot have both." Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 12; Dawson Pamphlet, 40.

[31] "When the principals are posted, the second giving the word, must tell them to stand firm until he repeats the giving of the word, in the manner it will be given when the parties are at liberty to fire." Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 13; Dawson Pamphlet, 41.

[32] "Each second has a loaded pistol, in order to enforce a fair combat according to the rules agreed on; and if a principal fires before the word or time agreed on, he [the second] is at liberty to fire at him, and if such second's principal fall, it is his duty to do so." Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 13; Dawson Pamphlet, 41. Here it will be observed that the participants in the Dugger-Dromgoole affair departed from the procedure prescribed by Wilson. Only one of the seconds held a weapon during the meeting, and that second held two loaded pistols.

[33] Accounts of the wound are in general agreement. The contemporary newspaper report said, "Mr. Dugger received the ball of his antagonist in the axilla of his right side." *Scaevola*, November 17, 1837. Weeks wrote "Dugger received the ball in his side about three inches below the arm-pit," "The Code in North Carolina," 453.

[34] Of the weapons Monitor wrote: "I saw these pistols many years after. They were the most beautiful weapons I ever saw. They belonged to Gen. Whittaker of North Carolina and were mounted with gold. I suppose they must have cost several hundred dollars. They had two sets of barrels, one carrying an oz., and the other an ½ oz. ball."

Mr. Haines stepped up in front of Gen. Dromgoole, folded his arms and stood in a position to shield him from a view of his dying adversary, for Mr. Dugger had been mortally wounded.

Mr. Tucker assisted by the surgeons started to remove Mr. Dugger to the wagon and bed. When about midway, General Dromgoole gently put away Mr. Haines and called to Dr. Wilkins, "Is he badly hurt?"

Dr. Wilkins replied—"I fear he is, sir. I do not think he will live to get to the house."

Upon receiving this information, Gen. Dromgoole exclaimed in his deep and resonant voice—"I regret it exceedingly! I regret it exceedingly!"

Gen. Dromgoole and Mr. Haines then left the field.

Under the code to which the parties had resorted, and the cartel of the challenged party, Mr. Tucker should have notified Mr. Haines of his principal's [Dugger's] condition. By failing to do so, he left the quarrel open for renewal upon the original cause.[35] Had [Mr. Tucker kept Mr. Haines informed], even had Mr. Dugger survived, it would have been a finality, the terms would have been complied with. (Mr. Dugger lived twenty-one days,[36] and there were hopeful periods. During one of these he sent to ask some concessions from Gen. Dromgoole. Gen. Dromgoole did not comply and was notified that should he, Dugger, survive, the fight would be renewed.) [37]

Haines complained bitterly that Tucker did not inform him of Dugger's condition, charging him with a violation of his own compact. A quarrel ensued. Haines challenged Tucker, who declined to meet him on the grounds that he was not his social equal. Even his friends regarded the position as untenable. [Tucker] had waived all such rights when he consented to act with [Haines] as Gen. Dromgoole's second and peer. A paper warfare followed. It was severe and sarcastic, but not scurrilous or abusive. The following from the pen of the journalist [Haines] is about the severest thing said: "All good and honorable men cannot but regret the death of so pure a gentleman and so gallant a man as Daniel Dugger. He was all that a man could or ought to be—most cruelly, he had been made the victim of false friends

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[35] This seems to be a legalistic interpretation of the Code's provisions. It is possible, however, that the "Terms of Meeting" agreed to by the parties contained more specific language on the point than did the subsequently printed Code.

[36] On this point there is no reason to question Monitor's accuracy. The *Scaevola* on November 17 (eleven days after the duel) said, "The wound is desperate but not considered mortal." Weeks' statement that Dugger "lived until the next morning" is in error, "The Code in North Carolina," 453.

[37] This seems unusual in the light of the Code's provision that, "If after a fire either party be touched, the duel is to end . . . ." Wilson, *Code of Honor*, 13; Dawson Pamphlet, 41.

for their own bad ends; but for Tom Tucker, he reminds me of a grandiloquent magpie chattering over the torn plumage of a dead eagle."

Having quoted Mr. Haines' newspaper communication, Monitor felt it wise to add:

We would have omitted this as too severe upon an old and very dear friend, but he himself [Tucker], laughingly told it to us and suggested that at a suitable time we should have printed all the incidents he had related, and thus preserve one of the legends of our county.

Of Mr. Haines we know very little, and of his subsequent history nothing. He had formerly been the keeper of a "coffee house" in Petersburg. At the time of which we speak, he was the editor of a Democratic paper of that city. The position he filled towards Gen. Dromgoole, and his conduct in it, bespeak the gentleman, and a man of political prominence. Throughout he exhibited conduct and character. He has been described as a tall fine looking man, with a military bearing. In this hostile meeting his deportment was rigidly polite and formal.

Haines and the General remained on close terms. Among the surviving Dromgoole papers can be found a number of letters written by Haines from Petersburg in the years following the duel. His newspaper, *The Constellation*, seemed constantly in difficulties of a financial nature. Even in his letter to Dromgoole about arrangements for the duel Haines could not resist telling the General about his own personal affairs:

I am happy to say to you that my health is fine, my spirits light as a feather and my hopes high for a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of my pecuniary affairs—for the renovation of my paper and for the triumph of those principles it is our mutual pride and pleasure to advocate.[38]

"Of the other participants" in the affair on Roanoke River, Monitor wrote, "we know more. . . ."

The gentleman who was the involuntary witness, and present for humanity's sake, we knew from our childhood. Dr. W. W. Wilkins had been professionally educated in France, and subse-

[38] Letter, H[iram] Haines to George C. Dromgoole, October 12, 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers.

quently studied the post-graduate's course in the schools of Paris. He was a most accomplished gentleman. . . .[39]

William Henry Embry Merritt, the Whig whom Monitor called "the advising friend" to Dugger, died in 1884, "and in the eighty-fourth year of his age. . . ."[40]

When more than eighty he said to [Monitor], that he had frequently canvassed with himself the advice he had given Mr. Dugger, and that he could find nothing in it for which to reproach himself. It was true that his friend had fallen. For that he sorrowed exceedingly; but there were times in the lives of most men when sacrifices had to be made, and guided by the lights given, it was best to accept the lesser, when one of two evils was inevitable. . . .[41]

One of the most puzzling of the participants was Thomas Goode Tucker. At the University of Virginia he had been a college mate of Edgar Allan Poe. Later he wrote an account of Poe's college days that has been much relied on by the

[39] William Webb Wilkins (1803-1858), son of William Wyche Wilkins (1768-1840) and Elizabeth (Raines) Wilkins (1776-1811), before studying in Paris, attended the University of North Carolina (1817-1818), Yale (A.B., 1822), and the University of Pennsylvania (M.D., 1825). In 1829 he married Mary Ann Beasley. His second wife, to whom he was married in 1841, was Monitor's older sister, Louisa Gray Lewis. "The life of a country physician proved distasteful to him, and he abandoned it early as he had ample means," wrote Monitor. "He died in Lawrenceville . . . although he then lived in Richmond. He is still remembered as a tall and handsome man, seclusive in his habits and tastes, perfect in his business dealings and relations with his fellows, somewhat reticent, but a very prince in politeness and a king at the dinner table." See Wilkins Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, and Dr. Wilkins's medical fee book in the Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library, Durham.

[40] "He belonged to a type that has passed away. Educated when boys were made to study, he preserved his knowledge and taste for the classics. In the quietude of his own home he was oftener seen with a Latin or Greek author in his hand than some book of the period. The writer [Monitor] heard one of the principal men of the county, now long past the meridian of life, say that he had known him all his life and never saw him angry. . . . By those who knew him best, it was said, that the feeling of fear he never knew, and occasions that inspired terror in others left him placid and unruffled." In the Manuscript Collection of the Duke University Library there are a number of letters and papers concerning Merritt and his family.

[41] It hardly seems possible that such a man as Monitor describes Merritt to have been could have been the person of whom Dromgoole's political advisor, R. R. Brown, wrote: "[Dugger] only was urged to the field by a party who cared not a groat for him, but wished to use him to destroy you. There is a gang in & around Lawrenceville as I have said who would glory in your downfall . . . . " Letter, R. R. Brown to George C. Dromgoole, December 2, 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers.

poet's biographers.[42] Until shortly before the duel Tucker lived in Lawrenceville and practiced law, but by 1837, having come into some substantial property, he had moved to a new plantation on the Roanoke River in Northampton County.

In the heat of the aftermath of the duel, when Haines had challenged Tucker and Tucker had refused to meet him, and Haines had lashed out at Tucker in the newspapers, Dr. Edward Dromgoole, the General's brother, reported to the absent congressman:

> On Monday week I attended Brunswick Court. Things so far as I could learn were peaceable, and it was thought by some of your friends that Mr. Haynes [*sic*] last communication would shut the mouth of the Magpie who had taken shelter under the plumage of a Dead Eagle. The Magpie I fear is no Gentleman (this between us)....[43]

Yet it is of this same "magpie," Mr. Tucker, that Monitor wrote:

> When fate endowed him with fortune, she deprived us of a lawyer, a statesman and, had opportunity served, a soldier, to make a perfect specimen of the country gentleman and literary voluptuary. At eighty, with every faculty as bright as at forty, he was ready to discuss any question of politics, science, literature or law; or at the blast of the horn in the morning, to mount "Lord Elgin," his thoroughbred stallion, and keep pace with his hounds, the pedigree of each known for twenty generations. The most pacific of men, he believed in the "Code" and was a terror to that monster, the neighborhood bully. A believer in caste, his hospitality was too strong for his prejudice, and [he] was a democrat in his home. In fact he was a mass of the most delightful anomalies and curious incongruities. While the green grass grows and the water runs and the sound of the horn is heard on the hill, let him be remembered by all men of kindred tastes and gentlemanly instincts.

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[42] "Edgar Allan Poe while a Student at the University of Virginia," referred to by Hervey Allen in *Israfel* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, single volume edition, 1934), 126-127, as being Mr. Tucker's "too complete memories."

[43] Letter, Edward Dromgoole [Jr.] to George C. Dromgoole, March 6, 1838, George C. Dromgoole Papers, Manuscript Collection, Duke University Library.

"It was from these gentlemen," wrote Monitor, "that we learned the circumstances of the duel as narrated, and should they be printed, a promise will be fulfilled."

But what of Daniel Dugger the victim? Monitor could only say,

> Mr. Dugger passed away before we were capable of a personal knowledge. But we have known many who knew him well. He was a quiet and unassuming man of excellent sense, and a very warm, lovable and loving disposition. He had the respect of all in every relation of life: In that of husband, parent, friend and citizen. His death begat a lifelong antagonism on the part of many former friends of Gen. Dromgoole. He left several sons, but what has become of his family generally, we do not know.

It is odd that Monitor should have been ignorant on this point when, as matters happened, he was never far from Dugger's sons himself. On the day the duel was fought, November 6, 1837, Dugger executed a holographic will in the form of a letter to his wife. (It is interesting to speculate on why he waited until the day of the meeting before he did this.) He spoke of the confusion of his business affairs, his affection for his family, and his eagerness to insure the security and education of his children.[44] Writing in 1891, Stephen B. Weeks stated that after Dugger's death General Dromgoole "supported the widow of Mr. Dugger and educated his two sons, the late Macon T. Dugger and the late Captain John E. Dugger of Warrenton. . . ."[45]

Whether or not the support came from Dromgoole, it is true that Captain John Edward Dugger was graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1857 and his brother, Macon Tucker Dugger, in 1858. It is also true that Captain Dugger taught school privately in Warrenton and died there in 1887.[46]

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[44] This letter was admitted to probate in January, 1838, as Dugger's will and is recorded in Brunswick County (Virginia) Will Book 13 at page 204.

[45] Weeks, "The Code in North Carolina," 453.

[46] *Alumni Directory*, 244. See also Lizzie Wilson Montgomery, *Sketches of Old Warrenton* (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards and Broughton, 1924), 193, 240-241.

Now finally, what of the subsequent career of George C. Dromgoole himself? What effect did the duel produce on his political ambitions?

As soon as possible after the duel it appears that General Dromgoole returned to his duties in Washington. Whether he resorted to the bottle is, of course, a matter of conjecture, but the letters he began to receive from the district make it clear that this possibility had not been overlooked by his constituents. One of his Democratic supporters living in Brunswick, R. R. Brown, spoke with a sharpness that rings with truth. Less than a month after the duel and only a few days after Dugger's death Brown wrote Dromgoole:

> Take care of yourself & your friends here will take care of you —There is a strong current against you & the Whigs will turn every thing growing out of your late unfortunate affair to your prejudice, especially those in and around Lawrenceville. No person can possibly blame you for your course, for *all* admit you were bound to do what you did do. Myself alone, as far as I have heard, is the only one who think you should not have met your assailant in fair or equal combat. The disparity was too wide—and he only was urged to the field by a party who cared not a groat for him, but wished only to use him to destroy you— There is a gang in & around Lawrenceville as I have said who would glory in your downfall, & they have already predicted you'l [*sic*] destroy yourself by intemperance. You must keep cool during this cession [*sic*] of Congress. You must take an active part in all important questions & you must make speeches. Then & not till then will the people here be satisfied with you as their representative. Take care of yourself while in Washington. *For your indiscretions are sent back to the district. I* write frankly but not more so than sincerely. Let me hear from you often.[47]

Dromgoole answered Brown's letter promptly, pledging himself to a course of personal conduct calculated to improve

[47] Beneath Brown's signature on this letter is written "Novr 2nd 1837" but the postmark was "White Plains, Va. 8 Dec. 1837." White Plains is a crossroads in southern Brunswick County. The "late unfortunate affair" was fought on November 6, 1837. Thus it seems plain that Brown made a common mistake in dating his letter. It should have been dated "December 2." See letter, R. R. Brown to George C. Dromgoole, December 2, 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers.

his political position. On December 29, Brown again addressed the General:

> . . . I have nothing new to give you—farther than to impress upon you the necessity not only for yourself personally, but to give satisfaction & confidence in you to your party in the District that you strictly adhere to the advice in my letter to you which you acknowledged to have rec'd on the 18th Inst. If you adhere rigidly to the course laid down in your letter to me there will be a reaction in the district in your favor that no man will be able to contend with you. Your best friends had begun to dispair of you and it will depend wholly upon yourself this winter whether you continue to represent this district if you wish it.[48]

In the Congressional elections of 1838 Dromgoole was re-elected. This is fair testimony of his behavior and its effect in the district. In 1840 he declined to run, but he was re-elected in 1842, 1844, and 1846, despite some evidence that as late as 1843 he was still unable to withstand the lures of the bottle. (He is supposed to have taken the "Temperance Vow" that year at the instigation of the distinguished Thomas Ritchie,[49] but whether he was able to keep it remains unreported.) We know that he died on April 17, 1847, just a month short of his fiftieth birthday,[50] and we have Monitor's word for the fact that his fellow citizens felt "the perfect fruition" of General Dromgoole's "manhood was marred" by his duel with Dugger, that he was "a victim to the public sentiment of the times."

"We boast of our civilization," wrote Monitor, "and speak of the 'duello' as suicide and murder. We dare not gainsay the saint as against the sinner, even if the day still be distant

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[48] Letter, R. R. Brown to George C. Dromgoole, December 29, 1837, Edward Dromgoole Papers.

[49] Letter, Thomas Ritchie to Edward Dromgoole, May 30, 1848, Edward Dromgoole Papers. Pertinent portions of this letter to General Dromgoole's nephew and administrator read as follows: ". . . may I ask the favor of you to look for a letter which I addressed to [General Dromgoole] in January or February of 1843 or '44, probably the former year. It relates to the delicate subject of his habits, and nothing but my profound respect for Gen. Dromgoole could have prompted me to write it. The General had the good sense to appreciate my motives—for within 10 or 14 days after I had written it, he informed me by letter that he had taken the Temperance Vow. . . ."

[50] See p. 328, n. 5 above.

when the lion will lie down with the lamb. A custom recognized by such men [as the participants in this affair] to keep the world pliant to the touch of honor cannot be all bad. . . ."

Monitor would probably have agreed with the verdict of his South Carolina contemporary who wrote,

> . . . the duello was the aesthetic mode of settling all difficulties among gentlemen. The stringent laws of the present day have pretty well put an end to this mode of wiping out insults, and the Code can now only be bought in some old bookstore. The silver-mounted, smooth bore duelling pistols have given way to the rifled barreled revolvers, and quick snap shooting on the street [has] superseded the old fashioned ten paces: "fire—one, two, three, stop"; and handshaking, if alive, and a champagne supper to cement the treaty of peace. The formality of a challenge is now out of fashion and the hip-pocket is now inserted in every man's trousers. Both methods are barbarous, but I am inclined to think that the old time method was the least so, as it gave one time to make his will and hope for an apology. . . .[51]

[51] Arney R. Childs (ed.), *Rice Planter and Sportsman, The Recollections of J. Motte Alston, 1821-1909* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1953), 21.

# GIFFORD PINCHOT AT BILTMORE

By HAROLD T. PINKETT

The estate acquired and developed by George W. Vanderbilt at Biltmore in western North Carolina is a historic site in the annals of American forestry mainly because of the pioneering work of two eminent foresters, Gifford Pinchot and Carl A. Schenck. The activities of Schenck, the first resident forester on the estate and founder of the first forest school in the United States, have been described recently in an informative and provocative book entitled *The Biltmore Story.*[1] However, the work of Pinchot at Biltmore which blazed the trail for Schenck has been mentioned only briefly or erratically in accounts of American forestry and local history. His own accounts, though informative, lack some important details.[2]

On February 2, 1892, Pinchot arrived at Biltmore to begin an urgent and unique experiment. In a contract with George W. Vanderbilt, providing an annual salary of $2,500, he had agreed to make a plan for the management of Biltmore Forest and to superintend the preparation of an exhibit of this forest for the World's Columbian Exposition to be held at Chicago.[3] He had been selected for this job apparently on the recommendation of Frederick Law Olmsted, the famous landscape architect, who was Vanderbilt's principal adviser in the planning of the Biltmore Estate. The preparation of a management plan for an American forest in 1892 was a task to be undertaken without any precedent and with little relevant information. Yet it was a project urgently needed to demonstrate the practicality of scientific forestry in the

[1] Carl A. Schenck, *The Biltmore Story: Recollections of the Beginning of Forestry in the United States* (American Forest History Foundation: St. Paul, Minnesota, 1955. Pp. 224).

[2] See Gifford Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground* (New York, 1947), 47-69, hereinafter cited as Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground;* and *Biltmore Forest* (Chicago, 1893. Pp. 49), hereinafter cited as Pinchot, *Biltmore Forest.*

[3] Agreement between Pinchot and Vanderbilt, January 25, 1892, Gifford Pinchot Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Pinchot Manuscripts.

United States and to broaden the movement for the preservation of American forests. Fortunately, it was a task to which Pinchot could bring some unique training and valuable experience.

After graduating from Yale University in 1889 Pinchot became the first American to choose forestry as a profession. He did so despite the advice of government officials and educators who considered scientific forest management in the United States as something beyond the realm of practical affairs. Since there was hardly any organized instruction in forestry in America he studied this subject in France, Germany, and Switzerland during 1889 and 1890. This European study was guided largely by Sir Dietrich Brandis, founder of forestry in British India and perhaps the greatest forester of his time. Sir Dietrich, who had obtained some familiarity with American forest conditions through correspondence and reports, was immediately impressed by Pinchot's earnestness and readily consented to show him the way to scientific forestry.

Returning home in December, 1890, young Pinchot found his country without a single acre of public or private land under systematic forest management. He observed some public spirited citizens protesting against the ruthless destruction of forests by lumbermen and other timber users. He admired their efforts to preserve a great natural resource but considered their protest virtually futile, since it often appeared directed toward stopping the essential practice of lumbering rather than regulating it and assuring its future. The job was not to stop the ax, as he saw it, but rather to control its use.[4]

The first opportunity to make practical use of his training came in January, 1891, when he was hired by the firm of Phelps, Dodge and Company to make a preliminary examination of its white pine and hemlock lands in Pennsylvania and report on the possibility of practicing forestry on them. Shortly thereafter he accompanied B. E. Fernow, the Federal Government's chief forester, on a trip to examine timberlands

[4] Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, 29.

in Mississippi and Arkansas. A few months later he was on another inspection trip for Phelps, Dodge and Company which carried him to the West Coast and Canada. Within six months after his return from Europe he had seen something of forests in thirty-one states and Canada and had actually examined them in nine states. Such was his preparation for the task at Biltmore.

When Pinchot arrived at the Biltmore Estate in 1892, the developing of this property, which was to make it one of America's most luxurious country residences, had already begun. Under the architectural direction of Richard M. Hunt the massive limestone walls of Biltmore House were rising as if to challenge the grandeur of nearby mountains. The estate lying southeast of Asheville stretched six miles along the banks of the French Broad River and covered more than 7,000 acres. Through its northeast corner ran the Swannanoa River toward its junction with the French Broad. Broken, hilly land alternated with broad alluvial bottoms of the two rivers.

By 1892 much forest land around the site selected for Biltmore House had begun to be consolidated into a large holding as a result of Vanderbilt's purchases from a number of small landholders. These persons compelled by economic necessity to exploit fully their scantily productive lands had resorted to destructive practices. They had cut most of the trees which could be used or sold as fuel, fence wood, or saw logs. Thus the best species had been removed and the inferior ones had remained to seed the ground and perpetuate their kind. Moreover, in accordance with a long-established practice the small landholders had burned the woods each year under the belief that better pasturage was thus obtained the following year. In this way much of the fertility of the soil had been destroyed. Young trees which grew up in many places had been cut back year after year by the grazing of cattle. Thus Pinchot on his arrival at Biltmore found the condition of a large part of the forest "deplorable in the extreme." The timber stands that survived these destructive practices were dominated by varied species of oak, shortleaf pine, and chest-

nut. Most of the stands were broken and irregular and varied greatly in size and age.[5]

Although he was given a free hand to inaugurate management of the Biltmore Estate's forest, subject only to Vanderbilt's control, Pinchot's work was affected inevitably by considerations of the general purpose of the estate as a country residence with its gardens, farms, deer park, and roads. His management was, therefore, subject to checks in instances where silvicultural measures were considered to conflict with landscape, farming, recreational, or other estate purposes. Despite these restrictions, the young forester began work at Biltmore with the hope and zeal of a missionary. His decision to undertake the work, he declared, was largely influenced by the often expressed opinion of Sir Dietrich Brandis that forest management in the United States must begin through private enterprise and his own feeling that the Chicago exposition would present a good opportunity to make known the beginning of "practical forestry." [6] If forest management could be made profitable at Biltmore, it could be made so in almost any part of the Southern Appalachians. Indeed his hope led him to assert: "The more I know of the conditions the more thoroughly satisfied I am that if Biltmore forest is a success, I need not fear to undertake the management of any piece of forest land that I have seen in the United States." [7]

Compilation of detailed data concerning forest conditions on the estate was Pinchot's first step. This was facilitated by an extensive topographical survey of the property which had already been made. The survey had divided the estate into squares of 500 feet. The squares were used as units of description and pertinent silvicultural data were recorded in a card catalogue. Using this information Pinchot divided the forest area into ninety-two compartments, averaging about forty-two acres each and delimited by ridges, streams, hollows, or roads. For management purposes he grouped

[5] Pinchot, *Biltmore Forest*, 10-14.
[6] Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, February 2, 1892, Pinchot Manuscripts.
[7] Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, March 5, 1892, Pinchot Manuscripts.

these compartments into three blocks, one situated west of the French Broad River and two east of it.[8]

The general purposes of the pioneering forestry work at Biltmore were to promote the profitable production of timber, provide a nearly constant annual yield, and improve the condition of the forest. The effort to accomplish these purposes began with so-called "improvement cuttings" in parts of the forest where old trees were sufficiently numerous and the younger ones sufficiently vigorous to enable profitable lumbering. In these cuttings Pinchot had to instruct his forest assistants and woods crews to fell timber in such a manner that the least harm would come to the future forest. This point of view, which emphasized regard for future use as well as for immediate profit, was new in American lumbering. Demonstration and acceptance of the value of this new view were important for the successful introduction of scientific forestry into the United States and establishment of the idea that the fight for forest preservation in the 1890's was not necessarily incompatible with the profitable use of forests.

Although Pinchot was convinced of the scientific propriety and educational value of careful timber cuttings, he was by no means certain that the timber produced by them could compete successfully with that provided by traditional lumbering methods. Early in his work he was disturbed by the doubtful outlook for immediate "money returns" from the forest. He stated: "There is so much good lumber in the mountains, it is comparatively so cheap and our own is so distinctly poor, that we shall certainly be unable to do more than supply a little inferior sawn lumber and some fire wood for the local market and engage in the wood-distilling industry."[9] Moreover, his hopes were not raised any higher by this gloomy opinion of the Federal Government's chief forester: "If you can make forestry profitable at Biltmore within the next ten years, I shall consider you the wisest forester and financier of the age."[10]

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[8] Pinchot, *Biltmore Forest*, 22 ff.

[9] Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, February 25, 1892. Pinchot Manuscripts.

[10] B. E. Fernow to Pinchot, September 19, 1892, Records of the Forest Service, National Archives, Washington, D. C., hereinafter cited as Records of the Forest Service.

During his first two years at Biltmore Pinchot was fortunate in finding a ready market for cordwood and sawed lumber on the estate itself where large quantities of wood were needed for the kilns of the brickworks, maintenance of a branch railroad running to Biltmore House, and various construction projects. Because of this situation the forestry work by the end of 1893 showed a favorable financial balance. During that year receipts for wood and lumber sold and the value of wood on hand amounted to $11,324.19. Expenses for the work (exclusive of his own salary) amounted to $10,103.63.[11] Thus Pinchot was able to announce "a balance of $1,220.56 on the side of practical Forestry—conservative lumbering that left a growing forest behind it."[12] These cuttings were continued for several years thereafter and produced annually about 3,000 cords of firewood. This wood was sold in competition with that taken by neighboring farmers from their lands with traditional lumbering methods and brought a fair margin of profit above the cost of cutting and hauling. Meanwhile, the general condition of the forest showed steady improvement. The good results of the cuttings, however, were doubtless made possible to some extent by the exclusion of cattle from the forest land and the adoption of fire prevention methods.[13]

The forest experiment at Biltmore was first given considerable publicity in an exhibit and pamphlet prepared by Pinchot in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. The Biltmore Forest Exhibit at this affair appears to have been the first formal illustration of scientific forestry ever made in the United States. With the use of large photographs and maps it showed the nature of the woodland and its improvement under scientific management. With models of well-managed European forests, it showed plans of future work. The pamphlet described the physical characteristics of Biltmore Forest, forestry practices

[11] Report of Pinchot's forest assistant, C. L. Whitney, January 10, 1894, Pinchot Manuscripts.

[12] Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground,* 54.

[13] Overton W. Price, "Practical Forestry in the Southern Appalachians," *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1900* (Washington, 1901), 364.

inaugurated in it, and receipts and expenditures for the first year's work. The exhibit and pamphlet evoked much favorable comment. Vanderbilt praised his young forester and authorized him to order and distribute 10,000 copies of the pamphlet "for the good of the [forestry] cause."[14] An editorial in *Garden and Forest*, the most influential forest magazine in America during the 1890's, asserted that the Biltmore pamphlet marked "what must be considered a most important step in the progress of American civilization, as it records the results of the first attempt that has been made on a large scale in America to manage a piece of forest property on the scientific principles which prevail in France, Germany, and other European countries."[15]

The Chicago exposition of 1893 also gave America's first native-born forester an opportunity to publicize the forest resources of North Carolina and the need for their protection. From the beginning of his work in this state Pinchot had been favorably impressed by these resources. He had told Sir Dietrich Brandis:

> North Carolina happens to be so situated that the Northern and Southern floras meet within the State. There is no other state in the union where so many of the valuable kinds of trees are found.[16]

A belt of poplar on lands of the Cherokee Indians near Waynesville was described as "the finest strip of deciduous forest" that he had seen.[17] Thus J. A. Holmes, State Geologist, and possibly other state officials had no difficulty in persuading Pinchot to prepare a state forestry exhibit for the exposition. The exhibit prepared made a good impression.[18] From this work a lasting friendship developed between Pinchot and Holmes which led to their important collaboration

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[14] Vanderbilt to Pinchot, October 11, 1893. Pinchot Manuscripts.
[15] *Garden and Forest*, VII (February 21, 1894), 71.
[16] Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, February 25, 1892, Pinchot Manuscripts.
[17] Pinchot to B. E. Fernow, February 14, 1893, Records of the Forest Service.
[18] J. A. Holmes to Pinchot, September 19, 1893. Pinchot Manuscripts.

in the movement that eventually brought the establishment of national forests in the Southern Appalachians.

So far the Biltmore forest work had been confined mainly to timber cutting operations. In the spring of 1895, however, Pinchot directed the planting near Biltmore House of seedlings of yellow poplar, black cherry, tulip tree, black walnut, and a few other species. Due largely to unfavorable weather conditions this planting project was a failure. However, other species planted on the estate with similar methods in later years grew to maturity and definitely showed the practicality of large-scale reforestation by private forest owners. The results of this work became the object of special study by the Appalachian Forest Experiment Station during 1921 and 1922.[19] Meanwhile Pinchot collected seeds from many parts of the world for the Biltmore Arboretum which was planned "not merely to make a botanical collection, but to show the value of trees as elements both in scenery and in practical Forestry." [20] It was to include 300 acres of 100 of the most valuable and hardy forest species at Biltmore. In a few years the arboretum actually came to possess the most complete collection of forest flora in the southeastern United States and had more woody plants than the world famous Royal Botanical Gardens in London. Despite Pinchot's pleas for its continuance, however, Vanderbilt failed to make permanent provision for the arboretum.

While Pinchot was experimenting with scientific forestry on the Biltmore Estate, he began to examine large forest tracts near the estate which his rich employer sought for use as a vast game preserve and camping ground. This work brought him to the Pink Beds, a great valley tract of unusual natural beauty covered by thickets of the laurel and rhododendron whose pinkish blossoms gave the site its name. He was certain the area would be ideal for hunting and camping and with the exclusion of cattle and fire would offer promise for scientific forestry. There were virgin stands of yellow

[19] See Ferdinand W. Haasis, *Forest Plantations at Biltmore, North Carolina* (U. S. Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Publication No. 61. Washington, D. C., 1930. Pp. 30).

[20] Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, 55.

poplar, hemlock, hickory, black walnut, beech, and a good number of seed-bearing trees. In the spring of 1894 another survey trip carried him to a large mountainous tract northeast of the Pink Beds which was covered with a mature growth of chestnut, oak, and yellow poplar more beautiful than any he had seen in North Carolina. The reckless lumberman's ax had never threatened its primeval splendor. Pinchot realized that here another fruitful field for forest management could be established and immediately made tentative plans for such an undertaking. Included in the plans were an estimate of readily removable timber, recommendation of a fence law against forest trespassers, employment of forest guards, and the building of fire lines and trails. Most of these proposals, though new to American lumbering in 1894, in a few years were to become standard elements in American forest management plans.

The tracts beyond the Biltmore Estate examined by Pinchot were purchased early in 1895 and Vanderbilt consolidated them to form the Pisgah Forest. This woodland began at the headwaters of the French Broad River and extended southward over some 100,000 acres. Close examination of its mature timber had convinced Pinchot that extensive cutting would facilitate natural reproduction of the trees. Therefore, he made a plan designed to enable the harvesting of the mature forest crop and at the same time to let in vital light for the growth of seedlings—the basis for future crops. Vanderbilt approved the plan and cutting was begun under it in October, 1895. Here was perhaps the first systematic attempt in American lumbering to secure the natural reproduction of a forest area. Although it did not produce immediate financial profit, it pointed the way to more rational use and protection of forest resources. By 1914 the site of Pinchot's logging operations in Pisgah Forest was described as one having a silvicultural condition "unequaled elsewhere in the Southern Appalachians." A young growth of "remarkable density" had sprung up under the old trees. There was virtual restoration of primeval forest conditions.[21] By 1930

[21] Overton W. Price, "George W. Vanderbilt, Pioneer in Forestry," *American Forestry*, XX (June, 1914), 422.

a new forest crop was ready for commercial logging. Meanwhile the hope of Pinchot, J. A. Holmes, and others had become a reality with the acquisition in 1916 of this great forest tract by the United States Government to form the Pisgah National Forest. In a letter offering the forest for Government purchase Mrs. George W. Vanderbilt aptly described its historic importance: "I wish earnestly to make such disposition of Pisgah Forest as will maintain in the fullest and most permanent way its national value as an object lesson in forestry, as well as its wonderful beauty and charm." [22]

In general Pinchot doubtless enjoyed his experience at Biltmore and considered it highly profitable. This experience was not, however, without some disappointment and conflict. The scientific value of his work was not always fully appreciated by the owner of the Biltmore Estate. Thus early in 1895 he complained:

> The scientific value of this place does not seem to appeal to Mr. Vanderbilt as much as it did, nor as far as I can see does he realize at all the ways in which a useful result in this direction is to be obtained. In a word, Biltmore is taking its position in his mind as his own pleasure ground and country seat with very secondary reference to its usefulness in other directions.[23]

This complaint contrasted sharply with his opinion of the owner of the estate in 1892: "Mr. Vanderbilt recognizes as fully as I do the educational value of the work and is disposed to do everything to give that side of it prominence and force." [24] Some of the later feeling probably grew from Vanderbilt's lack of interest in expanding and continuing the arboretum project. The feeling was attributable, Pinchot thought, to some of Vanderbilt's advisers whom he considered "men incapable of appreciating the scientific point of view." [25] One of the advisers he had in mind was probably Charles McNamee, general manager of the estate, with whom he had

[22] Edith S. Vanderbilt (Mrs. George W. Vanderbilt) to the Secretary of Agriculture, May 1, 1914, Records of the Forest Service.
[23] Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, January 24, 1895. Pinchot Manuscripts.
[24] Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, February 2, 1892. Pinchot Manuscrips.
[25] Pinchot to Sir Dietrich Brandis, January 24, 1895. Pinchot Manuscripts.

conflict in getting approval for forestry expenditures. Moreover, in establishing management over Vanderbilt's vast forest domain he sometimes had to challenge the trespassing of mountaineers who farmed, grazed cattle, hunted, fished, and "stilled" now and then within its boundaries.

Pinchot's direct supervision of the forestry work in Biltmore and Pisgah Forests ended in 1895. By that time he felt that the work had expanded to the extent of requiring the service of a full-time-resident forester. New ventures in other parts of the United States were claiming much of his time. He had been making examinations of extensive forest tracts in the Adirondack Mountains, maintaining an office in New York City as a "consulting forester," and furnishing advice on New Jersey's forest problems. Thus on his recommendation Vanderbilt in the spring of 1895 hired a well-trained German forester, Carl A. Schenck, to have immediate supervision of the forestry work. Pinchot kept general direction of the work. Despite some differences of opinion concerning particular silvicultural methods best suited for American forests the two foresters co-operated in planning and directing the Biltmore and Pisgah operations. This co-operation, however, was replaced a few years later by distrust and hostility when Pinchot questioned the advisability of continuing the Biltmore Forest School founded by Schenck.[26] Meanwhile Pinchot's service to Vanderbilt came to an end in 1898 with his appointment as Forester in the United States Department of Agriculture.

By 1898 the Biltmore Estate had become widely known as a center of forestry. College graduates increasingly were seeking training and experience in its woodlands and forest school. It had become a mecca for advocates of scientific forestry and forest preservation. Bernhardt Ribbentrop, Inspector General of Forests of the Government of India, made a visit to Biltmore in 1895 and called Pinchot's work "a wonderful good operation—a perfect piece of work."[27] The following year Secretary of Agriculture Sterling J. Morton,

[26] Pinchot to Vanderbilt, July 20, 1903, Records of the Forest Service.
[27] Pinchot, *Breaking New Ground*, 67.

the father of Arbor Day, took "great satisfaction in going over the Forestry work" on the estate.[28] During the same year R. H. Warder, Superintendent of Cincinnati's Park Department examined this work and lauded it as "a practical example to the whole country." [29]

Today the Biltmore Estate, owned by grandsons of George W. Vanderbilt, is still being managed as a forest holding. Successful reforestation and timber cutting are carried on under the direction of a full-time forester. This first and continuing American example of successful scientific forestry has helped to influence an increasing number of private forest owners to adopt what Pinchot demonstrated at Biltmore to be practical and profitable—the management of forests for continuous timber crops. More significant is the fact that his work in the Biltmore and Pisgah forests was an important milestone in the march of progress toward a national program for the protection and rational use of American forests—a program that was destined to include all natural resources. Furthermore, his pioneering efforts in the woodlands of North Carolina heralded the leadership that he was to assume in the epochal conservation movement.

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[28] Morton to R. W. Furnas, March 12, 1896, Records of the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[29] Warder to Charles A. Keffer, September 12, 1896, Records of the Forest Service.

# THE IDEA OF COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN THE SOUTH, 1870-1900

By HERBERT COLLINS

In spirit, scope, and success the cotton mill movement that arose in the South after 1870 became a project in which all segments of the community eventually participated. Nothing like it had previously occurred on such a scale and in so short a time. It seemed at moments as though "every town or village of any size . . . had determined to have a cotton mill of its own."[1] A growing inventory of original ideas and schemes begged to be realized. The times were auspicious for business prosperity and industrial expansion. Politicians were warned not to distract business from its pursuits by appeals to agrarian, sectional, or partisan causes. There were many advocates of industry, but none put the matter more eloquently than did Henry W. Grady. "We have sowed towns and cities in the place of theories," he told the New England Society when he addressed them at Delmonico's in New York City on December 21, 1886, "and put business above politics. . . . We have established thrift in city and country. We have fallen in love with work."[2] But in the broadest sense a new civilization was being made by individual men thinking out ideals and working up objectives which aimed at the progress of the whole community. These ideals and objectives were so related to the realities of life that they eventually were able to influence most effectively the circumstances of the time.

In 1870 an immigration convention meeting in Charleston resolved that "A new era is upon us. The policies attending the institutions of the past no longer control our actions."[3] It was expected that henceforth agricultural exclusiveness

[1] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXXIII (September 7, 1901), 6.
[2] Joel C. Harris, *Life of Henry W. Grady, Including His Writings and Speeches* (New York, 1890), 88.
[3] *Proceedings of the Immigration Convention Held at the Academy of Music, Charleston, South Carolina, May 3 to 5, 1870* (Charleston, 1870), 32-33, hereinafter cited as *Proceedings of Immigration Convention.*

would be subordinated to manufacturing industries in which manual labor would be respected. Joseph B. Killebrew, a Commissioner for the Tennessee Bureau of Agriculture, declared that the doctrine of the association of labor and servility had ceased to be taught by 1874 and suggested that labor is the true index of civilization.[4] The end of slavery, Daniel R. Goodloe, the North Carolina abolitionist and journalist, predicted would infuse "new elements into southern life and new ideas into individual enterprise."[5] Those who shared this opinion also advocated the abandonment of old routines in order to diversify industry and develop natural resources.[6] A general spirit of improvement associated with a constantly growing demand and inquiry for improved breeds of stock, implements and machinery, and methods of farming came to prevail. Inducements to manufacturers, investors, mineral prospectors, and immigrants were marshalled. In 1871 Governor Todd R. Caldwell of North Carolina proposed an internal improvement program with such features as a geological survey, capital accumulation and investment, and solicitations to immigrants.[7] "What North Carolina needs is people," P. F. Duffy wrote. His editorials in the *Greensboro Patriot* were consistently on the side of regional development, and he went on to claim that the rich lands, genial climate, and mineral resources "are things strangers know little about."[8]

[4] Joseph B. Killebrew, *Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1874), 391.

[5] Daniel R. Goodloe, *Resources and Industrial Conditions of the Southern States. Extracts from the Report of the United States Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1865* (Washington, D. C., 1866), 103.

[6] Edwin de Leon, "The New South", *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XLVIII (1874), 270; hereinafter cited as de Leon, "The New South"; Alexander H. H. Stuart, "Facts Worth Thinking About," *The Virginias*, II (1881), 51; Z. B. Vance, "All About It," *The Land We Love*, VI (1869), 365; Cassius M. Clay cited in W. H. Gannon, *The Land Owners of the South and the Industrial Classes of the North* (Boston, 1882), 19; Atticus G. Haygood, *The New South* (Oxford, Ga., 1880), 14, hereinafter cited as Haygood, *The New South.*

[7] *Greensboro Patriot*, November 30, 1871, November 27, 1872, July 18, 1877; North Carolina Board of Immigration, *North Carolina: Its Resources and Progress and its Attractions and Advantages as a Home for Immigrants* (Raleigh, 1875), 32; *North Carolina Handbook* (Raleigh, 1879), 159; *The News and Observer*, (Raleigh), April 23, 1881, hereinafter cited as *The News and Observer;* Donoho, Duncan and Co., *An Appeal from the South to the North* (Boston, n.d.), 11-12.

[8] *Greensboro Patriot*, January 12, 1871. Also see W. J. Barbee, *The Cotton Question* (New York, 1866), 249; J. B. Lyman, *Cotton Culture* (New York, 1868), 140-141.

As if a new Eldorado had been discovered, the South was lavishly described by residents and visitors who reiterated apocalyptically the promise of a "New South." A salubrious climate, year-round farming, railroad facilities, raw materials, and ubiquitous launching of new factory enterprises were catalogued with tourist enthusiasm. "The South is in a thorough and long transition," a Georgian announced with the accompanying prediction that "industries, trade and manufactories are to be founded and everywhere multiplied."[9] Always it was reported that Southerners were in love with their own plans. "No one is more loth," Edward King reported after his tour, "than the Southerner to admit the impossibility of its thorough redemption."[10] Any derogatory reference to the past was less painful, Edward Atkinson observed, than "the expression of doubt as to the immediate capacity of the Southern people to do any kind of work in the manufacturing or mechanic arts."[11] He spoke from experience, for his statements were frequently scrutinized for whatever encouragement he had to offer or to dispute his doubts. And Henry W. Grady, who knew his people well enough to advertise their virtues, thought that nothing "so appeals to Southern pride as to urge the possibility that in time the manufacture" of the cotton crop "shall be a monopoly of the cotton belt."[12] The regional optimism and great expectations of future development reported by Carl Schurz after his visit in 1885 were confirmed the next year by another traveller who wrote that "The Southern ego brightens and the Southern face beams with hope, as the future of the South is discussed."[13] Indeed, the prediction made in 1867 by Zebulon B. Vance, the wartime Governor of North Carolina, that "with progress

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[9] John C. Reed, *The Old and the New South* (New York, 1876), 21, 24, hereinafter cited as Reed, *Old and New South.*

[10] Edward King, *The Great South* (Hartford, 1875), 792.

[11] Edward Atkinson, "Significant Aspects of the Cotton Exposition," *Scribner's Magazine,* XXIII (1882), 564.

[12] Henry W. Grady, "Cotton and Its Kingdom," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* LXIII (1881), 730, hereinafter cited as Grady, "Cotton and Its Kingdom."

[13] Frederic Bancroft (ed.), *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz* (New York, 6 vols., 1913), IV, 379, hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *Carl Schurz;* Alexander K. McClure, *The South: Its Industrial, Financial and Political Condition* (Philadelphia, 1886), 31, hereinafter cited as McClure, *The South.*

in the arts and sciences, will come also a fantastic variety of philanthropy, religion, politics, and morals,"[14] seemed on the verge of fulfillment.

A writer for the Memphis *Bulletin* claimed in 1866 that southerners paid too much attention to politics, and too little to the improvement of their country.[15] Hinton Rowan Helper's famous dictum that the South was dependent upon the North for a galaxy of commodities that could easily have been manufactured in the South was resuscitated. If the expenditures that went to pay for commodities manufactured in the North "were applied to the building of manufactures in our midst," an editor explained, "in a little while we would not only have a home supply but would be shipping abroad instead of purchasing at enormous prices to meet our own wants."[16] Eventually there were visions of not only a textile industry, but machine and tool, locomotive, carriage, furniture, and agricultural equipment industries.[17]

The succession of Rutherford B. Hayes to the Presidency of the United States propelled the discussion of the idea of manufacturing industries by inciting political protests as well as economic threats. One protestation began,

> Unwritten history will yet proclaim that disfranchisement of the people in the declaration that Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes was President for the next four years, was done in the days of our political degradation. . . . Our mines must be delved. Our water power must be improved. Our fields must be cultivated. . . . Labor must be made honorable, and our forests must be made to contribute their quota to our coming prosperity. . . . Railroads must be built; immigrants must be invited. . . . The hum of spindles, the ring of the anvil, the rattle of the loom must be heard.[18]

There was rejoicing in the fact that political frustrations were drawing attention to the importance of manufacturing enterprise. Political discussions of economic affairs were often sil-

[14] Vance, "All About It," 367.
[15] Cited in *De Bow's Review*, n. s., II (1866), 642-644.
[16] *Greensboro Patriot*, May 14, 28, 1873.
[17] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, August 10, 1881, July 8, 1882.
[18] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, March 10, 1877.

enced on the grounds that every politician was the deadly enemy of business prosperity. Those who had suffered during the industrial and financial depression of 1873-1879 were reassured that they could "rightfully demand that politics shall give way to peace and that politicians shall give way to the interests of business."[19]

The defeat of Winfield S. Hancock in the presidential election of 1880 set the critics of political action new conditions for insisting on economic development. Atticus G. Haygood sermonized that political success may enrich a few place-hunters, "but it will bring little reward to the masses of the people."[20] He prescribed work, self-denial, civil order, and the blessing of God for his people. The president of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad contended that politics had benefited the South but little.[21] The lesson of James A. Garfield's victory meant more spindles, more banks, more people employed. To the editors of *The News and Observer* it meant forsaking national politics, building factories, and promoting industrial education. "We must make money—it is a power in this practical business age."[22] Political quiet, the *New York Herald* editorialized, had taken the place of political turmoil, and industrial activity was superceding industrial stagnation.[23] Southern editors vehemently supported this view. The *Register* (Columbia, S. C.) declared: "If we have lost the victory on the field of fight we can win it back in the workshop, in the factory, in an improved agriculture and horticulture, in our mines and in our school houses."[24] The New Orleans *Times-Democrat* predicted the commercial and manufacturing "New South . . . will control the political and material affairs of the South."[25] The almost universally expressed conviction of southerners by 1882 was to leave national politics to others so as to give, as one traveler reported

[19] *Observer* (Raleigh), May 22, 1879, hereinafter cited *Observer; Greensboro Patriot*, July 18, 1877.
[20] Haygood, *The New South*, 15.
[21] *New York Herald*, July 8, 1881.
[22] *The News and Observer*, November 9, 11, 1880.
[23] *New York Herald*, June 7, 1881.
[24] Cited in Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (Baltimore, 1921), 90, hereinafter cited Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*.
[25] Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*, 91.

it, "all their strength to work, education, the development of natural resources, and the improvement of the condition of the laboring classes."[26]

The election of Grover Cleveland closed an era. "The Solid South is back in the Union," the *Daily Charlotte Observer* declared.[27] The political battle appeared to have been won on the farms and in the factories, and, although the South's candidate won, there was to be no respite from business, work, factory construction, and resources development. In Carl Schurz's appraisal that "the public mind may henceforth rest in the assurance that the period of the rebellion is indeed a thing of the past,"[28] there was general concurrence. "Former political issues," a historian afterwards wrote, "were to be relegated to oblivion with former methods of manufacture, of transportation, of business. . . ."[29] These elections, however, were the critical occasions which enabled the cotton mill crusaders to reveal their catechism. The admission of the Boston *Journal of Commerce* that a new era had commenced "which may be properly denominated the new and prosperous South,"[30] was not enough. There were other issues on which to make the North yield; such as, the establishment of a competitive textile industry in the South.

"The discussion of advantages of one section of the country over another, in the manufacture of cotton goods," a publicist observed, "had had the effect of developing interesting and instructive facts, from which there is much to be expected in stimulating renewed and extended efforts towards building up manufacturing industry."[31] Even when *De Bow's Commercial Review* served the interests of southern economic discourse, it was realized that the subject of cotton mills would require factual support. Subsequently it became a part of wisdom to learn how regional resources could be most profit-

[26] "Studies in the South," *Atlantic Monthly*, L (1882), 102.
[27] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, November 8, 13, 1884.
[28] Bancroft, *Carl Schurz*, IV, 399.
[29] Edwin E. Sparks, *National Developments, 1877-1885* (New York, 1907), 351.
[30] Cited in *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 15, 1881.
[31] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 7, 1878.

ably utilized.[32] Quick to perceive that the campaign to establish a textile industry was producing a permanently valuable regional inventory, the editors of the New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* remarked in 1876 that southerners were "accumulating ideas of economy, which, in the end, must inevitably not only lead to individual profit, but show to the world the wonderful capabilities of that richly favored section." [33] Writing in retrospect in 1896, Carroll D. Wright, whose administrative duties as statistician and labor economist brought him into intimate contact with industrial developments, recalled how the prospecting of the region had quietly led to the ascertainment of the stores of mineral wealth, and to the demonstration of the various openings for future commercial enterprise.[34]

What the cotton mill proposals lacked in documentary unity, they retrieved in volubility which the newspapers diligently fostered. The press urged industrialization upon those who had capital to invest. Economic surveys were sponsored, and every manufacturing project was joyfully hailed. Sometimes the editorial workers were praised for "working up a spirit of the enterprise which we long needed," as one admirer expressed his appreciation.[35] Frequently the press presented itself with accolades for participating promptly and eagerly in the vanguard of the cotton mill movement.[36] The editors liked to cast themselves in the role of inculcators of "not only the necessity, but the absolute duty we all owe to the State to encourage home enterprises. . . ." [37] The editor of the *Raleigh News* embodied in a letter to a mill owner in 1877 what was to become the chief function of the press in nourishing the spirit of investigation and enterprise. The letter

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[32] James D. B. De Bow, *The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States* (New Orleans, 3 vols., 1852), II, 114-115; *The News and Observer,* December 14, 1880; *Daily Charlotte Observer,* July 29, 1881.

[33] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXIII (1876), 270.

[34] Carroll D. Wright, "The New Industrial South," *Scientific American Supplement,* XLI (1896), 16918.

[35] Silas N. Martin, "Wilmington Cotton Mills," *Our Living and Our Dead,* III (1875), 644, hereinafter cited as Martin, "Wilmington Cotton Mills."

[36] *Greensboro Patriot,* July 18, 1877; *Daily Charlotte Observer,* December 1, 1881.

[37] *Greensboro Patriot,* May 21, 1873.

is a magnificent piece of the huckster's art before advertising became respectable. He proposed to insert in his newspaper a sketch of a factory. The information for such copy the honored owner was expected to supply and finance. His object was "to show the world what we are doing . . . and to give some idea of the water power of the State." [38]

When Robert Somers, an English journalist, traveled through the South in 1871 he remarked that "A very general desire is evinced in all parts of the country for the establishment of cotton factories." [39] He had before him concrete instances of enthusiasm translated into actual manufacturing enterprises. Although the number of cotton mills had fallen off between 1840 and 1870, capitalization had more than doubled, and totaled over eleven million dollars. Four years later one hundred and eighty-seven mills were operating over 480,000 spindles. By 1880 even the statistics seemed to effervesce; capitalization exceeded seventeen million dollars. The total number of spindles increased to over five-hundred thousand in spite of the total number of mills having declined.[40] The same census figures that first brought southern textile development to the attention of the nation persuaded the *New York Herald* that such progress suggested "the very important inquiry whether the South had not at last set out upon that course which in time must lead to the achievement of one of the great possibilities that nature put within its reach." [41]

As the paramont inducement to industrialization, the natural resources of the South had perennially constituted the leading argument of cotton mill campaigners. The proximity of the cotton fiber, the power of the Piedmont waterpower sites, the availability of lumber and minerals, the rural countryside with its inhabitants, and the climate were orchestrat-

[38] Johnstone Jones to Morgan-Malloy, May 11, 1877, Morgan-Malloy Correspondence, George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, hereinafter cited Morgan-Malloy Correspondence.

[39] Robert Somers, *The Southern States Since the War*, 1870-1871 (New York and London, 1871), 91, hereinafter cited as Somers, *Southern States*.

[40] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XIX (1874), 515; Edward Stanwood, "Cotton Manufactures," *Census Reports, ix, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900 Manufactures*, Part III (Washington, D. C., 1902), 54-59, hereinafter cited as Stanwood, "Cotton Manufactures."

[41] *New York Herald*, June 7, 1881.

ed over and over again for local and national audiences.[42] Not only did local publicists and governmental boards and commissions scour the region for material inducements and statistical documentation, but northerners willingly participated as did Alexander K. McClure when in 1886, after surveying the minerals, crops, climate, and water power of the Carolinas, he predicted "the momentous meaning of a New South, with sectional tranquility assured."[43] After 1880 inquiries from the North as well as business trips to the South by New England manufacturers were avidly announced. In the absence of business bureaus and industrial site engineers, the railroads issued pamphlets promoting the water power, agricultural production, mineral deposits, timberlands, and the ever-present cotton mills.[44]

The desire for cotton mills that Robert Somers observed in 1871 never waned. Ten years later Henry W. Grady wrote that "each factory established is an argument for others."[45] This happy contagion suggested to the editors of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* that if only a small percentage of the cotton mills ever came to fruitation "there is an almost unlimited number of projects which . . . will largely swell the number of southern cotton mills within the next few years."[46] Accomplishments and recognition that accompanied them, however, could never truly indicate the effort and imagination that went into the South's adventure in industrialization. "We may perhaps be on the eve of great changes," the North Carolina Press Association was told in 1881, "for if we do not originate them, many causes combine to draw

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[42] *Proceedings of Immigration Convention*, 29; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 3, March 21, April 13, 1877; N. Dumont (ed.), *Proceedings of the Convention of Northern Residents of the South* (Charlotte, N. C., 1879), 43-44, hereinafter cited as Dumont, *Proceedings;* Grady, "Cotton and Its Kingdom," 726-727, 731-732; G. F. Swain, "Report on the Water Power of the South Atlantic Watershed," *Reports on the Water Power of the United States*, Part I (Washington, D. C., 1885), *passim;* D. A. Tompkins, "Future of Cotton Manufacturing in the South," *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, 60:242; *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans, La.), hereinafter cited as *Times Democrat*, September 1, 1885.

[43] McClure, *The South*, 37.

[44] *The News and Observer*, January 5, 1881; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 29, 1881, April 7, 1886; *Manufacturers' Record*, VI (1884), 296; XXIII (1893), 398.

[45] Grady, "Cotton and Its Kingdom," 730.

[46] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXIX (September 9, 1899), 6.

southward the interests of the northern manufacturers." [47] But the task of originating the great changes required much more than local patriotism. "I tell you plainly," a champion of industrialization declared from the rostrum, "that we may talk ourselves blind about our natural resources . . . as long as we do not improve our opportunities ourselves." [48]

The awakening of the South to the possibilities of economic overhaul and innovation through industrialization eventuated in the financing, constructing, and operating of cotton mills with a verve that only faith can import to a secular movement. A witness to the cotton mill movement recalled how conviction over-came the timidity that a frank canvass of economic facilities might have prompted.[49] In an analysis of the textile industry for the United States census, Edward Stanwood pointed out that "more mills have been erected which their projectors would not have erected had they studied the matter carefully before entering upon the experiment." [50] It is not, however, the certainty of success, but its possibility, that maintains adventure. A meticulous inquiry would have dampened the enthusiasm of civic benefactors and businessmen. When the small cotton mill was financed and constructed with civic, welfare, and pecuniary considerations uppermost in the thoughts and plans of promoters adventure rather than rational planning were the order of the day. "The cotton mill was looked upon as a dynamo to effect changes in all departments of life in a community," [51] a participant reminisced. Those who sometimes had only caution to offer actually came empty-handed.

There was something irresistible about a cotton factory. In 1883 a representative of the Bibb Manufacturing Company of Macon, Georgia, regarded the wildcat erection of cotton mills unfavorably. "Makeshift industrial organization

[47] *Daily Charlotte Observer,* July 13, 1881.
[48] *Daily Charlotte Observer,* May 7, 1879. Also see the *Observer,* April 13, 1879; *Manufacturers' Record,* XXXI (1897), 333.
[49] Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills,* 129.
[50] Stanwood, "Cotton Manufactures," 29.
[51] Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills,* 130.

predicated upon the advantages of the South over the North have cut profits and broken the spell of the advantages."[52] But it was apparently too early to talk of breaking the spell, or of following advice to avoid building small mills in every local community. "This country is getting so full of mills," a manufacturer complained in 1892, "as to keep cotton beyond any reasonable shipping price." He charged that his competitors were foolishly reckless in "'grabbing' all the cotton in sight," so that the cotton market ceased to be a cheap source for raw materials.[53] However, there was scarcely a town that could not accumulate $50,000 to $100,000 for a cotton factory. The association of farmers, merchants, bankers, and professional men with cotton mill projects lent an aura of confidence and prestige to speculative enterprises.[54] The editor of the *Laurinburg Exchange* (N. C.) wrote to a textile manufacturer in 1891:

> We are making an earnest effort to get up a cotton factory here and want to get all good men into it we can. I know of no man I had rather would take some stock in it than yourself. Your experience enables you to know whether or not there's money in the business. Of course I have no idea a factory here would hurt your business, as there is room for more factories in this country. We want the benefit of your capacity and experience, and let me hope to hear from you taking some stock in this attempted enterprise.[55]

After the turn of the century the realization that southern mills were competing against each other tended to restrain impetuosity, and mills were no longer constructed merely for the sake of having them. But before that was to happen the invention of financial plans became the necessary invocation for a successful enterprise.

[52] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, January 21, 1883.

[53] Schenck Letter Book, October 4, October 13, November 22, 1892, George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University, hereinafter cited as Schenck Letter Book; *Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.), November 14, 1881, hereinafter cited as *Atlanta Constitution; Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XLI (1885), 293.

[54] *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVIII (1895), 36; Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*, 131; *News and Courier* (Charleston, S. C.), April 5, 1883, hereinafter cited as *News and Courier; Savannah Morning News* (Georgia), cited in *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 9, 1884.

[55] J. D. Bundy to Morgan-Malloy, April 16, 1891, Morgan-Malloy Correspondence.

The heralding of cotton mill projects was accompanied by no lack of insistence on public support as instanced in proposals for tax exemption legislation to encourage the launching of new industrial enterprises.[56] Legislative support was not, however, the only hinge on which the search for factory sites was considered to turn. Other inducements of a public nature were enlisted, especially the ability of a community to present itself attractively to prospective investors. The vicinity of Jamestown on the Deep River in North Carolina was advertised in 1871 as equipped with water power, railroad facilities, cheap labor, salubrious climate, and a textile mill. Guilford County in the same state was described as "always remarkably free from infectious diseases" and already attracting the attention of investors.[57] The criteria for selecting a factory site multiplied to the extent that a local railroad, an increasing population, natural resources, churches and schools, and existing cotton mills became standard features in the publicity of rural communities bent on attracting industries.[58]

The boundaries of cotton mill construction were, nevertheless, still remote in 1900. Joseph B. Killebrew, who was now an immigration agent for the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroad, requested at that time a book "that will give the most information to persons . . . who may desire to erect cotton factories." He wanted any book that Daniel A. Tompkins, who had acquired a reputation as an engineer and mill architect, had written which would help to answer industrial inquiries involving investments up to $500,000.[59] But the epitomy of such enthusiasm was reported by George Gunton, a labor editor and social economist, after he was mistaken for a prospective investor looking for a site on which to build a mill. The man in error insisted, Gunton reported, "I should

[56] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, October 10, 1873, June 29, 1879; *Greensboro Patriot*, January 31, 1877; *Observer*, February 16, 1879; *The News and Observer*, February 15, 1881; *Manufacturers' Record*, VI (1884), 106.

[57] *Greensboro Patriot*, August 24, 1871, July 2, 1873.

[58] *Observer*, July 26, September 12, 1877; Dumont, *Proceedings*, 83; *Manufacturers' Record*, IX (1886), 325; XVI (1889), 15.

[59] J. B. Killebrew to D. A. Tompkins, April 2, 1900, Daniel A. Tompkins Correspondence, folio 19, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

go to his town and he would raise fifty thousand dollars and the town would give ten years exemption from taxes, and if need be the land to build the factory on. . . ." [60]

Sometimes the initiative was taken by individuals or small groups of investors. The Pacolet Manufacturing Company in South Carolina was organized in 1883 with a Spartanburg businessman, a millowner, and a Rhode Island textile specialist associated in the initial capital subscription which the community was urged to regard as safe for lesser investors.[61] The Newberry Cotton Manufacturing Company grew out of a canvass of the local community, a subscription to the capital stock by a northern investor, credit for the purchase of machinery extended by a northern manufacturer, and the promise of additional machinery from a neighboring cotton mill in exchange for capital stock in the new enterprise.[62] Occasionally the organizers hailed the launching of their own enterprises as was the case when J. M. Odell and J. W. Cannon issued the laconic message announcing the founding of the Cannon Manufacturing Company: "Capital stock is $75,000, with the privilege of increasing same to $400,000. We will manufacture cotton warps. Capacity 4,000 spindles, and will commence work on building at once." [63] Anxious to have a cotton factory built in their vicinity, the citizens of Sanford, North Carolina, agreed to subscribe as much as $125,000 if they could get "a man or set of men that understand the business to furnish the balance of capital and run the business." [64]

The financial convenience and the popular connotations derived from bringing the local citizenry into a cotton mill project had been detected in 1873 by an alert editor who saw in charitable orders, trade unions, the Patrons of Husbandry, and similar voluntary associations the analogy and principle for organizing cotton mills. "No scheme can be successfully inaugurated and carried through without organi-

[60] George Gunton, "Factory Conditions in the South," *Lecture Bulletin of the Institute of Social Economics*, III (1900), 345-346.
[61] *News and Courier*, April 5, 1883.
[62] *News and Courier*, May 1, 1883.
[63] *Manufacturers' Record*, XII (1887), 192.
[64] *Manufacturers' Record*, XII (1887), 426.

zation of some sort," he wrote, and then proceeded to wonder why organizations could not be established for the purpose of encouraging and building up local industries.[65] "One thing that retards the development of the manufacturing interests of many places," the *Savannah Morning News* reasoned, "is a want of appreciation of the value and power of cooperation and the inauguration of manufacturing enterprises by many small stockholders."[66] Although the varieties of organizing strategy were numerous,[67] in so many cases they embraced the conviction that cotton mills constituted engines of progress and virtue. A letter to a textile manufacturer stated,

> Your presence here is earnestly solicited on Saturday next to confer with our people who are making a strong effort to establish a Cotton Mill at this place. . . . Our people are in earnest and are subscribing liberally. And we hope to organize as soon as a good number of shares is subscribed. *Come over* and you can do us a great amount of good. Your views as a practical man are earnestly solicited.[68]

The rallying of the small investors through installment purchase of mill securities conferred on the corporation the badge of civic virtue. This came about as the idea spread that investments in cotton mills could be paid for in small weekly or monthly installments. "Heretofore small investors," the prospectus for a Virginia cotton mill claimed, "have not generally been able to share in the large profits made by cotton mills."[69] In addition to encouraging habits of thrift and the accumulation of investment capital, "The money of the operative," an editor virtuously observed, "is thus by indirection invested in the very industry which offered the work to the laboring classes."[70] No one was unqualified to enter the ranks of the business community. Next to commercial integrity

[65] *Greensboro Patriot*, May 28, 1873.
[66] Cited in *Daily Charlotte Observer*, July 9, 1885.
[67] See *Daily Charlotte Observer*, May 1, 2, 6, 1877; *Carolina Watchman* (Salisbury), December 10, 1885, hereinafter cited as *Carolina Watchman; The News and Observer*, December 17, 1880, January 5, 1881; *Manufacturers' Record*, V (1884), 315.
[68] H. M. Millan to Mark Malloy, October 26, 1892, Morgan-Malloy Correspondence.
[69] *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVIII (1895), 22.
[70] *The News and Observer*, May 13, 1881; C. B. Spahr, "The New Factory Towns of the South," *Outlook*, LXI (1899), 516.

mutual support and co-operation were considered vital to the development of a community. Whatever plan a community decided to select, the principle behind the effort usually acquired the respectability co-operation and association could impart. The method of paying for subscriptions through small assessments secured the building of cotton mills at locations where they could not otherwise, from lack of capital, have been started. The novelty of the savings technique, the wide base of ownership, and the opportunity for partial operations until the subscription was fully taken, recommended the co-operative savings plans. Yet, the most worthy recommendation resided in the belief that capital could be amassed without dispatching a committee to the North to beg for subscriptions.[71]

The task of launching a factory enterprise almost immediately acquired a redemptionary justification. The fusion of community welfare and associative effort became a rallying point for the boosters of industrialization who could, in addition to natural resources, freight savings, labor supply, and climate, point to a congenial citizenry. "Home people are better off," Daniel A. Tompkins argued, "for being put into a position of proprietors."[72] He transformed the gospel of economic independence and industrial development into an immediately attainable goal by popularizing the idea of community savings. Between 1892 and 1896 he elaborated a plan to demonstrate the fact that any ordinary town had within itself the resources to establish a cotton factory.[73] Where accumulated capital is scanty, he believed, outside capital will be reluctant to enter. Only systematic savings could create a precedent for industrialization. "The South is full of towns in which the subject of manufacturing is being agitated where the only idea is to get somebody from somewhere else

[71] *Manufacturers' Record,* XXVIII (1895), 22; XXIX (1896), 105; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* LXXI (September 8, 1900), 6-7.

[72] *Manufacturers' Record,* XXIX (February 7, 1896), 21.

[73] D. A. Tompkins, "Capital for New Cotton Factories," *Manufacturers' Record,* XXI (1892), 8; "Easy Way to Build a Cotton Factory", *Manufacturers' Record,* XXII (1892), 254; *A Plan to Raise Capital for Manufacturing* (New York, 1894), hereinafter cited as Tompkins, *A Plan to Raise Capital;* "Cooperative Cotton Mills," *Manufacturers' Record,* XXVII (1895), 51.

to come to the town to build a factory," he complained.[74] Tompkins had heard too much about climate which was no substitute for capital, knowledge, and adventure. It remained for local people to establish the conditions that would beckon to more substantial capital resources and to more experienced management. The double idea of spreading industrial proprietorship widely through the community and creating capital resources at home through savings plans was the message he brought to inspired communities. Others relayed comparable messages far and wide. From Mississippi in 1897 came the promise that "If citizens of every community that desires a factory would get together and effect a proper organization . . . they could easily succeed."[75] This was repeatedly proclaimed, and no one ever seemed to tire of hearing it again.

The straw men of the cotton mill crusaders were the "outsiders," the "Northern Capitalists," and the "New England Manufacturers." At times they were viewed as indispensable to industrialization; at other times they were discouraged from venturing their capital. No inspirational idea, however, was ever nurtured in an environment uncomplicated by contradictions. The believers, at least, liked to imagine that they were doing the job themselves, as in many cases they did. But one of the firmest articles of faith was to get the investor to want to risk his money before anyone formally solicited him. Once the profitableness of manufacturing cotton textiles was discovered, the imminent transfer of the New England textile industry was alternately predicted and demanded.[76] Yet, long before southerners recognized that in the sources of investment capital resided one of the chief means of industrial development, northern tourists had expressed similar ideas.

"The southern masses cannot but be stimulated," William E. Dodge prophesied in 1865, "by contact with the enterprise of the East and North which now will naturally be attracted

[74] Tompkins, *A Plan to Raise Capital*, 3.
[75] *Manufacturers' Record*, XXXI (1897), 333.
[76] *Manufacturers' Record*, V (1884), 683; XXVII (1895), 54; *Greensboro Patriot*, May 28, September 17, 1873; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, December 16, 1881.

to the South.[77] The following year, before a Philadelphia audience, William D. Kelley, the Pennsylvania abolitionist, politician and lecturer, prescribed subsoil ploughs, steam engines, and manufacturing machinery for the regeneration of the South.[78] Whitelaw Reid believed that the openings which the South presented for northern capital and industry were unsurpassed.[79] Not only was the South ripe for new business enterprises, but Sidney Andrews reported to northern newspapers from the scene that he had heard "much expression of a desire for an influx of Northern energy and Northern capital," [80] which John T. Trowbridge confirmed after his tour.[81] In 1876 John C. Reed, a southerner, gave credence to tourist opinion by reiterating earlier claims that northern investors constituted "the most powerful agency in introducing the much-needed higher type of industrial organization." [82] But these predictions failed to materialize. The final estimate of the situation, however, came from Rutherford B. Hayes. He wrote in his Acceptance Letter to the Republican National Convention,

> The welfare of the South depends upon the attractions it can offer to labor and immigration and to capital, but laborers will not go and capital will not be invested when the constitution and the laws are set in defiance, and distraction, apprehension and alarm take the place of peace-loving and law-abiding social life.[83]

Ironically it was the very success of his candidacy that impelled so many to undertake the industrial development of the South themselves.

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[77] William E. Dodge, *The Influence of the War on Our National Prosperity* (New York, 1865), 29.

[78] William D. Kelley, *Speeches, Addresses and Letters on Industrial and Financial Questions* (Philadelphia, 1872), 182, hereinafter cited as Kelley, *Speeches and Addresses.*

[79] Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour* (Cincinnati, 1866), 578.

[80] Sidney Andrews, *The South Since the War* (Boston, 1866), 320.

[81] John T. Trowbridge, *The South: A Tour of Its Battlefields and Ruined Cities, A Journey Through the Desolated States and Talks with the People* (Hartford, Conn., 1866), 583.

[82] Reed, *Old and New South,* 21.

[83] *Daily Times* (Columbus, Ga.), July 13, 1876.

Occasionally a cautious invitation was issued to northern capitalists, as in 1869 when the Alabama Commission of Industrial Resources, after reviewing the inducements for industries, pointed to the influx of investment capital as a worthy objective in any manufacturing campaign.[84] A New England manufacturer, who had joined a South Carolina mill, observed in 1880 that if "Northern capitalists only thoroughly understood the condition of affairs here, a great deal of capital would be invested in this State." [85] The Georgia Commissioner of Land and Immigration, without extending a persuasive invitation, identified the lack of capital as the major obstacle to the utilization of the inducements for a local factory economy.[86] The local publicists and the tourists often vied with each other to advertise the South as an investors paradise or to announce that outside capital was already appearing. When Carl Schurz returned from his tour he confirmed the lively desire to excite interest in industrial development and to attract northern capital, enterprise, and immigration.[87]

But the prophesy that the surplus capital and industry of the North would become inseparably interwoven with the "New South" grew stale. The managers of industrialization had already discovered local means of capital accumulation and investment. Although northern capital did eventually find its way into southern industries through the participation in financial schemes of commission merchants, machinery manufacturers, and New England cotton mill owners, the very availability of local funds served the propagandistic tactics of the cotton mill publicists. Enthusiasm is not, however, a statistical phenomenon. The idea of a cotton textile industry was just as strong an incentive to industrialization as the precise source of the investment capital. The patience and stamina of the campaigners, nevertheless, seemed inex-

[84] Alabama Commissioner of Industrial Resources, *A Few Remarks About Her Resources, and the Advantages She Possesses as Inducements to Immigration* (Montgomery, 1869), 8-9.

[85] J. K. Blackman, *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina, Their Names, Locations, Capacity and History* (Charleston, 1880), 14, hereinafter cited as Blackman, *Cotton Mills.*

[86] *New York Tribune,* June 13, 1881.

[87] Bancroft, *Carl Schurz,* IV, 379.

haustible. As inquiries with a view to locating factories were recorded, it remained necessary to believe "that capital will come South at no distant day to seek investment." [88]

Another article of faith was to anathematize northern capital. In 1873 the *Daily Sun* (Columbus, Ga.) reported how the capital for a local factory was raised in the immediate vicinity and how local money and brains were restoring the ruins of the war.[89] Several years later another editor charged: "We have gotten on without the confidence and capital of the North until we almost know how to live without it." [90] A chamber of commerce orator warned his audience that "With all our natural advantages, we shall continue to be the overseers and agents of others" as long as factories languish for want of capital which will be long in coming "unless we first begin by helping ourselves." [91] The weighing of the advisability of inviting outside capital was less a sign of hesitancy than a monologue on who should perform the feat of industrial development first. The promoters of manufacturing industries did not disparage northern capital. They merely wanted to demonstrate that cotton mills could be successfully organized and managed by home folks. "We simply want to advertize to the world," the *Atlanta Constitution* editorialized, "that Atlantans have the fullest confidence in Atlanta, and that we ask no man to put his money where we have been afraid to risk our own." [92] The gyrations of local patriotism seemed never to become uncoiled, for in 1897 one could still hear that "If the Southern people want factories among them, the quickest and surest way to get them is to go to work and build them ourselves, and show to the world that we are not dependent on anybody for anything." [93]

The response of New Englanders had been anticipated as something delicious. The Boston *Journal of Commerce* bowed gracefully to the fact "that there is no better field today for the investment of capital than is offered by cotton mills in

[88] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, June 9, 1881, April 7, 1884.
[89] Cited in *Greensboro Patriot*, September 12, 1873.
[90] *Observer*, February 9, 1878.
[91] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, April 6, 1879.
[92] Cited in *Daily Charlotte Observer*, March 7, 1882.
[93] *Manufacturers' Record*, XXXI (1897), 333.

the South."[94] Chiming in, the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* reported that during several years preceding 1896 "A feature of the development of cotton manufacturing in the South . . . has been the prominence therein of New England millowners."[95] The movement of investment capital into southern mills further stimulated the local promoters to a greater realization that the opportunities in their vicinity would eventually turn the pending competition with the New England textile industry into a rout.

"It is the North which the South has always in view when it sighs for more and more cotton factories,"[96] an English traveler remarked after a sojourn in Georgia during 1870. Adulation for thrift, work, and enterprise often reminded the advocates of industry of the happy side of New England civilization. But, if advice were ever to mean anything, the terms laid down by William D. Kelley that "the South must be regenerated, and we of the North must do it,"[97] were very unlikely to win approval. The factories, schools, and businesses of New England suggested instead models southerners were implored not to feel ashamed to imitate. Benjamin H. Hill idealized the Puritan virtues and advised his people, in defense of his Athens speech, to do the many things "which these very derided Northern people have done."[98] For the editor of *The News and Observer*, the maxim "Learn from the enemy," justified the study of New England savings banks. In a more humorous mood, Henry Watterson wrote:

> If proselytism be the supremest joy of mankind, New England ought to be supremely happy. It is at length the aim of the Southron to out-Yankee the Yankee, to cut all the edges, and repair his losses by the successful emulation of Yankee thrift.[99]

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[94] Cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVIII (1895), 166.
[95] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXIII (1896), 935-936.
[96] Somers, *Southern States*, 91.
[97] Kelley, *Speeches and Addresses*, 183.
[98] B. J. Hill, Jr., *Senator Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia: His Life, Speeches, and Writings* (Atlanta, 1893), 333, 343.
[99] *The News and Observer*, January 5, 1881; Henry Watterson, "Oddities of Southern Life," *Scribner's Magazine*, XXIII (1882), 895.

Against the voices of moderation, however, were arrayed the excited voices of hostility. They spoke of dictating to the markets of the world, and forever terminating contributions "to the enrichment of hostile sections."[100]

Future industrial prominence was measured in 1870 by the extent to which New England manufacturers dismantled their mills and either migrated or engaged in other branches of manufacturing. The report of the Saluda Cotton Mills in South Carolina enumerated the proximity of cotton, tractable labor, and a local demand for yarns and sheeting as detrimental to established manufacturers in the North. To this was added the claim that wage rates, living costs, a shorter working year, and the expense of shipping raw cotton to New England were depressing northern mills rather than any contraction in the flow of risk capital following the Panic of 1873.[101] The South was also described as a refuge from "those disruptions of social order which unfortunately threaten to be a source of perpetual danger" in New England.[102] And the prospectus for a cotton mill in Wilmington, North Carolina, suggested that the absence of "society combinations" such as breed discontent and turbulence among millhands, would transform distant competitors into collaborators in industrial development.[103] Lay-offs, reduced production, wage cuts, and the threats of strikes in Fall River in 1878 contributed additional ammunition to fire in the industrial competition between the sections. A survey of American industrial development expressed at the time the folly of ignoring the anxiety felt on the subject of the possible dismantlement of factories manufacturing coarse cotton goods in New England.[104] The fact that New England mills were mature, commercially experienced, securely financed, but nevertheless plagued by large inventories, falling prices, and restless operatives,

[100] *Greensboro Patriot*, September 17, 1873.

[101] *Greensboro Patriot*, February 26, 1873, October 28, 1874, January 6, 1875; *North Carolina Handbook* (Raleigh, 1879), 157.

[102] "It will be many years before the discouraging elements that have reached such ascendancy in the North obtain any potency in the South." *Daily Charlotte Observer*, February 24, 1885; *North Carolina Handbook*, 160.

[103] Martin, "Wilmington Cotton Mills," 644.

[104] *New York Herald*, May 12, 1878.

further documented the case for the South eclipsing all competitors. Textile analysts, nevertheless, warned against a premature belief in the industrial growth of the South immediately contributing to decadence elsewhere. The future eminence of the southern textile industry was not doubted, but it was difficult to imagine the New England mills becoming branch offices.[105]

The yearly tabulation of new mills became a difficult chore. There were periodic resumptions of building projects, expansions of established mills, and the starting up of mills that seemed to be dead. But always there was a net increase in the number of mills in operation. By the end of the century there were over four-hundred mills housing more than four million spindles and over one-hundred thousand looms.[106] Edward Atkinson, who certainly was never indifferent about southern industrialization, came quite close in his review of the Census of 1880 to making a correct prediction about the course of industrial development. His appraisal revealed the prevailing outlook of his time which may not have accounted for what happened, but which certainly justified men believing in what they were doing. "If the future changes in population, wealth, and conditions of the different sections of the country," he wrote, "shall in the future cause the increase of spindles . . . it will simply be the greater evidence that *natural laws* are paramount."[107] There was never any hesitancy about appropriating the doctrine of the laws of nature which were then being extended to account for biological and social evolution.[108] But the logic of such reasoning required someone to qualify for extinction, and the unfit vehemently protested against their candidacy. The Rhode Island Judiciary Committee listened in 1885 to a complaint that

[105] *Observer*, May 21, 1879; *Daily Charlotte Observer*, January 6, 1884; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXIX (1884), 284; XLI (1885), 293.

[106] Stanwood, "Cotton Manufactures," 54-59; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LXXI (September 8, 1900), 7.

[107] Edward Atkinson, "Report on the Cotton Manufactures of the United States," *Report on the Manufactures of the United States at the Tenth Census* (Washington, D. C., 1883), 12.

[108] ". . . natural immutable laws seem to have forever fixed the Piedmont belt as the one pre-eminently fit section for the manufacture of cotton goods." Albert Phenis in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXXI (1897), 5.

"The number of spindles has been greatly increased during the past two years—especially in the South, with only one object . . . to beat the Northern mills."[109] Some northern manufacturers thought it might be prudent for southerners to begin with the manufacture of shoes or some other commodity. At one time Edward Atkinson proposed the advisability of establishing a marmalade industry as preferable to textiles.[110]

On numerous occasions between 1879 and 1898 Edward Atkinson insisted that it would be more to the advantage of the South to improve the handling of cotton than to engage in the manufacture of textiles. He was convinced that the South lacked the capital, machinery, and trained labor necessary for an industry in which mechanization is worth more than tractable labor, depression a test of management, and the margin of profit small in comparison with the initial investment.[111] In 1880 he proposed an exhibition devoted to tools, methods, products, and processes related to the production and use of cotton. His proposal materialized in the Atlanta International Cotton Exposition, the first of a series in southern industrial showmanship, which had already been proposed by the Mississippi Valley Cotton Planter's Association. As far as Atkinson was concerned, the primary objective of the Exposition was to bring into common knowledge and use the various machines and tools for the cultivation and preparation of cotton prior to its being sold or spun.[112] But the Exposition involved the much larger idea of wiping out, as its Director claimed, "all the remains of sectionalism, and in opening up a knowledge of the South to capital, labor, invention, and commerce."[113] The Exposition turned out to

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[109] *Manufacturers' Record,* VII (1885), 105.

[110] "Studies in the South," *Atlantic Monthly,* XLIX (1882), 746; E. Atkinson, "Future Situs of the Cotton Manufacture of the United States," *Popular Science Monthly,* XXXVI (1890), 306.

[111] *Atlanta Constitution,* November 4, 1881; *New York Tribune,* May 30, 1881.

[112] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXXI (1880), 25; *New York Herald,* August 18, 1880; H. I. Kimball, *International Cotton Exposition. Report of the Director-General* (New York, 1882), 227-228, hereinafter cited as Kimball, *International Cotton Exposition;* E. Atkinson to H. B. Loring, August 6, 1881, *New York Herald,* August 13, 1881.

[113] Kimball, *International Cotton Exposition,* 139.

be a preview of the industrial potentialities of the South. It drew from every part of the country thousands of visitors. They were already indoctrinated with the idea that agricultural specimens and machinery were glamorous spectacles to behold in the midst of fountains and ferns. In spite of the general applause and the rich prognostications in favor of the South, Atkinson adhered to his first thoughts. In 1893 he wrote that the South needed fewer cotton mill booms and the planting of more legumes.[114]

The New England Cotton Manufacturers' Committee was fully aware of everything the Exposition symbolized, but in the use of agricultural, mineral, and timber resources they found the promise of a vastly greater number of customers for their industrial output than they expected to find competitors in textile manufacturing.[115] Carroll D. Wright stated the matter quite frankly before the Norfolk Club. He foresaw New England industries becoming the beneficiaries of a rapid industrial development in the South. But before New England could profitably participate in the exploitation of southern economic wealth some modifications in the quality of textile production would need to occur in factories with antiquated machinery.[116] Edward Atkinson thought that the steady enlargement of spinning and weaving facilities in New England should dispel the belief that there was any fear of upstarts elsewhere.[117] Nevertheless, the eventual supremacy of the South in coarse yarns and fabrics was already being granted by observers and being seized by investors. "New England is now being forced to witness," the Chicago *Independent World* admitted, "the not very encouraging spectacle presented by her migrating factories." [118] Industrial prospecting commenced quite actively after 1880 with the result that many visitors negotiated to transfer production. The Southern Cotton Manufacturers' Association announced in 1883 that cotton mills were so well established that the region con-

[114] *Manufacturers' Record*, XXIII (1893), 337.
[115] Kimball, *International Cotton Exposition*, 183.
[116] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, January 25, 1886.
[117] *New York Tribune*, May 30, 1881; H. F. Williamson, *Edward Atkinson: The Biography of an American Liberal* (Boston, 1934), 172-173.
[118] Cited in *Greensboro Patriot*, April 6, 1883.

trolled the market for coarse cotton goods and regulated prices even in New England. Not only did the publicists talk themselves into believing in their own pre-eminence, but they were always warning their rivals that the New England textile industry would momentarily move to the South.[119] "New England mills will be forced," the *New York Herald* observed, "to surrender to the South the manufacture of coarse cotton goods . . . and bend their attention to fine fabrics which require more skilled labor.[120] And a southern periodical, as if to make the triumph complete, announced the impending transfer not only of textile, but iron, wood, and leather industries too.[121]

Richard H. Edmonds, who has served as editor and speaker in the cause of southern industrialization with distinction, tried to persuade the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association in 1895 that it would be far better to foster the migration of the textile industry than to remain where they were as unequal competitors.[122] It was believed that what was just a skirmish over coarse cotton goods would become a rout whenever the New England competitors could be forced to shift the regional base of their operations. The Boston *Manufacturers' Gazette* was willing to comply. It proposed abandoning the coarse goods trade, replacing obsolete machinery with improved equipment suitable to making fabrics not influenced by southern competition, and exporting the cast-off machinery to the South. "This building of cotton mills in the South", the commentator wrote, "by existing corporations in this State is a movement of relief from Southern competition. . . ."[123] By the end of the century all the early predictions were exceeded. The textile industry in

[119] *Daily Charlotte Observer*, December 23, 1881, October 31, 1883, November 17, 1883, January 11, 1885; *Observer*, May 17, 1878; *The News and Observer*, January 5, 1881; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LX (1895), 501.

[120] *New York Herald*, March 28, 1883.

[121] *Industrial South* cited in *Greensboro Patriot*, April 6, 1883.

[122] R. H. Edmonds, "Cotton Manufacturing Interests of the South," *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, Vol. 59:196-197.

[123] Cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 23. "Our own opinion has been and is that Northern manufacturers stay at home because they are free from Southern competition. . . ." *Observer*, April 13, 1879.

the United States witnessed a shift in regional location, a mechanical overhaul, a heavy influx of investment capital, a widening of domestic and foreign markets, and rapid alterations in consumer fashions. The alarm felt in the North that southern competition would become so strong and assertive as to endanger the stability and future prospects of the cotton industry in that section was protracted and made tantalizing as the rivalry was periodically intensified by business depressions.

The languishing of the New England cotton mills in 1870 was interpreted to mean the possible immunity of the same industry in the South to depression.[124] But the textile industry was largely an idea then and negligible in the economy of cotton manufacturing in the United States. Nevertheless, between 1870 and 1873 the consumption of baled cotton increased almost twenty-five million pounds, and it was reported that cotton manufacturing had passed beyond the point of experiment.[125] When financial derangements elsewhere were producing a decrease in the consumption of cotton many mills in the South were making profits. "In the South," the annual review of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* for 1876-1877 pointed out, "manufacturing business has . . . been rather more satisfactory than in the North. . . . That section just now presents a more hopeful condition than any other portion of the country."[126] At the Atlanta Cotton Exposition the fact that the South came through the Panic of 1873 and its aftermath unscathed seemed proper information to disseminate among inquisitive visitors.[127]

The chief disturbance to industrial stability in the South came from a redundancy of cotton mills, flimsily financed, amateurishly staffed, and competing with each other. When factories temporarily suspended production there were doubts about the possibility of recuperation and renewed

[124] *Proceedings of Immigration Convention*, 30.
[125] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XVII (1873), 346; XIX (1874), 287.
[126] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXV (1877), 251.
[127] Kimball, *International Cotton Exposition*, 222.

growth. But the doubters were often the very ones who had been taken in by extravagant statements to suppose that no depression however severe could ever affect the South. The shock of business contraction impressed upon some prospective investors the desirability of a good site, adequate machinery, and careful management. Unrestricted cotton mill building intermittently tended to break the spell of local advantages. Involved in this predicament were uninitiated managers overburdened with initial expenditures viewing business circumstances as favorable when no basis for such estimates existed.[128] In Atlanta depression was viewed as a blessing by producing a precarious situation which only a rationalization of production and management could surmount.[129] This relationship between depression and industrialization in an undeveloped region had been noticed by a manufacturer as early as 1873. He wrote:

> This will be a close year on Manufactures unless well managed . . . the eastern factorys are stopped or running on short time which will reduce the stock of goods on the market & cause a greater demand. . . . I have no hesitation in saying . . . that the present is a favorable time for manufacturers who have the means to run.[130]

The interplay of fluctuating cotton prices and southern competition kept the New England industry jittery. When cotton prices rose, the mills could not afford to produce at prevailing yarn and cloth prices; when the price of cotton fell, the southern manufacturers flooded the markets with finished goods. When many northern manufacturers were curtailing production in a state bordering on despair, stocks in the South were neither auctioned nor limited by produc-

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[128] *Manufacturers' Record,* VI (1884), 263; XXIII (1893), 197; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XXXIX (1884), 284; *Daily Charlotte Observer,* February 2, 1883 (statement by H. P. Hammett); January 21, 1883 (statement by J. F. Hanson); Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills,* 154.

[129] *Manufacturers' Record,* VI (1885), 779.

[130] E. M. Holt to J. W. White, October 27, October 30, 1873, James W. White Correspondence, George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University. Also see, M. F. Foster, "Southern Cotton Manufacturing," *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association,* Vol. 68: 168-169; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XLI (1885), 293; XLV (1887), 326.

tion curtailments, but sold at handsome profits. The depression shock absorbers were believed to be the panoply of advantages that had always been hawked as well as the inability of New England mills to abandon coarse cotton goods fast enough.[131] The vitality of the New England branch of the industry was never permanently diverted by contractions in business. Yet the old belief was supported once again in 1899 by the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* when it noted that southern "Growth during the time of business depression has been marvelous, and it is still at the full tide of development." [132]

So very much was expected of cotton mills. They were even expected to work a moral and material revolution in the lives of people who had not yet been introduced into the complexities of urban and industrial life. A cotton factory became "that long hoped for enterprise," as one promoter eulogized, "to which those who have at heart the welfare of the community so anxiously look forward." [133] The builders of cotton mills were sometimes characterized as public benefactors. The cotton mills were likened to a panacea for the rural poor. An employer reasoned:

> When by education the minds of the laboring people have been so trained that they can do a day's work in ten hours then it would be well to make a ten hours a day, but at present there are so many poor people living on farms or who, in other occupations, lead a very precarious life, it is time they ought to be allowed employment on any terms.[134]

There is a degree of exaggeration in the explanation that southern industrial pioneers carried their traditional plantation relations with labor into the cotton mills, and took for

[131] *Manufacturers' Record,* XVI (1889), 15-16; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* XLVII (1888), 308; XLIX (1889), 326; LI (1890), 327-328.
[132] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* LXIX (September 9, 1899), 6.
[133] *Daily Charlotte Observer,* May 29, 1879.
[134] *Seventh Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Raleigh, 1893), 67-68.

granted the old dependent and subservient status of labor.[135] It was a tenet of industrial psychology at the time that an employer was responsible for more than the means of subsistence of those he employed. "He holds," as Carroll D. Wright expressed the theory, "their moral well-being in his keeping."[136] Millowners were encouraged to provide mental and religious instruction on the grounds that "an investment in the affections of those employed is always as good as any money put in machinery. . . ."[137] At one factory in North Carolina workers who earned between forty and fifty cents a day sometimes were fined fifteen cents for "carelessness on work" or ten cents for "bad conduct."[138] Cotton mills were also expected to furnish, in addition to employment, the facilities for physical, mental and moral training. One mill superintendent thought that "Southern people peculiarly need the employment afforded by cotton manufacture," and another meliorist described mill work as beneficial for the intelligence of operatives who would always be "subject to elevating social influences" in a factory environment.[139] Instead of considering factories as economic organizations, the guardians of the millhands portrayed the factories as the shelters of a moral rescue society. The novelty of factories and the efforts to make factory employment genteel called for a benignancy that was not without precedence in the textile industry. Edwin de Leon's description of the life of

[135] See Elliott D. Smith, *Technology and Labor* (New Haven, 1939), 195; A. Berglund, and Others, *Labor in the Industrial South* (Charlottesville, Va., 1930), 19-20. There is a marked difference between plantation paternalism and industrial paternalism. Any perusal of the literature on industrial recruiting in the South during this period [See for example A. Kohn, *The Cotton Mills of South Carolina* (Columbia, S. C., 1907), 22-23] will suggest that entrepreneurs were inventing industrial labor practices that anticipated in so many ways (although the motivation was not the same) the job security and welfare benefits incorporated in subsequent principles of management.

[136] Carroll D. Wright, *Some Ethical Phases of the Labor Question* (Boston, 1903), 152.

[137] *First Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Raleigh, 1887), 140.

[138] Morgan-Malloy Cotton Mill, "Time Book, 1889-1890," George Washington Flowers Collection, Duke University.

[139] *Carolina Watchmen*, November 9, 1876; Henry V. Meigs quoted in de Leon, "The New South," 413; Henry V. Meigs to Editor, *New York Herald*, December 6, 1880; Blackman, *Cotton Mills*, 22-23.

cotton millhands revealed the meliorists' assumptions when he wrote:

> Their hours are usually from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., with an interval at mid-day of half an hour for dinner. Attached to some of the mills are residences for the operatives, but a majority of the instances they board themselves, thus avoiding some of the supposed demoralizing effects of colonization. Thus far it is certain that no moral miasma has been generated in the South by the introduction of this species of labor.[140]

Since the industry was introduced into an agrarian society at a time when farmers were hard pressed, cotton mill conditions were often considered better than those on the farms. "The hands we have are persons who failed to make a good living on the farm," was the simple story told by countless observers.[141] The decision to migrate to the factories was accompanied by numerous applications from families restive under the vicissitudes of farming. Their letters have all the poignancy of immigrant mail.

> I write you for to know if yould could give me a job. I have made by my mind to go to a cotton mill & would like to have a job with you as you have been recommended to me as a good place I am about 29 years old have a boy about 10 years old a girle that will soon be large enough to go in a mill.[142]

The South offered its population as the most treasured asset any people can possess in a cause so well intentioned. "Our operatives are admitted to be remarkably frugal, industrious, easily taught and controlled," an advertisement stated in 1870, "and we have an unemployed class of many thousands from which to draw in the future." [143] What recommended these people was that they worked for low wages, were tractable, never went on strike, and readily learned the

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[140] de Leon, "The New South," 414.

[141] *First Annual Report of North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics*, 91, 149; *Fourth Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Raleigh, 1890), 34; *Fifth Annual Report of the North Carolina Bureau of Labor Statistics* (Raleigh, 1891), 130, 171.

[142] Morgan-Malloy Correspondence, letter from George Wallace, November 27, 1889. There are many comparable letters scattered abundantly through the collection during the next ten years.

[143] *Proceedings of Immigration Convention*, 29.

routine of factory work. Sometimes a traveler added to the advertisement that the "poor whites" make industrious and faithful operatives. After they entered the factories, they were considered capable of acquiring the highest skill required in manufacturing cotton goods.[144] "They are docile," Richard H. Edmonds taunted a New England audience in the difficult year of 1895, "not given to strikes, and as a class are anxious to find work and willing to accept much lower wages than northern operatives."[145] Their backwardness in joining unions, demanding wage increases and reductions in hours, or supporting compulsory school attendance laws was viewed as a major source of advantage over older industrial sections as well as a leading target of criticism.[146] Textile circles charged that until labor conditions were equalized by regulatory legislation of child labor, hours, and working conditions, cotton manufacturing in the United States would be unbalanced in favor of the South.[147] This was corroborated by the reaction of a North Carolina manufacturer to the introduction of a Nine Hour Labor Law when he wrote:

> I guess the poor fellow wants to head off & stop northern capital which threatens to come south & build cotton mills in N. C. A sweet set these Solons of ours.[148]

It was the Southerners who were engrossed in the agitation for cotton mills; and outside attention, although periodically proffered, did not reach any significant peak until the last

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[144] Report of the Saluda Cotton Mills, *Greensboro Patriot*, February 26, 1873; *Observer*, February 6, 1878; Bancroft, *Carl Schurz*, IV, 377; *Manufacturers' Record*, XXIII (1893), 197.

[145] Edmonds, "Cotton Manufacturing Interests of the South," 199-200.

[146] W. C. Lovering to Labor Committee of the Massachusetts General Court, *Manufacturers' Record*, XXIII (1893), 292; *Boston Commercial Bulletin* cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 239.

[147] Statements by D. M. Thompson of Corliss Engine Co., *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 4; XXXI (1897), 219; *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, LIII (1891), 350.

[148] Schenck Letter Book, January 28, 1895. During the month of September, 1898, J. F. Schenck wrote the following in the Letter Book: "Providence can bestow no greater blessing upon our factory community than is already bestowed than to forever deliver them from the influence of labor agitators, and from the influence of all other agitators whose main object is to stir up dissatisfaction and prejudice." Also see, *Gunton's Magazine*, XXI (1901), 50; *American Federationist*, IX (1902), 19-20.

decade of the nineteenth century. A manufacturer reminisced in 1895:

> We felt no danger from the south until 1880. . . . In that year I called the attention of my stockholders to . . . the South. Then the cloud was no bigger than a man's hand. . . . In 1889 and again in 1891 I spoke of it to my stockholders; but since 1891 it has been useless to point it out, for everyone could see it.[149]

What they saw was the emergence of a new competitor unburdened with investments in out-moded machinery and uncommitted to friends and associates in non-automatic machinery manufacture. Southern mills were already abandoning the practice of buying cast-off machinery and were beginning to install automatic equipment that did not need the attention of craft or industrial conscious workers. Furthermore, they saw upstart competitors, unencumbered by regulatory industrial labor practices sanctioned by custom and law, flaunting an industrial reserve army of docile, dutiful, and native workers. A scissors movement was occurring in which New England manufacturers felt that southern employment practices and New England social legislation were cutting them to shreds.[150]

Investigating committees from legislatures, factories, trade associations, labor organizations, and social service societies agreed that climate, tax and freight rates, the proximity of cotton, coal and water resources, building costs, and a local labor supply all favored a vigorous textile industrialization.

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[149] Statement by Jefferson Coolidge cited by E. Porritt, "The Cotton Mills of the South," *New England Magazine*, XII (1895), 578, hereinafter cited as Porritt, "The Cotton Mills of the South." A southern interpretation was expressed at the time by R. H. Edmonds: "So long as the cotton manufacturing business of the South was handled exclusively by Southern people, it attracted only moderate attention throughout New England, but when several of the strongest cotton mill companies of Massachusetts decided that it was necessary to build large mills in the South in order to hold their trade, cotton mill investors throughout New England commenced to study the advantages of the South for this industry." Latham, Alexander and Co., *Cotton Movements and Fluctuations*, 1890-1895, XXII (1895), 45. See above, note 123.

[150] Report on Southern tour of the Arkwright Club, *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 179-180; *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association*, Vol. 63, 384-385; *Report of the Committee on Southern Competition of the Arkwright Club* (Boston, 1897), 3-5; Thomas T. Smith, *The Cotton Textile Industry of Fall River, Massachusetts* (New York, 1944), 86-103.

They also discovered that the new automatic machinery required less experienced workers, who incidently worked longer hours in factories, where two and three shifts prevailed, for wages that were lower than prevailing rates in New England. Trade unions and the use of the strike had little precedent in the South and the occurrence of such practices was scanty and infrequent. Policies regulating hours, employment of women and children, night work, and school attendance, that were current in New England, were either absent or somewhere in the remote future.[151]

The calculated approval that came from the Arkwright Club and its member manufacturing concerns slighted the entire edifice upon which the textile industry had been built in the South. It was to the millhands and the legislatures of the South that the out-maneuvered manufacturers attributed their plight. At home they threatened to equalize conditions themselves in their own factories. They tried to persuade their legislatures to amend regulatory labor laws. Many petitioned legislatures for increases in capitalization with a view to opening branch plants in the South. They damned the trade unions, while their competitors prodded them on with the cry: "We have no labor agitators." So real did the exodus of cotton mills from New England become that the only escape seemed to lie in the encouragement of trade unions in the South or the enactment of national labor legislation in order to establish equality between the sections.[152] In the midst of all this furore perhaps Daniel E. Tompkins best represented southern reaction to the final triumph against the New England giants. He wrote:

> Southern towns that want mills should reflect upon the fact that the advantages of the South have been proven by Southern mills built with Southern money by Southern men . . . I don't want

[151] *Times-Democrat*, September 1, 1885; Porritt, "The Cotton Mills of the South," 575-576; W. C. Lovering, "Report to the New England Textile Club," *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVI (1895), 392-393.

[152] *Post* (New York), cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 131; *Daily Citizen* (Lowell, Mass.) cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXIX (1896), 178; *Arkwright Club Report*, 5-6; *Boston Advertiser* cited in *Manufacturers' Record*, XXVII (1895), 33; *Congressional Record*, (55 Cong., 2 Sess.), XXI, pt. i, 806-807.

to see any advantages that we have developed in our system of manufacture destroyed by the transplanting of New England mills, ideas, organizations, etc., bodily to the South.[153]

But in some quarters the process of mill building, spindle and loom installation, and labor recruitment was expected to precipitate a labor shortage and a rise in wage rates. It was also difficult to imagine the permanent postponement of unionization. The ascendance of social legislation throughout the nation was not expected to be indefinitely resisted in the South. With such assurances, the feeling prevailed in New England that, however immediately serious the southern contentions concerning its human resources appeared, or how vociferously local manufacturers rationalized the place of southern millhands in their liquidation, the peculiar sectional arrangements that made these human resources weapons in the hands of southern businessmen could never remain permanent fixtures in the industry.[154] For some it was comforting to look forward to statutory hours of work, labor shortages, and trade unions, but as one Massachusetts manufacturer complained: "What do I care if between the time legislation reaches the southern mills and the present time, my business is ruined?" [155]

The cotton mill development movement and its consummation left its critics aghast and shifted the center of textile production in the United States to the South. It was conspicuously the product of individual initiative and community enthusiasm. Men trusted each other with somewhat more than they could, at the moment, do well. The situations they were inventing became, therefore, training grounds for free individuals. Cotton mills were something people wanted. Had they inquired into the long-run circumstances favoring their success they might never have noticed them; they might even have lost interest in the search. And having waited and not

[153] *Manufacturers' Record,* XXVII (1895), 34-35.
[154] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* LXVII (September 10, 1898), 3-4; LXIX (September 9, 1899), 4-5; *Boston Transcript* cited in *Manufacturers' Record,* XXXI (1897), 24.
[155] Cited in Porritt, "The Cotton Mills of the South," 578.

acted, the very conditions they would have been studying might have been denied the influence of their actions. This did not happen. Nerved by the vigor to adventure beyond the safeties of the past into the uncertainties of the future, the people of the South demonstrated that they knew something about how to act in the present. This was preceded and accompanied by endless talk which played no small part in preparing the ground for men of action. They talked and acted like Americans.[156] There was confidence, pride, boastfulness, associated effort, and rivalry. It was not enough for the campaigners that their achievements and successes be measured; they had to be observed, recorded, applauded, and envied.

[156] See Ralph B. Perry, *Characteristically American* (New York, 1949), Ch. I, "The American Cast of Mind."

# SIMMS'S VIEWS ON NATIONAL AND SECTIONAL LITERATURE, 1825-1845

By JOHN C. GUILDS

When did American literature become truly national? This question, answered variously by various scholars, can probably never be answered to the satisfaction of all. Almost any decade in the nineteenth century could with some reason be said to mark the beginning of a distinctively American literature. Probably most scholarly opinion agrees with Professor Clarence Gohdes that American literature did not become truly national until the advent of the local-color movement in the 1870's.[1] Acceptance of this theory is, in effect, to define national literature as the composite literature of all regions.

National literature has not been, and is not, always so defined, however. As any student of American history knows, *nationalism* and *sectionalism* were explosive words in the literary, economic, and political North-South controversy leading up to the Civil War. The bitterness of this controversy—and the increasing confusion of the terms *nationalism* and *sectionalism*—is nowhere better revealed than in the magazines of the Old South. Almost without exception the editors of early southern literary journals proposed to promote the literature of both their country and their section. By the 1840's, however, it seemed (particularly to northerners) that most southern magazinists were advocating a "sectional" rather than a "national" literature; and the cry, "Provincial!" was shouted at many a southern editor by many a northern critic. Needless to say, the southerners did not let the shouts go unanswered.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the problem of nationalism and sectionalism as it was met by an important magazine editor of the Old South, William Gilmore Simms, who put himself on record as both nationalist and sectionalist

[1] See "The Later Nineteenth Century," Arthur Hobson Quinn (ed.), *The Literature of the American People* (New York [1951]), 639 ff.

in literature and maintained that his position was not only logical, but inevitable.

Simms ranks as the South's most tireless advocate of a distinctive American literature. Rising from an inauspicious beginning as a green, outspoken journalist to a position as a recognized spokesman of the South, he remained throughout his editorial career an ardent and faithful champion of "Americanism" in literature, though in time he became convinced that he could best serve American literature by encouraging the development of letters in his own section. And if the South possessed anyone equipped to serve as its literary spokesman, Simms was that person. Although he sometimes thought that his efforts to promote the literature of his section (and of his country) went unappreciated, probably his fame as the South's "most prominent novelist" and "most eminent author"[2] gave him a greater prestige—a greater influence—than that attained by any other magazine editor of the Old South. The one thing that Simms worked most faithfully for—the one thing above all else that he hoped to accomplish in his career as editor of literary journals—was the advancement of literature in the South.

But if Simms was admittedly a sectionalist, how then can he be termed a leading proponent of a distinctively American literature? Simms himself has given the clearest explanation; in dedicating *The Wigwam and the Cabin* (1845) to his father-in-law, he wrote:

> One word for the material of these legends. It is local, sectional—and to be *national* in literature, one must needs be *sectional.* No one mind can fully or fairly illustrate the characteristics of any great country; and he who shall depict *one section* faithfully, has made his proper and sufficient contribution to the great work of *national* illustration.[3]

Thus, according to Simms, by helping the South to create its own literature, the southern man of letters was also contributing to the establishment of a truly national literature, because to be national a literature must represent all sections.

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[2] *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, Va.), IV (August, 1838), 529, hereinafter cited as *Southern Literary Messenger.*

[3] Redfield edition (New York, 1856), 4.

The process by which Simms arrived at this conclusion, however, was gradual. Throughout his life he worked and fought for the growth of a distinctively American literature, but his struggle to achieve this end went through several stages. At first, though both the *Album* and the *Southern Literary Gazette* stated that their chief objective was the encouragement of local writers, Simms's concern was mainly with the status of American (rather than southern) letters: like Emerson he was dismayed at his country's enslavement to British traditions. Already he was convinced that one of the chief reasons for the absence of a worthy literature in America was the continued reliance upon England for models. He pointed out that America could never establish a literature of its own as long as its writers imitated the British; he praised the independence of American authors who dealt with native themes even when he could not speak highly of their genius, and, conversely, he called to task those who knowingly or unknowingly echoed the British even when he admitted their ability. He denounced the British for their want of discrimination in ridiculing or condemning everything American; he deplored American public taste, asserting that it had been perverted by English books and magazines, and complained that his countrymen ignored even the best American work until it had been praised by one of the British journals. As a means of ridding themselves of English influence, he suggested that American writers take up the study of the literature of Germany to see how that country had achieved intellectual independence.[4]

Simms, then, had early raised the cry that after 1837 was heard so frequently in the pages of the *Democratic Review* and other organs of the "Young America" critics in New

[4] All of these points were made by Simms in the *Southern Literary Gazette* (Charleston, S. C.), 1828-1829, hereinafter cited as *Southern Literary Gazette.*

[5] John Stafford, *The Literary Criticism of "Young America": A Study in the Relationship of Politics and Literature, 1837-1850* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952), 84, calls the Young Americans "the most strenuous advocates in America" of a new and distinctive American literature. This reference hereinafter cited as Stafford, *The Literary Criticism of "Young America."*

York.[5] In his two early Charleston journals (in the *Album* to a much lesser degree than in the *Southern Literary Gazette*) he had given voice to the movement that a decade later such conservative periodicals as the *North American Review*, the *American Quarterly*, the *New England Magazine*, and the *New York Review* were to regard as the *Democratic Review's* "radical" idea—advocacy of a national literature free from slavish imitation of the British.[6] It was only natural, then, that at the first opportunity he should fall into line with the group of young New Yorkers—Evert A. Duyckinck, William A. Jones, John L. O'Sullivan, Parke Godwin, and Cornelius Mathews—the liberal-minded Young Americans who championed a movement in literature paralleled in politics by the trend culminating in Jacksonian democracy.[7] Simms, like the Young Americans, stressed democracy as an incentive to literature because, by giving free rein to individual expression, it favors the general development of all intellect. Furthermore, he was convinced of the value of the competitive spirit; literary genius, he thought, was inspired by the realization that recognition could be won through merit without the benefits of wealth or rank:

> It is a wondrous impulse to the individual, to his hope, his exertions and his final success, to be taught that there is nothing in his way, in the nature of the society in which he lives. That he is not to be denied because of his birth or poverty, because of his wealth or his family. That he stands fair with his comrades, with no social if no natural impediments—and the prize is always certain for the fleetest in the race.[8]

Simms was also politically allied with the Young Americans, almost all of whom were Locofoco Democrats; on August 15,

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[6] Stafford, *The Literary Criticism of "Young America,"* 5 and *passim.*

[7] Simms apparently did not make his first trip to New York until 1832, when he visited James Lawson. He perhaps met some of the Young Americans at that time, though he mentioned none of them in his correspondence of that year. He and Duyckinck, particularly, were later to become fast friends.

[8] *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review*, I (Charleston, S. C.), January, 1845, 11-12, hereinafter cited *Southern and Western Monthly.*

1842, he wrote to George Frederick Holmes, ". . . I am an ultra-American, a born Southron, and a resolute loco-foco."[9]

Simms never ceased to be chagrined with America's tendency to lean upon England for guidance in literary taste and standards; he regarded this bondage to "an unnatural mother & natural enemy"[10] as the chief threat to the growth of a literature that was characteristically American. In explaining his ill will toward the British to the English-born Holmes, Simms asserted: "Individually, I am no Anti-Anglican. I am only so in a purely national point of view, and in reference to national interests & questions."[11] The extent of his animosity, however, is perhaps best revealed in a letter of July 15, 1845, to Evert A. Duyckinck, in which he suggested that war with Great Britian was the surest and possibly the only way for America to gain its literary independence.[12] Several weeks earlier he had expressed a similar attitude toward the British in a letter to James Lawson:

His [Edwin Forrest's] only error is in any attempt to win favor from the English. No American can hope for this. They must be made to fear us, and, it is through our scorn and our

[9] Mary C. Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, and T. C. Duncan Eaves (eds.), *The Letters of William Gilmore Simms* (Columbia, S. C., 5 volumes, 1952-1956), I, 319, hereinafter cited as Oliphant, Odell, and Eaves, *Simms Letters*. John W. Higham, "The Changing Loyalties of William Gilmore Simms," *Journal of Southern History*, IX (May, 1943), 210-223, greatly over-simplifies his case in discussing Simms's changing social and political views. Higham (p. 213) states that in 1830 "Simms was utterly devoid of the sectional antagonism which was rising throughout South Carolina"; by 1845, however, according to Higham, Simms's early Unionism had been almost completely destroyed by strong sectional feelings. Higham attributes this change chiefly to Simms's marriage to Chevillette Eliza Roach, only child of a large landowner, in 1836, at which time the author supposedly shifted his allegiance from the mercantile class to the planter aristocracy. Higham overlooks the fact that Simms's views were characteristic of the thinking of many other southerners—whether living in the country or in town or whether planter or merchant—who had opposed Nullification but later became convinced that the federal government was hostile to the society in which they lived. Even Higham grants, however, that Simms's "literary Americanism" continued for a while after his "federal nationalism" disappeared; in 1845 Simms "was still agitating for a national literature, but antipathy toward the North was weakening his enthusiasm . . ." (p. 221). In 1845 as editor of the *Southern and Western* Simms still retained his objectivity in treating northern authors.

[10] Simms to G. F. Holmes, July 27, 1842, Oliphant, Odell, and Eaves, *Simms Letters*, I, 317.

[11] Letter of August 15, 1842, Oliphant, Odell, and Eaves, *Simms Letters*, I, 319.

[12] See Oliphant, Odell, and Eaves, *Simms Letters*, II, 90.

strength, not through our arts conciliatory that a people so bigoted in self will ever do justice to that other, which spring from their loins, & setting up for themselves, are so fast treading on their heels. [13]

As early as 1828 Simms the "born Southron" felt some antipathy toward the North even while Simms the "ultra-American" joined hands with northerners in combating the detrimental influence of England. Already political differences between North and South were making southerners aware of other distinctions between themselves and their northern neighbors.[14] Almost for the first time, perhaps, southerners were conscious of being a minority—and proud southerners rebelled at many northerners' air of superiority in everything from literature to morals. This growing southern animus toward the North is apparent in both of the literary journals founded in Charleston in 1828. In the prospectus of the *Southern Review* (1828-1832), its editors stated:

> It shall be among our first objects to vindicate the rights and privileges, the character of the Southern states, to arrest, if possible, that current which has been directed so steadily against our country generally, and the South in particular; and to offer to our fellow citizens one Journal which they may read without finding themselves the objects of perpetual sarcasm, or of affected commiseration. [15]

The *Southern Literary Gazette*[16] reveals Simms likewise as embittered by the North's condescending attitude toward his section. In the prospectus issued before the publication of the second volume of the *Gazette*, Simms spoke of the contempt and apathy with which his section's intellectual quali-

[13] Oliphant, Odell, and Eaves, *Simms Letters*, II, 83. The letter is dated June 27, 1845.

[14] For an excellent analysis of the growth of sectionalism in the South, see Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (Baton Rouge, La., 1948). For a briefer treatment with emphasis upon literary factors, see Jay B. Hubbell, "Literary Nationalism in the Old South," *American Studies in Honor of William Kenneth Boyd* (Durham, 1940), 175-220, hereinafter cited as Hubbell, *American Studies*.

[15] Quoted in Linda Rhea, *Hugh Swinton Legare* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 237. I have not been able to find the original.

[16] The fact that a large portion of the magazines of the Old South carry the word *Southern* in their titles is indicative of sectional feelings. See Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850* (New York and London, 1930), 380.

ties were regarded. Later he charged that southerners, "taunted by Englishmen and Northernmen," [17] would have to work hard to assure themselves of representation in the literature of America; recognizing the dominance of northern publishing, he stressed the importance of southern writers having their works published in the South. He praised Isaac Harby as a pioneer of a distinctively southern literature; and, perhaps most significant of all, so unaccustomed had the South become to consideration from the North, he thanked the *New York Mirror* for the "*novel* courtesy" of its fair treatment of southern literature and politics.[18]

Through the years Simms became more and more alarmed about the South's intellectual vassalage to the North. By the time he accepted the editorship of the *Magnolia: or Southern Apalachian* in June, 1842, political developments had widened the gap between North and South. Like most other southern editors,[19] Simms directed his efforts toward weaning his section from its cultural dependence on the North. Whereas in the 1820's he had editorialized largely against American imitation of British literary style and taste, in the 1840's—as editor of the *Magnolia* and the *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review*—he was more concerned with freeing the South from its literary bondage to the North. This generalization holds true despite the fact that in the 1820's Simms was already speaking against Northern domination of American literature and that in the 1840's he still battled vigorously for American freedom from intellectual servility to England.

Perhaps what vexed southerners most was the assumption by some Northern critics that northern literature was *the* American literature and that the literature of the South was sectional rather than national in character. Early in 1842 Simms pointed out that the "'wise men of the East'" who frantically shouted "Sectional literature!" at the South failed

[17] *Southern Literary Gazette*, n.s., I (June 1, 1829), 33-34.
[18] *Southern Literary Gazette*, n.s., I (August 1, 1829), 127.
[19] Perhaps the chief exception was English-born William C. Richards, editor of the *Orion*, who had little sympathy with sectional literature. See, for example, *Orion* (Penfield, Ga.), I (July, 1842), 248.

to realize that magazines published in New York or Boston were just as provincial as those published in Charleston or Savannah. In line with his similar views on national literature, he maintained that a truly national magazine must assert the character of its people—must, paradoxically, then, be sectional—because a magazine of one section could not possibly fully represent the needs and wants of the people of another section. Therefore, a magazine editor failed to be national only when he ceased to represent faithfully his own section.[20]

Simms, then, clearly and definitely identified national with sectional literature even before he wrote the preface to *The Wigwam and the Cabin*—even before he became full editor of the "sectional" *Magnolia;* in fact, from this distance he appears to have remained remarkably level-headed amidst all the high ranting and small heckling over nationalism and sectionalism in the 1840's. Later, of course, the movement for "Americanism" and "Southernism" was reduced to absurdity by the uncritical demands of "superficial critics," to whom (as Timrod said) "it meant nothing more than that an author should confine himself in the choice of his subjects to the scenery, the history, and the traditions of his own country."[21] If Simms did not emphasize, as Timrod later did, that true nationalism and true originality depend upon the creation of an individual style, tone, and spirit[22]—or if he did not make a distinction, as Harris later did, between *section-*

[20] See *Magnolia: or Southern Monthly* (Savannah, Ga.), IV (April, 1842), 251-252, hereinafter cited as *Magnolia.* In July, 1842, when the magazine was moved from Savannah, Ga., to Charleston, S. C., its title became the *Magnolia: or Southern Apalachian* and Simms, who had been a contributor and associate editor, became editor.

[21] "Literature in the South," Edd Winfield Parks (ed.), *The Essays of Henry Timrod* (Athens, Ga., 1942), 87, hereinafter cited as Parks, *Henry Timrod.*

[22] Parks, *Henry Timrod,* 88. Timrod made it clear, however, that he was not opposing the idea that authors write of their own regions; he was "simply protesting against a narrow creed" which insisted upon nationalism and overlooked everything else. Timrod agreed that the poet or novelist who "shall associate his name with the South" in an original treatment of Southern scenery, society, or history "will have achieved a more enviable fame than any which has yet illustrated the literature of America" (Parks, *Henry Timrod,* 90-91).

*alism* and *localism*[23]—his writings reveal his own understanding of these principles.[24] Almost before anyone else, he seems to have defined sectionalism as an integral part of nationalism —a definition with which both Timrod and Harris, despite their carefully stated qualifications, essentially agreed. Unfortunately, however, Simms's critics (chiefly northerners) did not see eye-to-eye with him on this subject and much purposeless quibbling was the result, despite the fact that all concerned were working toward the same end.

One may ask why Simms regarded the magazine as the best medium through which to further the cause of southern and, consequently, American literature. How could the magazine editor accomplish what the novelist and the poet could not? The South, Simms reasoned, posed a peculiar problem: in a "Letter to the Editor of Wheler's Magazine" he pointed out the particular reasons why magazines— a benefit to any section or country—were a necessity to the intellectual awakening of a sparsely settled agricultural region like the South:

> The very sparseness of our population, which renders it so difficult a matter to sustain the Periodical, is the very fact that renders its existence and maintenance so necessary.—The great secret of mental activity, in most countries, is the denseness of their settlements,—the size and frequency of their great cities, and the constant attrition of rival minds, which can take place nowhere so constantly as in the commercial and populous marts. Wanting in these fields of attrition and collision, the mind of the Southern gentleman, residing on his plantation and secluded from the crowd, is apt to sink into languor or indifference. Why should he indulge in studies which seem unnecessary to his situation? Why pore over volumes, upon the merits of which he has no one to provoke him to discussion? . . .

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[23] "Literature in the South," Julia Collier Harris (ed.), *Joel Chandler Harris, Editor and Essayist: Miscellaneous Literary, Political, and Social Writings* (Chapel Hill, 1931), 45. Harris closely followed Simms in saying: "In literature, art and society, whatever is truly Southern is likewise truly American; and the same may be said of what is truly Northern. Literature that is Georgian or Southern is necessarily American, and in the broadest sense."

[24] Simms's Revolutionary romances, for instance, are no less national, no less American, than the Revolutionary historical novels of Cooper and Kennedy. Simms possesses a great deal of essentially "American" pride, optimism, and faith in democratic government. As a critic he was almost never guilty of praising an American (or southern) book simply because it dealt with native subject matter.

To persons, thus secluded by their modes of life, even where the taste for letters is innate, the very difficulty in procuring books, which cannot be transmitted by mail, opposes a barrier to that constant exercise which is necessary to keep up and to nourish the desire for literature. Periodicals, alone, appear calculated to supply these deficiencies to counteract these discouraging influences, and to provide that gentle stimulus which keeps the mind true to its instincts and acquisitions, while furnishing new food for its progress. . . . [25]

Simms himself asserted many times that his section's cultural enslavement to the North should be a matter of shame to every patriotic southerner; yet he recognized that this literary dependency was based on practical, economic matters: the North's near monopoly of the publication and distribution of books and magazines. As a result, since southern books were sometimes difficult to procure even in the South, the best-intentioned southerner often read easily accessible northern publications and remained almost wholly ignorant of the literature of his own region. Moreover, he argued, although the South was following the lead of the North, the North refused even the best works published in the South. In his opening address in the *Southern and Western Monthly Magazine and Review* Simms made this dilemma clear: ". . . no periodical of the country, not published at one of the great cities of the North, could possibly hope for the countenance of the public in their vicinity. Our experience is conclusive on this head. The northern press claims to supply us in the South and West with all our Literature, and will take none of ours in return." [26] Later in the same year (1845) he commented: "We have it from good authority, that one of our Southern publishers, seeking to establish a Northern agency for his publication, was fairly told by the house to which he addressed himself, that the people of the North would not buy Southern periodicals." [27]

Thus with some reason southerners complained that their literature was never given a fair hearing—and that their

[25] *Wheler's Magazine* (Athens, Ga.), n.s., I (July, 1849), 1-2, hereinafter cited as *Wheler's Magazine*.
[26] *Southern and Western Monthly*, I (January, 1845), 67.
[27] *Southern and Western Monthly*, I (May, 1845), 364.

achievement in letters remained largely unknown in the North and only slightly less so at home.[28] It was in helping to correct this want that the southern magazine hoped to perform one of its greatest services; because books were "scarce, and not to be had without great difficulty and expense" by the inhabitants of an "almost wholly agricultural" region, Simms repeatedly emphasized that

> . . . the periodical is at once the cheapest, the most eligible, and, perhaps, the most useful form, in which Literature may yield them its advantages. The mail brings it to the door of the farmer, to the cottage of the peasant, to the stately mansion, enbosomed in deep forests, of the lordly and secluded planter. It is, along with the newspaper, the chief mode by which he communicates with the distant world without.[29]

Literary journals, then, had to play the leading role in the kindling of literary interests in the South. These journals, moreover, must be southern—not northern or British—though the southern magazine must necessarily at first be inferior both in typography and in content.[30] But because this very inferiority was indicative of the mental apathy of the South —because a superior journal was a product of the intellectual stimulation (as well as of the good publishing houses) which the South lacked—the well-meaning and patriotic southerner owed it to his section to support the magazines that were attempting to rouse his people from their slumber. The magazines must promote the crusade, not the crusade the magazines—thriving magazines would be proof that the crusade had been successful.[31]

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[28] Of course, of even more importance to southerners was the fact that the North's monopoly of the book trade enabled northern publishers to accept only those southern books which were favorable to the North, and consequently the North remained ignorant of the "essential soundness of the Southern cause" in other matters. See Hubbell, *American Studies*, 198.

[29] *Wheler's Magazine*, I (July, 1849), 3.

[30] In a letter to P. C. Pendleton published in the *Magnolia* for April, 1841, Simms spoke of the scarcity of good printers and the total absence of proofreaders in the South. See *Magnolia*, III, 190. Simms did not advocate that southerners read southern magazines to the exclusion of all others. In fact, he stressed the advantages of reading journals from other sections and countries. See *Wheler's Magazine*, I (July, 1849), 3-4.

[31] *Wheler's Magazine*, I (July, 1849), 4-5.

But as Simms himself well knew, the southern magazine editor who wished to encourage the development of distinctly southern literary culture was often defeated by the very thing he hoped to overcome—his section's indifference to literature. In 1841 in the first of his letters on "Southern Literature" addressed to P. C. Pendleton, then editor of the *Magnolia,* Simms bluntly stated that the magazine was doomed to failure. Despite Pendleton's high hopes Simms pointed out that excellent contributors and capable editors did not ensure a magazine's success; other southern journals had possessed these and had failed. Before any southern magazine could succeed, Simms maintained, an "intellectual appetite among our people" was needed—that appetite, he added, was nowhere apparent.[32]

Simms was fully aware of the difficulties he faced in his later efforts to establish a permanent literary journal in the South: first-hand experience and years of observation had taught him much about running a southern magazine. Yet twice within a span of three years he assumed the editorship of Charleston magazines—the *Magnolia* in 1842 and the *Southern and Western* in 1845. That each of these journals collapsed after only one year of publication—that he was never able to found a permanent literary organ for his section —that he was vastly underpaid and sometimes not paid at all —none of these matters shook more than momentarily the courageous determination with which he struggled for the literature of his state, his section, and his country. Without resorting to the puffery he detested, he encouraged Southern writers in their efforts to create a distinctively southern literature; he resolutely replied to northern charges against his section and at the same time demanded recognition in the North for southern authors; and through it all, he seems never to have lost sight of the fact that what he was really working for was the development of an American literature. Both the *Magnolia* and the *Southern and Western* won recognition as leading southern literary journals though never enough paying subscribers; without doubt they both attained

[32] *Magnolia,* III (January, 1841), 1-3.

a standard of excellence above that of most of the monthly magazines of the period. Simms had fought his crusade and in one sense his defeat represented a victory: he had made his contribution to the cause of American letters by faithfully and accurately portraying the peculiar characteristics that distinguished his section. Exactly fifteen years after the last number of the *Southern and Western* had been issued, *DeBow's Review* contained a comment on Simms that might well apply to his editorial work in the 1840's:

> He reflects . . . the spirit and temper of Southern civilization; announces its opinions, illustrates its ideas, embodies its passions and prejudices, and betrays those delicate shades of thought, feeling, and conduct, that go to form the character, and stamp the individuality of a people. [33]

Although in the early 1830's some southerners frowned upon Simms for his national views and in the 1840's northerners generally upbraided him for his sectional views, he at all times considered himself a proponent of both nationalism and sectionalism because to his eyes the two forces were not opposed but, conversely, were too closely allied to be separated. Fundamentally his outlook remained surprisingly steadfast throughout the turbulent decades before the midcentury. His early emphasis on American literature and his later emphasis on southern literature represent changes in degree, not in position.

[33] *Magnolia*, XXIX (December, 1860), 708.

# TRYON'S "BOOK" ON NORTH CAROLINA

Edited by WILLIAM S. POWELL

A forty-four page manuscript letter written from Brunswick by Governor William Tryon on July 26, 1765, to his uncle, Sewallis Shirley, forms a part of the collection of North Caroliniana of the late Bruce Cotten, now in the North Carolina Collection of the University of North Carolina Library. This lengthy letter, which Tryon himself referred to as a "book," is bound in full calf and bears the bookplate of the Shirley seat, Ettington, Warwickshire, as well as the plate of Sir Evelyn Shirley. The letter remained at the seat of the Shirley family until about 1934 when it was sold to the Rosenbach Company in Philadelphia from which Major Cotten purchased it.[1]

Tryon reached North Carolina on October 11, 1764, to serve as lieutenant governor under the aging and ailing Arthur Dobbs. This letter, in an informal and chatty tone, tells us of the personal activities of Tryon from his arrival through the first nine months of his stay in the province. Perhaps the account of his tour with Mrs. Tryon from Wilmington northward and westward to the Virginia line and Halifax will be counted the most interesting part of the letter. Not to be passed over, however, are descriptions of his house, news of his staff of servants, and remarks concerning his salary. All in all, Tryon has given us an interesting and valuable glimpse of his personal life. Evidence of his wide and detailed knowledge of North Carolina after so short a time in the colony will perhaps be thought remarkable.

The uncle to whom the letter is addressed, Sewallis Shirley (1709-1765), was the fourteenth son of the first Earl Ferrers and brother of Tryon's mother, the former Lady Mary Shirley. Shirley was a member of Parliament (1742-1761) and Comptroller of the Household to Queen Charlotte. He died on

[1] Margaret de Bullet, "A Catalogue of the Tar-Heel Book-Shelves of Mr. Bruce Cotten." Unpublished manuscript in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, IV, 358. (Descriptive notes in the Catalogue are by Bruce Cotten.)

October 31, 1765, probably soon after receiving this letter from his nephew.[2]

North Carolina,
Brunswick on Cape Fear River,
July ye 26th, 1765

My Dear Sir:

I most gratefully received the happiness you conferred on me the 5th Ins:t by your letter bearing date the 12th of Feby last, accompanied with a most acceptable present, a Gold Box with the Picture of an invariable friend, as well to my family, as myself. You could not have sent me a more acceptable present; and for which you have my most sincere acknowledgements.

Your particular detail of your affectionate and steady conduct in adjusting the intricate state of the affairs of my Mother, and the agreement she has entered into with my Brother for the sale of my Hobby Horse Henbury,[3] gives me great satisfaction from the evident necessity of such a proceeding. Your good offices on this, and every other occasion claim as they merit, more than I am able to repay you. However, I shall ever retain a lively and affectionate regard for the author of them.

I will now endeavour from memory to give you a rough sketch of my Proceedings in this Country since my arrival in it, you must not expect to have the unities preserved. My Landing[4] in this Province was on the 11th of Octr last, soon after finding the Governn determined to stay the Winter here. I repaired to Wilmington, 15 Miles higher up the River than Brunswick. About the Middle of Decr I took with Mrs. Tryon and Mr. Elwin[5] her Cousin, a Tour through part of this Province. We kept the Sea Board Road for two hundred & 40 Miles, (that is never being

[2] *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage* (London, 1949), 754; W. S. Lewis and Warren H. Smith, (eds.) *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Madame Du Deffand and Wiart* (New Haven, 1939), V, 397; VI, 513; W. S. Lewis and Ralph S. Brown, Jr. (eds.), *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with George Montagu* (New Haven, 1941), I, 113-114; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XXXV (November, 1765), 539.

[3] A hobby horse was a small or middle-sized horse or a pony. James A. H. Murray (ed.), *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Oxford, 1888-1928, 10 vols.), V, 316, hereinafter cited as Murray, *A New English Dictionary.*

[4] For details of Tryon's arrival off the North Carolina coast and his landing in the Cape Fear see Alonzo T. Dill, Jr., *Governor Tryon and His Palace* (Chapel Hill, 1955), 79-80.

[5] Fountain Elwin was Tryon's private secretary. He returned to England in 1767. William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1886-1890, Vols. 1-10), VII, 134, 547, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records.*

farther from the Sea than Sixty or eighty Miles) till I came to the Virginia Line which is in 36° 30′ North Lat. This from Wilmington kept me on a North and North East Course from the Virginia and Carolina dividing line (where we struck it, was forty Miles North of Edenton.) We took a West Course to Halifax 70 Miles to the Westward of Edenton and from thence, took a South and South West Course back to Wilmington where we arrived the Middle of Feby. This Journey was accomplished with more ease and better accommodations than I could possibly have expected to have experienced, and I found the *Gentlemen* very ready in giving the hospitality their Plantat[ions] afforded. The Tour was five Hundred Measured Miles and upwards. The whole of the Journey to the Virginia Line is Sandy, flat and for the most part covered with Pine Trees tho' to the Northward you go over some Oak Land, yet Sandy Soil. The Roads over the Swamps, called Pocosons, are all made, which Swamps are covered with tall Cypress Trees some of six feet in Diameter, and Seventy feet in height before they shoot a Branch, with Bay Trees and Red and White Cedar Trees; with a variety of other Aquatilis which I am unacquainted with. These swamps when cleared and drained produce fine Rice or Indian Corn or I believe Indigo, but this Province is not yet sufficiently inhabited, to have cleared any great quantity of these Pocosons.

I saw no large parcel of Rich Land that laid dry, till I took the Course Westward from the Northward of this Province. Near Halifax there are fine Rich lands of clay and loamy texture and by the thickness of the Corn Stalks of the last Season, I could perceive the goodness of the Earth. About twenty Miles Westward of Halifax, I was carried to See a Situation called Mount Gallant[6] which was the first Hill I had seen that was high enough to over look the woods of this Wild Forest. The Soil here they told me was very good tho' in dry weather pulverises as light as snuff, and when wet will stick to your Shoes like Marle, it is of a Reddish Cast. Under this Hill is the first principal falls on the Roanoke River, they are wildly pleasing to the Eye, not from the height of the Falls, but from the appearance of a course of a River two Miles across interrupted irregularly with Rocky Stones so as to Stop the Navigation for any thing but Canoes, and those not safe unless under the conduct of a dexterous Negroe. This and the Neighboring Hills were the only ones that have given me an opportunity of over looking in an Horizontal line the Woods. In our return from Halifax in less than twenty Miles we got again into Sandy Pine Land, and continued

[6] Mount Gallant is located on the northeast side of the Roanoke River, approximately twenty miles northwest of Halifax, on Henry Mouzon and others, *An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina* (London, 1775).

it to Wilmington the distance from which is 180 Miles. I remained quiet at Wilmington till March, when Lord Adam Gordon[7] came into this Province, a visit that gave me no small joy, as he was not only a particular friend, but had the additional merit of being the first person I had seen, even of my personal acquaintance since I left London. I was accompanying him as far as Newburn in this Province, when My trusty servant George, who now lies dangerously ill of a Putrid fever and is in a Raving fit, at this instant, over took me with an account of Governor Dobbs's Death the 28th of March last. I was then within Twenty Six Miles of Newbern and 74 from Wilmington. This Event obliged me to quit my friend, who proceeded through Virginia to the Northern Colonies, and is to sail from New York in Oct[r] Next for Falmouth in the Packet. I reached Wilmington the 30th of March and to my surprize found they had buried the Governor and for want of a Clergy, the Funeral Service was performed by a Majestrate of Peace.[8] The usual Steps on this Event being taken, I called an assembly at Newbern, the place in my opinion at present, the most convenient for holding the genl assembly. We met the 3[d] of May. The Journals will be the History of our Works.[9] I was sore at the time, as you will hear by the letter I wrote Our worthy Friend at the Gov: but as I carried the Material Points; particularly the Clergy Bill,[10] I shall forget what is over, and wait for more at our next meeting which is the 27th of Nov: I left Newbern the End of May and got to Brunswick the 1st of June to the House the late Gov[r] lived in[11] the furniture[12] we brought from England, and for want of Room when we began to be very busy in opening and unpacking half we could not put up in our house at Wilmington.

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[7] An officer of the Sixty-sixth Regiment of Foot stationed at this time in the West Indies. A journal of his tour in 1764 and 1765 in America and the West Indies is in Newton D. Mereness (ed.), *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916), 365-453.

[8] For a brief account of Dobbs' death and funeral based on a report in *The South Carolina Gazette* for April 27, 1765, see E. Lawrence Lee, Jr., "The History of Brunswick, North Carolina," unpublished masters thesis, University of North Carolina, 1951, 42, hereinafter cited as Lee, "The History of Brunswick."

[9] This session lasted from May 3 through May 18. The journals are reprinted in Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 41-88.

[10] See Chapter I, "Laws of North Carolina, 1765," in Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, 1895-1905, Vols. 11-26), XXIII, 660-662, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records*.

[11] Dobbs' house was the former residence of Captain John Russell and the fifty-five acre tract on which it was located, joining the northern boundary of the town of Brunswick, was called Russellborough. Dobbs had occupied the house since 1758. Lee, "The History of Brunswick," 40-41.

[12] An inventory of Tryon's furniture which was lost when fire destroyed his home in New York on December 29, 1773, will be found in *New York History*, XXVI (July, 1954), 300-309. Undoubtedly a large part of this furniture had been brought to North Carolina in 1764.

As you are acquainted with M^rs^ Tryons Neatness you will not wonder that we have been pestered with scouring of Chambers White Washing of Cielings, Plaisterers Work, and Painting the House inside and out. Such is the Sickness and indolence of the Workmen in this Hot Climate that I shall not I am persuaded get rid of these nuisances this month. This House which has so many assistances is of an oblong Square Built of Wood. It measures on the out Side Faces forty five feet by thirty five feet, and is Divided into two Stories, exclusive of the Cellars the Parlour Floor is about five feet above the Surface of the Earth. Each Story has four Rooms and three light Closets. The Parlour below & the drawing Room are 20 x 15 feet each; Ceilings low. There is a Piaza Runs Round the House both Stories of ten feet Wide with a Ballustrade of four feet high, which is a great Security for my little girl.[13] There is a good Stable and Coach Houses and some other Out Houses. if I continue in this House, which will depend on Capt. Dobbs"[14] Resolution in the manner he disposes of his Effects here, I shall & must build a good Kitchen, which I can do for forty Pounds Sterling of 30^f^ x 40^f^— The garden has nothing to Boast of except Fruit Trees. Peaches, Nectr^s^ Figgs and Plumbs are in perfection and of good Sorts. I cut a Musk Melon this week which weighed 17½ Pounds. Apples grow extremely well here I have tasted excellent Cyder the Produce of this Province. Most if not all kinds of garden greens and Pot herbs grow luxuriant with us. We are in want of nothing but Industry & skill, to bring every Vegetable to a greater perfection in this Province.[15] Indian Corn, Rice, and American Beans (Species of the Kidney Bean) are the grain that is Cultivated within a hundred and fifty Miles of the Sea Board at which distance to the Westward you begin to perceive you are approaching high ground, and fifty Miles farther you may get on tolerable high Hills. The Blue Mountains that Cross our Province I imagine lay three Hundred Miles from the Sea. Our Settlements are carried within one Hundred Miles of them. In less than twenty years or perhaps in half the time inhabitants may Settle at the foot of these Mountains. In the Back or Western Counties, more industry is observed than to the Eastward, the White People there to, are more numerous than the Negroes.

[13] Margaret Tryon (1761-1791). Marshall DeLancey Haywood, *Governor William Tryon, and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771* (Raleigh, 1903), 201, 203.

[14] Tryon did not finally purchase Russellborough from Captain Edward Brice Dobbs, the late governor's son, until February 2, 1767. Lee, "The History of Brunswick," 43.

[15] In March Tryon had sent to the Moravian settlement "to get all kinds of seeds . . . for the plantation which [he] wishes to lay out." Adelaide L. Fries (ed.), *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1922), I, 301.

The Calculation of the Inhabitants in this Province is one hundred and twenty Thousand White & Black, of which there is a great Majority of White People. The Negroes are very numerous I suppose five to one White Person in the Maritime Counties, but as you penetrate into the Country few Blacks are employed, merely for this Simple reason, that the poorer Settlers coming from the Northward Colonies sat themselves down in the back Counties where the land is the best but who have not more than a sufficiency to erect a Log House for their families and procure a few Tools to get a little Corn into the ground. This Poverty prevents their purchasing of Slaves, and before they can get into Sufficient affluence to buy Negroes their own Children are often grown to an age to work in the Field. not but numbers of families in the back Counties have Slaves some from three to ten, Whereas in the Counties on the Sea Coast Planters have from fifty to 250 Slaves. A Plantation with Seventy Slaves on it, is esteemed a good property. When a man marries his Daughters he never talks of the fortune in Money but 20 30 or 40 Slaves is her Portion and possibly and agreement to deliver at stated Periods, a Certain Number of Tarr or Turpentine Barrels, which serves towards exonerating the charges of the Wedding which are not grievous here.

I suppose you will expect to be informed what return is Made for the expence of Supporting such a Number of Slaves in the Province. Their chief employ is in the Woods & Fields, Sowing, and attending and gathering in the Corn. Making of Barrels, Hoops, Staves, Shingles, Rails, Posts and Pails, all which they do to admiration, Boxing of Pine Trees to draw off the Turpentine, Making of Tarr kills which is a good deal after our Manner of making a Charcoal Pitt, excepting they have a Subterraneous passage to draw off the Tarr as the fire forces it from the Lightwood in the Kiln. Lightwood I understand to be as follows. When a Tree has been blown down or Cut. The Turpentine that is in the tree, in a few years retires to all the knotty parts of the said Tree. These they Cut up in small strips and will form a Tarkiln so large that when set on Fire, will run from 6, 7, 8 or 1000 Barrels of Tar. These splinters are so loaded with Bitumen that they will burn like a Candle; it is a usual thing to carry a Torch of Light Wood at night as you Europeans do flam beaus. The above are the articles we export Beside Deer Skins, Barrels of Pork, Beef, Bees Wax, Tallow &tc. Great Quantity of Lumber is Shipped to the West Indies. We have in the Creeks and Branches of this River of Cape Fear from 36 to 40 Saw mills,[16] each with two Saws, and upon an honest Medium, each

[16] For a description of the saw mills on the Cape Fear at this time see Charles C. Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven, 1936), 64-65.

Mill Saws two hundred Thousand feet of Timber. They could do a thousand more but most of them in the Summer Months are obliged to lay Still for want of Water. This Article would make a fine remittance to Great Britain if a Bounty was allowed on the importation. The Pine (as M^r^ Hawks[17] the Master Builder I took over with me from England, and who is a very able Worthy man) says is Vastly Superior to the Norway the Norway [*sic*] Pine, for the Decking of Ships, as it is more Solid and filled with Turpentine which makes it very durable. He is Positive that a Ship's Deck laid of the yellow Pine of this Province will last at least as long as two decks of the Norway Pine. The Shingles made for Exportation are made of Cypress, and are Sold the best at 9^s^ Sterling per Thousand. I shall now say no more at present of the Produce of this Country Its Naval Stores &tc. but return to some private occurences of my own family. As to Health M^rs^ Tryon and the little girl have enjoyed a very happy share of it. As to Myself I cannot say so much, having been sharply disciplined with a Billeous disorder in my Stomach and Eruptions of the Rash kind, on my Legs, this I got over the latter end of April last. About a Month since I had a return tho' not so Violent, a Strong Emetic was administered which handled me very Severely, however it effected the cure, and I have Supported the heats very well since. The Thermometer (made by Adams[18]) was in June in a Cool passage at 88°=0′ at the highest, and this Month it has been from 79 to 87°—0′. The day after I wrote my last letter of June to L^d^ H [19] the glass in twenty hours sunk from 87°=0′ to 71°—30′. Which great change caused much Sickness in in [*sic*] the Province. If I was to Muster my family I should not be able to return many fit for Duty. The Lad we took from Norfolk, a sailor I have made my groom and a little French Boy I got here, is all the Male Servants, well, Le Blanc, Cuisinier; & Turner, the Farmer, have both fevers and are taking the bark.[20] Georges Senses just returned with some favorable Symptoms and lastly the girl we took from my Farm has been so ill that she has done an hours work these two months. I sent her last week to a Plantation on the Sea Side, for a change of Scene, and air, She is getting better. These are inconveniences I am told every newcomer must experience in this Colony they term

[17] John Hawks, subsequently the architect of "Tryon's Palace." Alonzo T. Dill, Jr., "Tryon's Palace," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XIX (April, 1942), 122.

[18] George Adams, "mathematical instrument maker to George III." *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885-1900, 63 vols.), I, 97.

[19] This could refer to Lord Halifax, Lord Hillsboro, or Lord Hyde, all of whom are later mentioned by name.

[20] Bark of the cinchona tree, from which quinine is procured, was formerly ground into a powder and taken as a febrifuge. Murray *A New English Dictionary*, I, 672.

it a seasoning. Surely it has a little too much of the Kian Pepper in it. We have been drove to very short Commons, and the Cooks being sick deprived us of our Baker. We often sent to Brunswick Town (about 20 families in it) to beg our Bread, as there is none for Sale that can be eat nearer than Wilmington fifteen Miles off, either by Land or Water. I shall do better when I get my family on their Legs again. As I have purchased a yard full of fowls, have some good Hams and occasionally get a Bit of Mutton or Beef I reckon My Situation here is more out of the way for buying provisions than any Corner of the Province, but hold it to be as healthy as any in the Province, being within sight of one of the Sea Inlets at the distance of five Miles, tho' to the Bar of the River where the Vessels go over, is fifteen Miles, which makes us half way between the Bar and Wilmington. As I am desirous of not showing myself particularly partial to any particular Spot of the Country or people, I have hired three other houses. One at Wilmington to be at when I hold the Land Office,[21] which is twice a year, One at Newbern, where I hold the Genl Assembly and the Courts of Chancery,[22] and a Small Villa within three Miles of Newbern, for the purpose of raising a little Stock and Poultry for use of the family. I imagine you will say Tryon will certainly ruin himself, but my good Friend Houses are not so convenient nor so high priced as in Britain. The Rent of these four Houses with Six Hundred and forty acres to the Newbern Villa amount to near 130 £ Ster$^{g}$. I have Sixty acres of land belonging to this House all sand, except about 15 acres of Salt Marsh, use less at present from neglect & Weeds. I must now confine myself to my particular Situation in a Political View. I have been at great charges both of labor and expence in getting my family into this Province, and after many tedious disappointments Collected them more together than ever they have been yet, and as I think there is a large Field for good offices, If the People are reasonable I am persuaded, I could render His Majesty as much Service in this Colony as in any other more settled.

If the climate continues to agree with M$^{rs}$ Tryon and little one I shall be content to Act as the Political Physician, but if they will neither take my Pills, or follow my Prescriptions I shall desire another Doctor may be called in, and that Physician retire who will never give his attendance for the consideration of the

[21] As governor, Tryon was an official of the Land Office which was responsible for certifying and recording land grants in the colony. Charles Lee Raper, *North Carolina, A Study in English Colonial Government* (New York, 1904), 101-124, hereinafter cited as Raper, *A Study in English Colonial Government.*

[22] The governor, sitting in council with at least five members, could act as a Court of Chancery to hear and decide all cases in equity. Raper, *A Study in English Colonial Government*, 150-151.

Fee. As to the Emoluments for the Gov[r] they arise from Licences for Public Houses and Marriages if by License Special,[23] Fee for putting the Seal of the Province to letters Testimonial, letters of Administration Registers for Ships &tc. All which by the Estimate the Governor gave me some time before his Death amounts to about 400£ St[g] and the Fees on the Warrants for Surveying the Lands and Patents for granting them (which business is done in the Land Office) amount to between 3£ and 400£ Ster[g] which last is a donation of the Crown to the Governor so that the Province gives the Gov[r] 400£ per Ann: Which he is obliged to Collect from at least forty or fifty different hands, in which Number there must be some deficiencies. The County Clerks account with the Gov[r] for most of these Fees. I do not See, or believe the Province in a Situation capable of adding any considerable addition to the Fees, and I am persuaded, their inclination is as slack as their ability is weak for such a step. Therefore, the Gov[r] of this Province must live in a Mean and shabby Manner, if it was not for the Salary allowed from home to him. I hope you and my friends have been very busy in procuring My Commission as Governor, passing the Offices[24] as soon as possible. I was determined you see when I took pen in hand to say what I might have subdivided into Six letters. I have from the heat of the Weather found myself in such a State of Indolence, that I have been perpetualy moving from one room to the other, tho' motion makes us hotter, and never able to Settle to reading or any business. I have wrote this long letter yesterday Evening and this Morning. I was up at 4 o'clock. We ride most days, Morning or Evening. M[rs] Tryon fortunately has two horses which carry her very safely.

Say Every thing for me to Lord Halifax[25] & L'Hillsborough[26] that is proper and grateful; particularly make my very affec-

[23] A 1741 law regulating the issuance of marriage licenses was in force at this time. The governor's fee for each license amounted to twenty shillings. Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 158-161.

[24] There were four methods of appointing colonial officials and all required that certain documents be recorded in one or more offices in England. Tryon's term "passing the offices" refers to this step. For details concerning the appointment of colonial officers see Charles M. Andrews, *Guide to the Materials American History, to 1783 in the Public Record Office of Great Britain* (Washington, 1912), I, 233-236.

[25] George Montagu Dunk, second Earl of Halifax, first lord of the admiralty and (until he was dismissed in July 1765—the very month in which this letter was written) high in the administration of George Grenville. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVI, 199-201.

[26] Wills Hill, Earl of Hillsborough, a relative of Tryon's wife. As president of the board of trade and plantations he was influential in Tryon's appointment as lieutenant governor of North Carolina. He resigned this position in July, 1765—again, the very month in which this letter was written. *Dictionary of National Biography*, LVII, 276; XXVI, 427-429.

tionate Compl^ts^ to L^d^ Hyde.[27] Communicate some contents to him of this book. He knows he is my Sheet Anchor.[28] I expect ample amends for the trouble I give you to read this Manuscript. I think you promised to send me the Monthly Gazetes,[29] I have received none. Pray remember us all to every body that inquires after us. I have received a handsome cheerful letter from My friend Hotham[30] and also from Leland both whom I regard. I shall be most happy if in your next letter you tell me you have recovered your appetite and in better health; a Circumstance I am very Solicitous about. M^rs^ Tryon joins with me very Sincerely in our wishes for your health &tc.

I am D^r^ S^r^
Most cordially yours,
W Tryon

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[27] Thomas Villiers, first Baron Hyde, a member of the privy council and joint postmaster-general. *Dictionary of National Biography*, LVIII, 352-353.

[28] "That on which one places one's reliance when everything else has failed." A sheet-anchor, formerly always the largest of a ship's anchors, was used only in an emergency. Murray, *A New English Dictionary*, VIII, 670.

[29] Tryon probably was referring to such popular monthly publications as *The Gentleman's Magazine, British Magazine; or, Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies, Candid Review and Literary Repository*, etc., of which there were many. See R. S. Crane and F. B. Kaye, *A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals, 1620-1800* (Chapel Hill, 1927).

[30] Perhaps Beaumont Hotham (1737-1814), a member of the bar then practicing in the chancery courts. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXVII, 403-404.

# BOOK REVIEWS

Home on the Yadkin. By Thomas W. Ferguson. (Winston-Salem: Clay Printing Company. 1956. Pp. 242. Illustrations.)

This little book is too opinionated to be history, too factual to be fiction, too carelessly written and printed to be a work of art, and too localized in interest to be read widely. It is, nevertheless, what the author, in his own words, set out to write: ". . . while intended to be more for local interest with a description of The Valley, family histories, customs, habits and provincialisms of its people, the author also discusses at length, politics, governmental processes, schools, churches, religion, intoxicating beverages, prohibition, A.B.C. Stores, roads, conservation of natural resources, flood control, the Grange and Agriculture."

Mr. Ferguson is a life-long resident of the upper Yadkin and his story concerns the valley from Wilkesboro toward Blowing Rock, with special attention to the area immediately around the community of Ferguson (formerly known as Kendall and Yellow Hill). A farmer by occupation as well as conviction, he has written his reminiscences in a conversational manner that often captures the excitement of an autumn 'possum hunt, the youthful anticipation of calling up a doodlebug, and the discomfort of a straw tick. The author's interest in the land and its people, his devotion to the New Deal and the Grange, and his opposition to alcohol, mosquitoes, Army engineers, and Republicans, figure prominently in the story. Mr. Ferguson's liberal political views do not include support for the proposed Yadkin flood control dam, a scheme which he feels would destroy "a goodly portion of both Wilkes and Caldwell [counties]."

The reader may find some of the author's ideas more amusing than practical, but he will admire the courage of expressing them. Mr. Ferguson suggests, for example, that the way to do away with the liquor problem is to abolish all prohibitions and taxation so that alcohol will cease to be a luxury. Result: both the psychological and economic attractions will

be eliminated, and it will become unprofitable to produce. Nor will there be common agreement that "ninety-five per cent of the world's progress has emanated from this minority [Christian] group. The other five per cent has no doubt been due to the association with Christian people and Christian principles."

Mr. Ferguson is at his best in describing local color incidents—as, for example, when Cousin Ben Ferguson wrote a recruiting officer in 1898 that he was "ready to go to Cuba, hell, or anywhere else." But perhaps the choicest gem is the author's assumption that "we on our little planet, the earth, have as much or more intelligence than any other planet in the universe, otherwise they would have communicated with us before this time."

*Home on the Yadkin* will be a delightful reading experience for those who are more interested in life in the valley than in the literary or historical merits of the book.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

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James W. Davis: North Carolina Surgeon. By LeGette Blythe. With a Foreword by Johnson J. Hayes. (Charlotte: William Loftin Publishers. 1957. Pp. ix, 227. Index.)

This is the story of one of North Carolina's most colorful and successful contemporary surgeons. Drawing freely from correspondence, published tributes, documents, and the memories of many who knew him, LeGette Blythe has written an authoritative biography in the same interesting narrative style that has made his historical and biblical novels so successful.

It is the story of a man who dedicated his life to a purpose first expressed as a youth, "I'm going to be a doctor and have a hospital and operate on a lot of folks, and get rich, too!"

It is the story of a surgeon who performed a prodigious number of operations and of a shrewd business man and

organizer who built, staffed, and equipped a 200-bed modern hospital and clinic in Statesville, without the aid of local or governmental subsidy.

It is the story of a man of boundless energy and strong convictions who believed firmly in the virtues of self discipline, hard work, and individual enterprise. He hated idleness and waste. He expressed himself strongly on the evils of alcohol and cigarettes. And in national politics, he abhorred the practices of the New Deal and was a staunch and vocal Taft Republican in the center of Democratic North Carolina.

Critics might have questioned the indications for some of his operations. Others who worked with him might have complained that the Chief took all the work and left nothing for the associate. Undoubtedly, in the relentless pursuit of his singleness of purpose and in the expression of his convictions, he trod on the toes of others. Yet they were few compared to the thousands who loved and respected him for a lifetime devoted to his profession.

Clarence E. Gardner, Jr.

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Duke University,
Durham.

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Index and Digest to Hathaway's North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register. Compiled and edited by Worth S. Ray. (Baltimore: Southern Book Company. 1956. $10.00. [Reprint].)

Colonial Granville County and Its People. Compiled and edited by Worth S. Ray. (Baltimore: Southern Book Company. 1956. $7.50. [Reprint].)

In 1947, Worth S. Ray published *The Lost Tribes of North Carolina,* a combination of four titles that were also printed separately. This work was an offset reproduction from typescript which, while bringing together a wealth of genealogical data, at the same time taxed the patience and eyesight of readers. Some portions were unreadable, others almost so.

The Southern Book Company, a specialist in genealogical works, has now reproduced the first two parts of the Ray volume — *Index and Digest to Hathaway's North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register* and *Colonial Granville County and Its People.* Inasmuch as the reproduction is an offset from the 1947 edition, the same handicap accompanies the reprints. In fairness to the Southern Book Company, however, it should be said that in general an excellent job of reproduction has been done, considering the quality of the original pages.

Parts III and IV of *The Lost Tribes,* published separately in 1947, under the titles *Mecklenburg Signers and Their Neighbors* and *Old Albemarle and Its Absentee Landlords,* are still available in the original editions.

In the preface to *The Lost Tribes,* Mr. Ray wrote, "The book contains many errors, as nearly all good books do, but I will never live long enough to re-write it, so I am sending it out into the world just as it is. Future writers may correct them later." The errors and omissions remain, but long-suffering genealogists will benefit from the new publication of the two parts under review. Hathaway's *Register,* published in 1900, 1901, and 1903, contains a vast accumulation of historical data gathered chiefly from the Albemarle counties. Although Ray's index to the *Register* omits many names, it nevertheless fills a need realized for almost half a century.

*Colonial Granville County* does not purport to be a history of old Granville, but it nevertheless brings together information that cannot be found in any other published source. Family lines and biographical sketches are particularly valuable. The reader should not assume, however, that Mr. Ray exhausted his sources. For instance, only about a hundred marriage bonds—a fraction of the total—are abstracted, and even fewer wills are included. Thus, while finding the little book useful, the researcher will still need to do most of his work in the manuscript records of the county.

H. G. Jones.

State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

The Decisive Battle of Nashville. By Stanley F. Horn. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xviii, 181. Maps and illustrations. $3.00.)

Of all the battles of the Civil War, the Battle of Nashville has been called the most perfect. It was a model in strategy and execution—a textbook battle—and it marked the end, for all practical purposes, of the Army of Tennessee. That army was a rugged fighting force that had been cursed with incredibly poor leadership through most of the war. It had its peak under General Joseph E. Johnston in the campaign to Atlanta, but Johnston was not sufficiently aggressive to satisfy Jefferson Davis, who replaced him with the less experienced and less able John B. Hood. Hood responded with the aggressive action that the Confederate President desired, but without success and with a loss in men that the Army of Tennessee could ill afford. Forced to surrender Atlanta, Hood led his army on a quick march back into Tennessee in a desperate attempt to capture Sherman's bases of supply and menace Kentucky, Ohio, and points North. Failing in that, he planned to move through Cumberland Gap to the aid of Lee in Virginia.

Hood's planning was basically sound, but his execution was poor. He delayed too long in crossing the Tennessee River, blundered in allowing General Schofield to elude him at Spring Hill, and then in a pique of anger fought the useless and costly Battle of Franklin. At this point he forgot, or decided to ignore, his original campaign alternative. Instead of trying to join Lee, he led his decimated army to the outskirts of Nashville and entrenched.

Behind the strong fortifications of the city General George H. Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga," slowly and methodically built up his forces and planned his strategy for the forthcoming battle. Unhurried, despite threats and pleas from Lincoln and Grant, he finally moved out against the Confederates on December 15 with a great flanking movement that,

by the following night, had crumpled the Army of Tennessee and sent it in flight for the safety of the Tennessee River.

It is this battle that Mr. Horn describes, and no one can tell it better. Completely familiar with every part of the battlefield, Mr. Horn makes the battle come alive with his vivid descriptions of the action, and he makes it intelligible to the modern reader through his happy device of describing it in terms of present-day streets, houses, and subdivisions. The addition of several fine maps, pictures of Nashville's fortifications, and a dust cover on the inside of which is a map of the city showing the location of markers erected by the Tennessee Historical Commission to describe the battle, make the book a valuable addition to every Civil War library.

Mr. Horn has produced the best and probably the definitive history of the Battle of Nashville. But he has tried to do still more. He has attempted to show that Nashville was "*the* decisive battle of the war"; and it is this interpretation that will draw most criticism of the book. If, as the author maintains, *the* decisive battle of a war is one in which the contrary event would have changed the future drama of the world, can Nashville claim the distinction over the bloodbath at Franklin, which many believe dictated the result of the Battle of Nashville—or over the repulse at Gettysburg of Lee's northern invasion—or over the surrender of Atlanta with its crucial boost of northern morale at a citical point—or over the Confederate defeat at Antietam when British recognition of the Southern nation apparently hung in the balance?

Many readers will disagree with Mr. Horn's closely reasoned argument for the decisiveness of the battle, but most will finish the book with a feeling that the author has done an incomparably fine job of describing a battle that was more important than it has generally been considered by historians of the Civil War.

William T. Alderson.

Tennessee State Library and Archives,
Nashville, Tenn.

Georgia's Land of the Golden Isles. By Burnette Vanstory. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1956. Pp. xi, 202. Illustrations. $3.75.)

In this pleasant little book, Mrs. Vanstory has recreated the atmosphere of leisurely plantation luxury on the famed Sea Islands of Georgia and the adjoining coast. After presenting an overview of the islands from Ossabaw to Cumberland, she then describes each separately. Extensive research is evident in the descriptions of aboriginal life, early settlers, wars with the Spaniards, and events of both the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. The thread of her story continues on to the present; and all the islands are once more considered in a concluding chapter.

The style is warm and flowing, informal but not chatty, and spiced with family anecdotes and legends. The author has fortunately not succumbed to what must have been a great temptation to overburden her narrative with genealogical data. Although many family histories are given in some detail, this is almost essential inasmuch as most of the islands were owned by single families during the pre-Civil War period.

The most interesting sections are those dealing with pre-Revolutionary history. One wishes Mrs. Vanstory had dwelt longer on this aspect. The book's gravest fault—although some might call it an asset—is its exteme romanticism. One becomes slightly wearied by the excessive number of moonlight boat rides, balls, faithful retainers, and an atmosphere drenched with the perfume of flowers and filled with the melodious song of birds. The twentieth-century houseparties of northern millionaires seem a travesty on the past, as well as dull. A more critical and realistic approach by the author would have provided a more substantial contribution to the literature of Georgia history.

Sarah McCulloh Lemmon.

Meredith College,
Raleigh.

The Road to Appomattox. By Bell Irvin Wiley. (Memphis, Tenn.: Memphis State College Press. 1956. Pp. x, 121. $4.00.)

Few historians are as qualified as Professor Wiley to speculate on the causes of Confederate defeat. His interest in the common soldier in gray and in the plain people behind the lines has given him a deep understanding of the wartime mind of the South. In these three lectures (originally presented as the J. P. Young Lectures in American History at Memphis State College), he advances some theories about the things that beat the Confederates.

The first lecture is devoted to Jefferson Davis. In a charitable portrait of the Confederate President, Dr. Wiley defends him against many of the charges made by his contemporaries and by later historians, but is forced to conclude that Davis' "record as President leaves more to condemn than to praise" (p. 42). In the second lecture, dealing with "the waning of the Southern will," the author draws on his knowledge of the little people to sketch the ups and downs of Confederate morale. High at the beginning, morale sagged in early 1862, revived later that year, plummeted with the disasters of July, 1863, and continued down to the nadir of 1865. Author Wiley's analysis of factors affecting morale is extremely good. Lecture three deals with "failures that were fatal," and here the author theorizes that disharmony among the people and leaders was one of the worst failures. Another which hurt morale was the inadequate system of public information. No central propaganda agency kept the war aims before the people and soon they wondered why they were fighting. Rigid political and economic views fashioned another failure by making it difficult for the government to be flexible in formulating war policy. State rights and cotton dominance kept the South agricultural and local in the face of desperate need for centralization and industry. The last failure considered, and one which Dr. Wiley thinks vital, is that of Confederate judgment. Southerners misjudged foreign attitudes on slavery and underestimated the dedication of the North to the Union.

Some of Dr. Wiley's "exploratory" and "tentative" views are bound to stir up some disagreement among his readers. Some will not agree with his evaluation of Davis, others will quarrel with certain conclusions on morale factors, and still others will wish to delete some things from his list of failures and to add many others. Whatever the opinion, though, the reader will be stimulated to reaction and will enjoy the book.

Frank E. Vandiver.

The Rice Institute,
Houston, Texas.

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General George B. McClellan. Shield of the Union. By Warren W. Hassler, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 350. $6.00.)

Shortly after the close of the Civil War Robert E. Lee was asked to name the ablest general he had faced during the conflict. Without hesitation he answered: "McClellan by all odds!" Professor Warren W. Hassler, Jr., in the present volume, *Shield of the Union,* presents considerable historical justification for Lee's statement. It is the author's contention that McClellan, contrary to the views of many writers, was more than just an "able organizer, drillmaster, and disciplinarian." He was, in addition, "a soldier of superior strategic and tactical ability. . . ."

With exceptional clarity Professor Hassler describes both the Peninsula and Antietam campaigns. The bloody fighting which marked these early stages of the war reveal McClellan as a far cry from the commander charged by his contemporaries as being stupid, incompetent, and even disloyal.

Equally clear and scholarly is the treatment of the political pressures of the day which had a direct bearing on military events. The author shows considerable skill in interweaving the political and military stories, thus giving the reader an intelligible and convincing picture of the tremendous handicaps under which McClellan labored. "Political enmity toward him was largely his undoing." As a Democrat hated

by the Radical Republicans and at odds with the administration, the General was destined for political sacrifices.

*Shield of the Union* is an extremely fine piece of work in defense of McClellan and helps bring the controversial General into a truer focus. However, Professor Hassler is open to the criticism of riding his thesis a little too hard. There is no denying that McClellan was a talented officer but it must always be remembered that he failed before Richmond and gained no more than a debatable draw at Antietam. It is highly questionable whether "Little Mac" could have done Grant's job in 1864-1865.

John G. Barrett.

Virginia Military Institute,
Lexington, Va.

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The Early Jackson Party in Ohio. By Harry R. Stevens. (Durham: The Duke University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 187. $4.50.)

In this short book Dr. Harry Stevens, an Assistant Professor of History at Duke University, attempts to tell the story of the election of 1824 in Ohio. He begins with a biographical sketch of the Irish revolutionary and educator, Moses Dawson, and then jumps to a bitter congressional election between William Henry Harrison and James W. Gazlay. He then begins to cite letters in which prominent Ohioans discuss the presidential prospects of the various candidates.

Stevens' chief efforts are devoted to showing how this feeling for one candidate was actually transferred into a party organization. The advocates of DeWitt Clinton, led by Ethan Allen Brown, organized early but soon folded. Most of the Congressmen were active politicians and generally worked for Henry Clay. John McLean was active for John C. Calhoun, until Pennsylvania developments caused the South Carolinian's withdrawal. Certain politicians, professing to resent Southern domination, attempted to appeal to all opponents

of slavery to support John Quincy Adams. Little support came to Crawford, and as the Calhoun and Clinton campaigns failed, several editors and politicians began to praise Jackson. Moses Dawson, then an editor, was active for Jackson, and Congressman Gazlay, in spite of great personal animosity toward Dawson, espoused the Jackson cause. Stevens constantly reminds us that there was little connection between state and local tickets and the national alignment.

In monotonous detail in every county where local committees were formed, Stevens tries to trace the actual formation of a party for each of the three main candidates. Although hundreds of names are listed as leaders of one of the candidates, the author fails to show any significance as to why they acted. The pattern shows editors announcing their support of one candidate and of men holding meetings, passing resolutions, and sometimes selecting electors. On the whole there seemed little co-operation beyond county limits. In the election Clay's ticket received 19,255 votes, Jackson's ticket, 18,489, and Adams' ticket, 12,280. Jackson's strength was great where his county organizations existed, but the Hero of New Orleans had less of a state-wide organization than Clay. Stevens fails to find much reason why people favored individual candidates, and usually accepts at face value the assertions of politicians that they favored one candidate because he was best for the country. He does believe that the Jacksonians were the most national of the parties, but he fails to find any economic cleavage between the groups.

The Ohio story may be interesting, but this reviewer looks in vain to find significant determinants in political divisions of the western state. Although the author has undoubtedly done much research, to one interested in the Jackson party the results of his labors prove disappointing.

William S. Hoffmann.

Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone.

The Cultural Life of the American Colonies, 1607-1763. By Louis B. Wright. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1957. Pp. xiv, 292. $5.00.)

Of the forty-odd volumes of the New American Nation Series launched by Harper, this is the seventh to appear. Dealing with various periods of history and frequently overlapping each other intentionally, they will supplant the valuable but now passé old series.

In this book Dr. Wright goes at it with might and main. Agriculture, trade, national origins, religion, education, libraries, literary productions, music and drama, architecture, science, and the press—all these eleven aspects of colonial times come off neatly packaged in eleven chapters. There is ample evidence of wide study and extensive reading. A useful bibliography at the end of the book attests the author's industry.

If there is little here of which the earnest student of early American culture is not already aware, at least it is well to have it in such a convenient and concise arrangement. For the old boys, this compendium may serve as a handy reference in spite of the inadequate and capricious index. For the college student, it will doubtless appear on many lists of parallel reading.

With so many dates, names, facts, quotations, and conclusions, one might expect some new lights on our colonial forebears, but such is not the case. With humor Dr. Wright reminds us many times that the Puritans were interested in more than religion—an admonition which is hardly necessary any longer. Following his predecessors, American history still begins in 1607 (poor Roanoke!). Virginians and New Englanders still dominate the scene, though occasionally Pennsylvanians and South Carolinians are allowed brief entrance. "Culture," when not in cities, is for the most part on vast plantations.

On every occasion, University of North Carolina-trained Dr. Wright mentions North Carolina only in passing. The

colony was peopled by "simple folk" (p. 20), "was the most backward of the colonies in matters of education" (p. 114), was called a "hell of a hole" by a preacher in 1721 (p. 115). William Byrd gets page after page after page, John Lawson twelve lines. Dr. Thomas Bray established libraries in Maryland and South Carolina, but presumably none at Bath. A man named James Parker founded "the *Constitutional Courant* in 1765 at Woodbridge, New Jersey" (!); there is not even the barest mention of James Davis and 1751 and New Bern.

All this drives home one inescapable conclusion: Tar Heels are still delinquent in writing their own history. From the *Colonial Records* and the vast data in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill—from these two alone—a cultural history of colonial North Carolina could be spelled out which would astound even authorities like Dr. Wright. Meanwhile, novelist Inglis Fletcher has the field to herself.

Richard Walser,

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

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The Origins of the American Party System. By Joseph Charles. (Williamsburg: The Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1956. Pp. viii, 147. $2.50.)

This slight but meaty volume consists of three chapters from the author's doctoral dissertation on the party origins of Jeffersonian democracy, a work characterized as a "brilliant piece of original analysis" by Frederick Merk in his brief foreword. This posthumous publication makes generally available parts of the thesis, which the author regarded as unfinished and hoped to be able sometime to refine and strengthen. The published essays deal with "Hamilton and Washington," "Adams and Jefferson," and "The Jay Treaty."

Of necessity, the selected chapters do not build into a fully rounded exposition of the origins of the party system. Yet

they contain insights most suggestive to the political scientist concerned with the theory of parties. Mr. Charles viewed deterministic explanations of party origins with reserve. Although well aware of economic and other such influences, his general view is that the political factor in the system may be to a substantial extent independent of the supposed determinants. Party cleavages were to a degree man-made. The management of the great issues of the 1790's plowed a furrow that set off one group of partisans against another; the managed impact of the issues, not latent and predetermined cleavages, fixed the party division. Once built up the party groupings became entities with a life of their own to be understood by their own inner dynamics, not as puppets propelled by abstract, external forces.

The speculative passages are worth pondering, but they do not make up the bulk of the essays which center on their subjects. From these pages Hamilton emerges not so much the saviour of the financial integrity of the country as a tireless advocate of the propertied classes and of a powerful state who "seems never to have asked himself how powerful a state could be if it were not based on the loyalty, affections, and best interests of all of its citizens" (p. 36). In the development of the party system Washington, subject to management by those around him, does not appear at his best. Adams' great contribution to the creation of parties came in his policy of resistance to those Federalist leaders not indisposed toward war with France, a tactic that gave time for the formation of a new party and helped create circumstances favorable to its peaceful succession to power. The Republican party itself was not a creation of Jefferson. Rather, "a widespread popular movement recognized and claimed him as its leader." These and other such points, persuasively argued, make the book of interest to historians of the period.

V. O. Key, Jr.

Harvard University,
Cambridge, Mass.

From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes. By John Hope Franklin. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1956. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Pp. xv, 639. Illustrations, bibliographical notes, and index. $5.50 text, $7.50 trade.)

This book could have been entitled History of the United States with Emphasis on Negroes. One may quarrel with Franklin over such points as his oversimplification of the Compromise of 1850 or his overemphasis on the organized underground railroad. Yet his book is about as accurate as one can expect in a general work. Most of the better known secondary studies are mentioned in the bibliographical notes, and there is nothing particularly startling in the interpretations. Except for brief accounts of early Negro Kingdoms, Latin American bondmen, and an excellent chapter on the Negro in Canada, there is little new to the American historian. Yet it is the sort of book every instructor should recommend to students.

The book is a synthesis. Especially well done is the description of plantation slavery. The status of the free Negro is adequately described. The philosophy of Booker T. Washington is interestingly discussed. Reconstruction is explained as part of a national economic revolution.

Dr. Franklin is a Negro. For the first three-quarters of the book one is impressed with his detachment and objectivity. Yet when he reaches the Twentieth Century a note of bitterness is present. This part of the book reads like a special plea for justice, and one feels the Negro's outrage and determination to continue the fight for equal rights. Until a reader reaches the last chapter he senses that Franklin and Negroes in general were filled more with despair than with hope. But many significant things happened after 1947; segregation ended in many areas and the Supreme Court declared school segregation unconstitutional. Franklin himself gained acclaim in the historical profession. In his last chapter, written in 1956, the author records these national developments, and, although realizing that the battle is not yet won, he expresses satisfaction.

As in the case of most revised general works little has been added. It is, however, a worthwhile study. It shows that the high reputation which Franklin enjoys among the profession is not merely a sign of his colleagues' liberalism but is a well-deserved tribute to his scholarly work.

William S. Hoffmann.
Appalachian State Teachers College,
Boone.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

The Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History met on May 8 with the following members present: Mr. McDaniel Lewis, Chairman, Miss Gertrude Carraway, Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, and Mr. Josh L. Horne. Present also were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department; Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications; Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator; Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent; Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist; and Mrs. Fannie M. Blackwelder, Records Center Supervisor. The Board authorized Dr. Crittenden to file a report with Governor Luther H. Hodges and the Council of State to instigate proceedings to acquire the Zebulon B. Vance Birthplace property. The Director and the division heads presented reports of the activities of the Department since the last meeting. A report was also made on Senate Bill 55 amending Chapter 371, *Public Laws of North Carolina,* relative to counties appropriating non-tax revenues to local historical societies; and Senate Bill 56 amending the basic act of the Department of Archives and History, Chapter 121 of the *General Statutes,* and authorizing the setting up of a committee on the disposal of historical records that have no administrative or historical value or importance.

On June 11 Governor Luther H. Hodges reappointed Mr. Clarence W. Griffin of Forest City to the Executive Board for a six-year term to expire March 31, 1963; and appointed Mr. H. V. Rose of Smithfield to succeed Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton of Hendersonville, for a term of six years to expire the same date.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, accompanied by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, attended a meeting on March 7 of the Hillsboro Garden Club to aid in developing a plan for a historical museum there. The town of Hillsboro later voted the sum of $250 to be used for the proposed

museum which is to be established in the old courtroom. On March 29 Dr. Crittenden attended a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Washington, D. C., at which time those present approved a long-range plan for the Trust which was presented by a special committee. On April 4 he was presented a "time capsule" for preservation in the Department by representatives of the National Education Association as a part of the centennial celebration of the group which was concluded by a reception held with the North Carolina Education Association which also celebrated its one-hundredth anniversary this year. Dr. Crittenden attended the organizational meeting of the Wake County Historical Society on April 9, and on April 19, accompanied by Mrs. Fannie Memory Blackwelder and Mr. H. G. Jones of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts, met with the Meredith College junior history majors and their faculty advisors to discuss the Department's internship course. This course, presented biennially, offers archival, museum, publications, and historic sites training to juniors and seniors. Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, Head of the History Department at Meredith, led the discussion. On April 23 Dr. Crittenden talked on the "History of Raleigh" to the Daughters of the American Revolution, Junior Group, and on April 26 attended the Historical Society of North Carolina meeting at Elon College. He and Mr. W. S. Tarlton met with the Governor Richard Caswell Memorial Commission on March 29, at which time the group discussed the request for appropriations and reached an agreement. With Mr. H. G. Jones, Mrs. Grace Mahler, and Mrs. Dorothy R. Phillips, Dr. Crittenden attended the May 10-11 regional meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association in Bertie County. Dr. Crittenden is Secretary of the association and on May 11 made a speech to the group on "The Historic Sites Program of North Carolina."

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator, and Dr. Christopher Crittenden attended the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Masonic Museum in Greensboro on

March 13 and on April 5 Mrs. Jordan went to Goldsboro to judge the Junior Historian Exhibits. On April 11 Mrs. Jordan went to Warrenton to attend the garden tour which emphasized early kitchens and on April 16 assisted the Tar Heel Junior Historian Club of Josephus Daniels Junior High School (Raleigh) at a reception for their parents which was held in the Portrait Gallery of the Hall of History. She went to Williamsburg, Virginia, for a special showing of eighteenth-century textiles and wrought iron, May 1-2, and assisted as hostess at a meeting on May 16 of the Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century held in the Department of Archives and History Assembly Room. From May 22 to May 24 Mrs. Jordan attended the meetings of the American Association of Museums in Lincoln, Nebraska, and she was in New Bern from May 27 to May 29 for the meetings of the Tryon Palace Commission.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, attended the meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina which met on April 26 at Elon College, and the meeting of the Western North Carolina Historical Association in Asheville on April 27 where he spoke on "Local Historical Societies." On the evening of April 27 he attended the meeting of the Western North Carolina Press Association for Weekly Newspapers and spoke to those present on "Zebulon B. Vance —His Birthplace and the Publication of His Papers." He talked to the Daughters of the American Revolution at Rutherfordton on April 29 on the "Department of Archives and History and Its Services to the Public," and in the evening addressed the Rutherford County Club and the Forest City Kiwanis Club at a joint meeting in Forest City on the "Educational Phases of the Work of the Department of Archives and History." Mr. Corbitt was guest speaker at the April 30 meeting of the Rotary Club in Sylva where he discussed "Increased Interest in the History of North Carolina," and on May 1 he talked to the history class at Western Carolina College, Cullowhee, on "The Publication Program of the Department of Archives and History." On May 2 he spoke

to the Cherokee County Historical Society at Murphy on "Legislation in Behalf of Local Historical Societies and Reconstruction of Fort Butler," and on May 3 spoke at the junior high school in the same town on "Learning About Your Community." His topic at the Bakersville meeting of the Mitchell County Historical Society on May 4 was "The Importance of Local Historical Societies," and on May 13 he went to Lexington to assist in the organization of the Davidson County Historical Society. He spoke to the Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century on May 16 on "The Early Settlements in North Carolina."

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, went to Washington, N. C., on March 4 to assist in presenting an appeal for funds for the restoration of Colonial Bath to the Beaufort County Board of Commissioners. He spoke on March 20 to the Johnston-Pettigrew Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, on North Carolina's contribution to the Civil War, and visited Person's Ordinary, Littleton, on March 25 to discuss with the local committee future restoration procedures. Mr. Tarlton represented the Department along with Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, member of the Executive Board, at the unveiling of a historical marker on March 29 at Dallas, Gaston County, at which event Dr. William C. Friday, President of the University of North Carolina, was the principal speaker. Both Mr. Tarlton and Mr. Griffin also spoke at the ceremonies. On April 3 Mr. Tarlton attended the executive committee meeting of the North American Association of Historic Sites Public Officials in New York City, and he represented the Department on April 8 at unveiling ceremonies of a highway marker honoring James Lytch near Laurinburg. He attended a meeting of the Historical Halifax Restoration Association in Halifax on April 12, and on April 29 he represented the Department at a meeting of the Forest History Committee of North Carolina held at Duke University.

Mr. Norman Larson, Historic Site Specialist, presented a slide-lecture program to the Northampton County Historical Society held in Jackson on April 3 on "Historic Sites in North

Carolina," and he gave the same program to the Mt. Airy Kiwanis Club on April 12. On April 28 the final program in the first series of telecasts given by the Department in collaboration with WRAL-TV was presented on the subject, "Early Medicine in North Carolina," with Mr. Larson serving as narrator.

On April 12 Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, spoke at the luncheon meeting of the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, at the Carolina Country Club on "Genealogical Source Material in the State Archives." He attended the Eleventh Institute in the Preservation and Administration of Archives, sponsored jointly by the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the Maryland Hall of Records, and the American University, held in Washington from June 17 to July 12. Dr. Theodore R. Schellenberg, Assistant Archivist of the United States, was Director of the Institute.

Mrs. Fannie Memory Blackwelder attended the Fourth Institute on Records Management in Washington from June 3 through June 14. The course was directed by Dr. Herbert E. Angel, Assistant Archivist of the United States, and was sponsored by the National Archives and the American University.

Changes in personnel in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts are as follows: Mrs. Bessie W. Bowling replaces Mrs. Betty Hunter; Mrs. Suzanne G. Bell replaces Mrs. Doris Swann; Mrs. Elizabeth J. Hilbourn returned following a leave of absence; Mrs. Elissa H. Green resigned effective May 31; Miss Rebecca Knight begins work June 1; and Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis Battle Watkins joined the staff as Laminator replacing Mrs. Sue Griffin.

The following manuscript volumes which had been withdrawn from public use because of deterioration have now been laminated, rebound, and made available for use by the Division of Archives and Manuscripts: Perquimans Precinct Court Minutes, 1688-1693; Rutherford County Court Minutes, 1782-1786; Richmond County Court Minutes, 1786-1792; and Robeson County Court Minutes, 1797-1806.

During the months of January, February, and March the Search Room was visited by 664 researchers. Reference service was also given to 697 mail inquiries and 47 telephone calls. These figures do not include visitors in the State Archivist's office, or mail and telephone inquiries answered directly from the office. During the same period the following copying services were rendered: 700 photocopies, 117 microfilm prints, 87 certified copies, and 75 feet of microfilm. The division has also laminated 1,559 pages.

The North Carolina Literary and Historical Association held its spring regional meeting in co-operation with the Bertie County Historical Association, May 10-11, in Windsor. The program included tours of the following historic places: "Hope," built about 1770 and birthplace and home of David Stone, with Dr. and Mrs. J. E. Smith as hosts; "Windsor Castle," originally a log house built by William Gray and rebuilt in 1850 by Patrick Henry Winston, where tea was served by Dr. and Mrs. Cola Castelloe; "Rosefield," erected in 1768 and birthplace of William Blount, with Mrs. Moses B. Gillam and Miss Helen Gillam as hostesses; St. Thomas Episcopal Church; "Avoca," with a side trip to the site of the "Nathaniel Batts House," believed to be the first permanent home of a white man in what is now North Carolina; "Scotch Hall," with refreshments served by Mr. and Mrs. George W. Capehart; and "Mount Gould."

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Secretary, presided at the Friday afternoon session and Mr. A. S. Askew presided at the Saturday morning session. A Friday dinner meeting with Mr. Gilbert T. Stephenson, President, presiding, and a picnic lunch at Colerain Beach as well as ceremonies at the Confederate monument were features of the meeting. Speakers included Dr. W. P. Cumming of Davidson College who spoke on "The Earliest Permanent Settlements in North Carolina, circa 1650," with emphasis on the Nicholas Comberford Map drawn 300 years ago; Dr. Herbert R. Paschal, Jr., of East Carolina College, who spoke on "The Tuscarora Indians"; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden who spoke on "The Historic Sites Program of North Carolina."

The staff of the Department of Archives and History had as a special feature of the May staff meeting a film, "The Battle of Gettysburg," which was produced by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in collaboration with the Department of the Interior. Special consultant for the movie which was in color was Dr. Walter Coleman, Superintendent of Gettysburg National Military Park.

On March 15 in the office of Governor Luther H. Hodges the first copy of the *Public Addresses, Letters, and Papers of William Kerr Scott, Governor of North Carolina, 1949-1953,* was presented Senator Scott by Governor Hodges. This publication, edited by David Leroy Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, is available free to the public upon application to Mr. Corbitt, Box 1881, Raleigh.

*The Papers of William Alexander Graham,* Volume I, 1825-1837, is also ready for distribution by the Department. Edited by Dr. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, it is the first of several in a series of volumes to be published as funds become available. William A. Graham was born in Lincoln County and moved to Hillsboro in 1826. He was Governor, 1845-1849; Secretary of the Navy, 1850-1852; and Confederate States Senator, 1864-1865. Any person interested in procuring a copy of this volume should apply to Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Box 1881, Raleigh, and enclose the sum of $3.00.

Two maps have been released by the Division of Publications and are available for five cents each. One is an outline map of the State and the other a copy of the Civil War map in Volume I of Clark's *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions from North Carolina in the Great War, 1861-65.* Five of the pamphlets distributed by the Division have been reprinted and may be purchased as follows: *Money Problems of Early Tar Heels* and *The North Carolina State Flag,* both 14-page booklets and ten cents each; *Tar Heel Tales,* 34 pages; *The War of the Regulation and the Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771,* 32 pages; and *The History of the Great Seal of North Carolina,* 40 pages, each 15 cents.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Chairman of the Department of History of the University of North Carolina, announces the following news items: Dr. Harold A. Bierck spoke to the Pi Gamma Mu at Elon College on March 1 on "What Latin America Means to the United States." Dr. James R. Caldwell contributed an essay, "The Churches of Granville County, North Carolina, in the Eighteenth Century," to the *Studies in Southern History;* and Dr. Cornelius O. Cathey contributed "The Impact of the Civil War on Agriculture in North Carolina" to the same publication. Dr. Elisha P. Douglass has been co-ordinator and a participant in a weekly WUNC television program on "Ideas." He will spend the academic year, 1957-1958, in Germany as a Fulbright Lecturer. Dr. James L. Godfrey gave two lectures at Winthrop College on May 6 and 7. He addressed the Phi Alpha Theta History Fraternity on "Some Problems for the Historian in Contemporary History," and his subject for the college assembly was "Great Britain: Post-war Adjustments and Evaluation." He is the author of "Recent Political and Constitutional Development in the Gold Coast," in the current issue of the *South Atlantic Quarterly.* Dr. Fletcher M. Green read a paper, "The Origins of the Credit Mobilier," at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Lincoln, Nebraska, on May 2, and on May 11 he delivered the Annual Honors Day address at Mars Hill College on the subject, "The Incidence of Greatness in North Carolina." Dr. Hugh T. Lefler addressed the March meeting of the Chapel Hill chapter of the A.A.U.W. on "Some Problems in Writing North Carolina History," and he spoke at the April meeting of the Orange County unit of the North Carolina Education Association on "Some Landmarks in the Educational History of North Carolina." Dr. Loren C. MacKinney presented an "Exhibit of Medieval Anatomy as Seen in Manuscript Illustrations" before the joint annual meeting of the American Association of Anatomists and the sesqui-centennial celebration of The Maryland School of Medicine on April 19, and on May 7 he read a paper, "The Spongia Soporifera in Medical Surgery; Was it ever Used?" at the meeting of the

American Association for the History of Medicine. He is the author of *Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres* (South Bend, Ind.: The Medieval Institute, 1957). Dr. MacKinney will be a Visiting Research Professor of Medical History at the 1957 summer session at the University of California at Los Angeles. Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson is the editor of *Studies in Southern History* in Memory of Albert Ray Newsome, published by the University of North Carolina Press. He contributed "Business Leaders in Post-Civil War North Carolina, 1865-1900" to the volume.

Mr. Marvin R. Farley, Assistant Professor of History at Western Carolina College, died April 16, a victim of accidental drowning.

News items from East Carolina College are as follows: Dr. W. E. Marshall will succeed Dr. A. D. Frank as Head of the Department of Social Studies at the close of the spring quarter. Dr. Frank will continue teaching for some time. New faculty members who will begin teaching in September are Mr. Charles Price, a graduate student at the University of North Carolina; Dr. Ralph Napp, who received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Munich; and Dr. Ruth Keesey, who received her Ph.D. degree from Columbia University.

Mr. Richard Walser, member of the English Department at North Carolina State College, announces that he plans to use the Guggenheim Fellowship (1957-1958) which he was recently awarded to study the similarities and dissimilarities of literary interpretations in North Carolina writing.

Dr. Alice B. Keith and Dr. Sarah McCulloh Lemmon of Meredith College have essays included in the University of North Carolina publication, *Studies in Southern History,* in Memory of Albert Ray Newsome, edited by Dr. J. C. Sitterson. Dr. Keith's essay is "William Blount in North Carolina Politics, 1791-1798," and Dr. Lemmon's is "Eugene Talmadge and the New Deal." Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace, Head of the Department of History at Meredith, was elected Vice-

President (and program chairman) of the Association of Social Studies Department of the North Carolina Baptist Colleges.

Dr. Samuel R. Spencer, Jr., Dean of Students and Professor of History at Davidson College, has resigned to accept the Presidency of Mary Baldwin College in Staunton, Virginia. He will assume his duties on August 1, 1957.

Dr. Daniel McFarland of Columbia College, Columbia, South Carolina, has resigned his teaching duties to become Head of the Department of History at Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, and will begin work on September 1, 1957.

The following news items relative to the Department of History at Duke University have been released: Dr. Paul H. Clyde was a Visiting Scholar at the University of Georgia, April 9-11. He also lectured at Emory University and Agnes Scott College, and he presented a paper before the combined History and Political Science faculties of the three institutions. Dr. Joel Colton has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship and will spend part of the year in France making a study of Leon Blum and twentieth-century socialism. Mr. Guy R. MacLean, a doctoral candidate, has accepted a position at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Mr. Willard Badgette Gatewood, Jr., has completed a doctoral dissertation on "Eugene Clyde Brooks: Educator and Public Servant." Mr. Carl Cannon, a doctoral candidate, has accepted a position in the Department of History at St. Mary's Junior College. Dr. Jay Luvaas, Director of the George Washington Flowers Memorial Collection in the Duke University Library, has resigned to accept a position in the Department of History at Alleghany College. Dr. Robert Franklin Durden has published *James Shepherd Pike, Republicanism and the American Negro, 1850-1882;* and Dr. Harry R. Stevens has published *The Early Jackson Party in Ohio* and has read a paper at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association on "Hugh Glenn and Expansion of the Southwest Frontier, 1817-1822." Dr. John R. Alden has published

"The Military Side of the Revolution" in *Manuscripts* (winter, 1957), and in the same issue his doctoral student, Mr. Don R. Higginbotham, published "General Daniel Morgan: His Character as Seen in His Letters." Dr. John Shelton Curtiss has published *The Russian Revolution of 1917* in the Anvil Series under the general editorship of Dr. Louis L. Snyder; Dr. William B. Hamilton has been named editor of *The South Atlantic Quarterly* to succeed Dr. W. T. Laprade, Professor Emeritus of History. Dr. Hamilton will return to Duke University in the fall from a leave of absence to study and travel in Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and England. The Society for French Historical Studies will hold its annual meeting at Duke and the University of North Carolina, February, 1958. The president is Dr. Harold T. Parker of Duke, and the vice-president is Dr. James L. Godfrey of the University of North Carolina. The Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center is again conducting a summer program for qualified social scientists whose research interests relate to the British Commonwealth. The program will include a series of discussions on "Emergent Canadian Federalism," which will be led by five distinguished Canadian lecturers.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe, Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences of Wake Forest College, announces the division of the department into two departments to be effective September 1, 1957. Dr. Stroupe will be Chairman of the Department of History and other members of that department will be: Dr. Percival Perry, Mr. Forrest W. Clonts, and Dr. Wilfred B. Yearns, Associate Professors; Dr. David L. Smiley, Dr. Lowell R. Tillett, Dr. Robert Granville Gregory, and Dr. Frank Butler Josserand, Assistant Professors; and Mr. John Keith Huckaby and Mr. Thomas Eugene Mullen, Instructors.

The faculty of the Department of Political Science will be: Dr. Claud Henry Richards, Jr., Chairman, and Dr. Roy Jumper, Assistant Professor.

The Historical Society of North Carolina held its spring meeting at Elon College on April 26 with Dr. Christopher Crittenden, President, presiding. Dr. H. H. Cunningham was in charge of local arrangements and dinner was served in the McEwen Memorial Dining Hall. Papers were read by Dr. Burton Beers of North Carolina State College, Dr. William S. Hoffmann of Appalachian State Teachers College, Mr. William S. Powell of the University of North Carolina Library, and Dr. J. Carlyle Sitterson of the University of North Carolina. New members accepted into the society are Dr. Percival Perry of Wake Forest College, Mr. David Stick of Kill Devil Hills, and Mr. James S. Brawley of Salisbury.

The second annual joint meeting of the Wayne, Johnston, and Sampson County historical societies was held in the Goldsboro High School April 7 with separate business meetings by each group. A play, "The Vision of Charles B. Aycock," by Mr. John Ehle, given by the Goldmasquers and directed by Mr. Daron Ward, was presented as a feature of the meeting. Mr. Henry Belk of Goldsboro introduced Dr. D. J. Rose, Chairman of the Aycock Memorial Commission, who reported on the work and plans for the restoration of the Charles B. Aycock birthplace. The size of the site, an appropriations request presented to the General Assembly, and funds raised by the three counties in a public campaign were topics included in Dr. Rose's report. The Wayne County society elected Mr. Dan Fagg, Dean of Mount Olive College, as President to succeed Mrs. C. W. Twiford. Other officers elected were Mr. Hugh Dortch and Mr. Fitzhugh Lee as Vice-Presidents; Mr. Bruce Duke, Treasurer; Mrs. N. A. Edwards, Secretary; and Mr. Eugene Roberts, Chaplain. Tea was served to those attending and the Junior Historian clubs of Goldsboro exhibited displays of their work for the year. Members of the staff of the Department of Archives and History who attended were Mr. D. L. Corbitt, Head of the Division of Publications, and Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist.

The official opening of the "House in the Horseshoe," or Alston House, in Moore County as a state historic shrine and major restoration took place with an open house and informal program held in front of the house on April 6. Mr. James A. Stenhouse, President of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, Representative H. Clifton Blue, Judge W. A. Leland McKeithen, and Mrs. Ernest L. Ives, all of whom have been instrumental in the restoration program, participated on the program. A portrait of Governor Benjamin Williams, painted by Mr. William Fields, Fayetteville artist, was unveiled in the "parlor" of the house. Governor Williams purchased the house as his retirement home and is buried nearby. The Moore County Historical Association is to operate the historic site under the general supervision of the State Department of Archives and History. Members of the Department who attended the ceremonies were Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director, Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, and Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians and the Currituck County Historical Society sponsored a tour of the county on April 7 with the following places of interest visited: the old Dey homestead; Enoch Ferebee house; the Launch wharf and shipyard; Harrell House, which escaped burning in 1862 by a display of the Masonic emblem; Providence Baptist Church, established in 1817; Old Thad Hall Tavern; and about 75 other sites. Lunch was served at the Shawboro Community Ruritan Building and an unexpected feature was revealed by Mrs. Alma O. Roberts and Mr. Ray Etheridge—a portion of the original Liberty Pole from which the first flag is said to have been flown when the colonies declared their independence from Great Britain. The relic is to be placed in the proposed museum of the Currituck society.

On May 5 the Society of County and Local Historians sponsored a tour of Bladen County, meeting at the county courthouse in Elizabethtown. Places of interest visited were:

Old Brown Marsh Church; Old Trinity Church; Sallie Salter Monument; Tory Hole, site of the Battle of Elizabethtown; Owen Hill, home of Governor Owen; Purdie Home and Cemetery; Colonel Robeson home and tomb; and the Beth Carr Church. A picnic lunch was enjoyed by those participating in the tour at the Municipal Building in Elizabethtown.

The quarterly meeting of the Pasquotank County Historical Society was held in Christ Church Parish House in Elizabeth City, February 26, with the President, General John E. Wood, presiding. Miss Olive Aydlett, Treasurer, presented a financial report and General Wood gave the presidential report. The society voted to continue the entire slate of officers for another year as follows: General Wood, President; Mr. Buxton White, Vice President; Mrs. A. L. Pendleton, Secretary; Mr. F. P. Markham, III, Vice-Secretary; and Miss Olive Aydlett, Treasurer. The speaker for the evening was Rev. Paul K. Ausley. Plans were discussed for a joint meeting to be held with the Camden, Currituck, and Pasquotank societies as well as interested persons from Perquimans County, in an effort to stimulate interest in the history of the entire section embraced by these groups.

The Bladen County Historical Society was organized on March 8 in Elizabethtown with the following officers elected: Mr. H. H. Clark, President; Mr. Clifford Crawford, Vice-President; Mrs. Carl Campbell, Secretary-Treasurer; and Miss Amanda Clark and Mrs. Hobson Sanderlin, Historians.

On March 29 two markers were erected at Dallas in Gaston County in honor of G. M. Dallas for whom the town of Dallas—first county seat—was named. One marker was placed at the courthouse and the other by the highway. Dr. William C. Friday, President of the University of North Carolina, Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History, and Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent, made brief addresses.

The event was sponsored jointly by the Dallas Woman's Club, the Gaston County Historical Society, and the Major William Chronicle Chapter and the William Gaston Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Mrs. James Gribble was chairman of the committee in charge of the marker erection and Mrs. E. D. Pasour was chairman of the steering committee.

*The Gaston County Historical Bulletin* issued for the last quarter carried articles on the Abernathy family history, "Magnolia Grove," and a report on the work of members of the county historical society who are collecting material for a local history.

Mr. William A. Parker was elected President of the Wake County Historical Society at its organizational meeting held on April 9 in the Assembly Room of the Department of Archives and History. Other officers elected were: Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Vice-President; Mrs. Herbert Norris, Secretary; and Mr. Richard Seawell, Treasurer. Members of the Executive Council are: Mr. R. N. Simms, Mrs. J. M. Broughton, Miss Elizabeth Thompson, Mrs. Vance Jerome, Mr. Alfred Purrington, Mrs. Edith T. Earnshaw, Mrs. Sprague Silver, Mr. William Hatch, and Mr. John Burke O'Donnell. The constitution and by-laws prepared by Mr. John H. Anderson were adopted and the society designated March and September as months of meeting. Persons joining before the September meeting will be considered charter members. Approximately 100 persons attended the meeting after which refreshments were served in the Portrait Gallery of the Hall of History.

The annual meeting of the North Carolina Society of the Descendants of the Palatines was held on April 18 in New Bern with Judge R. A. Nunn, President, presiding. Special guest and speaker was Professor Hans Gustav Keller, official of the National Archives and teacher at the University of Bern, Switzerland. He is here to do research on the Swiss immigrants to colonial America and their influence on the Amer-

ican way of life. Mr. Charles R. Holloman was also a special guest and spoke briefly to the group. The Palatine History Award was presented to Jerry Ball, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Ball of New Bern, whose brother and sister have previously won the award. Judge Nunn spoke of the 250th anniversary celebration to be held in 1960, and Miss Lucy Cobb of Raleigh was asked to write a pageant for that occasion. Mr. Mack Lupton introduced the speaker and a paper was read on Miss Frances Willis, former Ambassador to Switzerland.

On April 20 the Carteret County Historical Society met at the home of Miss Mary Whitehurst and her sisters in Gloucester. President Thomas Respess presided and papers were presented by Miss Josie Pigott on "The Graham Academy" and by Mrs. Nat Smith on a section of the county known as "The Straits." Reports were made and the group was invited to meet at the Ennett Cottage on Bogue Sound for the July meeting and annual watermelon cutting.

The Pitt County Historical Society met on May 2 in Greenville and plans were discussed relative to the publication of a county history. The group presented the General Assembly with a request that legislation be enacted establishing a commission to make plans for the celebration of the bi-centennial of Pitt County. Since the meeting of the society the General Assembly has passed a bill establishing the Pitt County Historical Commission and has authorized it to make plans for the celebration in 1960. The commission is composed of 125 members specified in the act and they have been authorized to elect 40 additional members. Forty-one new members joined the society at the May meeting.

On May 11 the annual meeting of the Lower Cape Fear Historical Society was held in Wilmington, and Dr. B. Frank Hall was elected as president. Other officers elected were: Mr. Henry MacMillan, Vice-President; Mrs. Ida B. Kellam, Secretary; Mr. Ludlow P. Strong, Treasurer; and Miss Carolina D. Flanner, Mrs. Boyd D. Quarles, Mr. Julien D. Martin,

Mr. Davis H. Howes, and Mr. Winston Broadfoot as members of the board of directors. Dr. Paul Murray of East Carolina College presented a paper, "The Contribution of County Historical Societies to North Carolina History."

Mrs. Bettie Sue Gardner of Reidsville won highest honors at the thirteenth annual Rockingham County Fine Arts Festival held in the Wentworth High School on May 10. Mrs. Gardner was awarded the Lillian Smith Pitcher Cup for her historical map of Rockingham County. Mrs. Gardner was instrumental in the founding of the county historical society and is a member of the Greensboro Writers Club. The festival, first of its kind in the State, was founded by Miss Marianne R. Martin and is under the direction of an association as well as the Rockingham County Library.

Mr. J. V. Moffitt, Jr., was elected President of the newly organized Davidson County Historical Association which met in Lexington on May 13. Other officers elected were: Mr. L. A. Martin, First Vice-President; Mr. H. Cloyd Philpott, Second Vice-President; Mr. Walter Brinkley, Treasurer; and Mr. Wade H. Phillips, Secretary. A constitution and by-laws were adopted by the group, membership dues were established, and it was provided that persons who join before the next quarterly meeting are to be charter members.

The McDowell County Historical Association held its quarterly meeting on May 18 and elected a slate of officers to begin their duties in September. Those elected are: Miss Ruth M. Greenlee, President; Mr. M. W. Gordon, Vice-President; and Mrs. Garland Williams, Secretary-Treasurer. The program centered around gold mining in McDowell and surrounding counties.

Mr. Phil R. Carlton, Jr., of Greensboro, President of the North Carolina Society, Sons of the American Revolution, has announced the appointment of nine regional vice-presidents and members of the board of managers. Those named to the board were Mr. John G. Bragaw, Mr. Collier

Cobb, Jr., Judge Francis O. Clarkson, Mr. John Layman Crumpton, Mr. William Arthur Mitchiner, Mr. John Yates Jordan, Jr., Mr. Clarence W. Griffin, Mr. J. Hampton Price, and Dr. Hugh A. Watson. Officers of the State society are Mr. Carlton, President; Mr. Victor H. Idol, Vice-President; Mr. William A. Parker, National Trustee; Col. Jeffrey A. Stanback, Historian; Mr. Frank Parker, Secretary-Treasurer; Mr. Horace B. Lindsay, Genealogist; and Dr. A. M. Fountain, Chaplain.

Mr. George W. McCoy of Asheville was elected President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association at the spring meeting held in the Pack Memorial Library, Asheville, on April 27. Judge Owen Gudger was presented the "Outstanding Historians' Cup" for his work toward the preservation of history during the past year. Dr. Rosser H. Taylor of Western Carolina College was elected Vice-President and Dr. J. J. Stevenson of Brevard College was elected Secretary-Treasurer. Mrs. Virginia Terrell Lathrop gave a paper on "The Journey and Writings of George Lovick Wilson," and Mrs. Anne Kendrick Sharp read a paper on "The Cherokees and the Part They Played in the War Between the States." Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, President, presided at the business session and Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History spoke briefly to the group. Mrs. John S. Forrest presented the award to Judge Gudger and Mr. Albert S. McLean gave the report of the nominating committee. Mr. Robert Beard, Farmers Federation Editor, spoke on the Forest History Foundation and a resolution was passed to send a message of sympathy to Col. and Mrs. Paul Rockwell.

The *Western North Carolina Historical Association's History Bulletin* for April has the following items of interest: A story of the Cherokee history which Mrs. Margaret Walker Freel is preparing, a resume of a number of programs presented by the several county historical societies and patriotic groups in the area, and a feature story on Mrs. Wilma Dykeman Stokely who plans to continue the work begun on a nonfiction book about the mountain people of North Carolina

and Tennessee. Mrs. Stokely began the study after being awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship which expired in May.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture has received a grant of $60,000 from the Lilly Endowment, Inc., to promote the expansion of its book publication program. An annual payment of $20,000 per year for the next three years will assist the Institute in subsidizing scholarly publications of high caliber without financial obligation to authors. The Institute, sponsored jointly by the College of William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg, is devoted to research and publication in the colonial, Revolutionary, and early national periods of American history.

In 1958 the Institute of Early American History and Culture will replace its annual Book Prize with a newly-established Institute Manuscript Award to be given annually for the best unpublished work in early American history. The amount of the award will be $500 and assurance of publication of the Award-winning manuscript. A committee chosen from the Council of the Institute will judge the entries in association with James M. Smith, Editor of Publications. To be eligible for the 1958 Award, manuscripts must be sent before December 31, 1957 to the Editor of Publications, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The annual Book Prize of the Institute of Early American History and Culture has been awarded to I. Bernard Cohen of Harvard University for his volume on *Franklin and Newton: An Inquiry into Speculative Newtonian Experimental Science and Franklin's Work in Electricity as an Example Thereof* (American Philosophical Society, 1956).

Five new members were elected to the Council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture at its annual meeting on May 3, 1957: Lyman H. Butterfield, Editor of The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Edmund S. Morgan of Yale University; Richard B. Morris of Columbia University; Max Savelle of the University of Washington; and Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago.

*The Chronicle,* official organ of the Bertie County Historical Association, carried the following stories in its May issue: a history of Aulander by Miss Ella Early, comments on the Jamestown celebration by Mr. Holley Mack Bell, excerpts from *Wheeler's Reminiscences,* and a story about the gift of a coat of arms to the association from Mr. and Mrs. John E. Tyler of Roxobel.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association announces the inauguration of an annual award of $1,000 for an outstanding study of American history—the first award to be made in April, 1959, and the manuscript to be selected to be published by the University of Kentucky Press. Manuscripts will be accepted for the first judging through August 31, 1958. For complete information apply to Dr. Chase C. Mooney, History Department, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., who is chairman of the committee conducting the competition.

Announcement of the Joseph F. Loubat Prizes to be awarded Columbia University in the spring of 1958 has been made. These awards in the value of $1,200 and $600 are given in recognition of the best works printed and published in the English language on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America and are awarded every quinquennial period. Further information will be furnished by the Secretary of Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

Books received for review during the last quarter include: Wylma Anne Wates, *Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution.* Books C-F (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1957); Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon. The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1957); Donald Davidson, *Still Rebels, Still Yankees and Other Essays* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957); A. L. Rowse, *A True*

*Discourse of the Present State of Virginia.* By Ralph Hamor. Reprinted from the London Edition, 1615 (Richmond: The Virginia State Library, 1957); Mary Lynch Johnson, *A History of Meredith College* (Raleigh: Meredith College, 1956); Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron, *The United States. The History of a Republic* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957); Roy C. Moose, *O. Henry in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Library [Library Extension Publication, Volume XXII, No. 2], 1957); Frank E. Vandiver, *Mighty Stonewall* (New York, Toronto, and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., Trade Book Department, 1957); George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860* (New Haven, Conn., 1957); Robert H. White, *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1845-1857,* Volume IV (Nashville: The Tennessee Historical Commission, 1957); Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957); Louis R. Wilson, *The University of North Carolina, 1900-1930. The Making of a Modern University* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1957); Oscar Handlin, *Readings in American History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957); Earl Schenck Miers, *When the World Ended. The Diary of Emma LeConte* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957); Mary C. Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, and T. C. Duncan Eaves, *The Letters of William Gilmore Simms,* Volume V, 1867-1870 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1956); Edward Younger, *Inside the Confederate Government. The Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957); Clarence Edwin Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States,* Volume XXII, *The Territory of Florida, 1821-1824* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1956); and Monroe F. Cockrell, *Gunner With Stonewall. Reminiscences of William Thomas Poague, . . . A Memoir Written for His Children in 1903* (Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1957).

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

Dr. Percy G. Adams is Associate Professor of English at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

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COVER—Scene from Kermit Hunter's outdoor drama, "Unto These Hills," presented annually at Cherokee and depicting the beginning of the removal of the Indians from western North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama to Indian Territory. See pages 455-466 for an article dealing with Cherokee pre-history.

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# THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## CHEROKEE PRE-HISTORY

By DAVID H. CORKRAN

Of late years a growing body of theory dissociates Cherokee pre-history from the North. For lack of clearly defined evidence, Lilly and his associates question the old idea that the Cherokees were builders of the Ohio Valley mounds.[1] Kneberg, relying upon the possibility of a connection between the Cherokees and the Yamassee, though making a nod toward the northeast, develops the idea that the Cherokees were shoved into the Appalachians from a more southerly home.[2] Lighthall, impressed by certain similarities between Iroquoian and Carib culture, sees the Iroquoian peoples, of which the Cherokees were one, moving from South America to North America via the Caribbean and Florida.[3] Witthoft heard in the Carolina mountains the story of a possible Cherokee origin in Mexico which has no antecedent before the writings of James Adair and appears to represent his guesses.[4] The point of view appeals because of the concept of a "nuclear America" in Mexico and Central America from which spread American Indian culture, yet its basis is unsubstantial in the light of evidence pointing the other way.

[1] Eli Lilly and others, *Walam Olum, or Red Score*, the migration legend of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians (Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana Historical Society, 1954), 281, 287, 359, hereinafter cited as Lilly, *Walam Olum.*

[2] James B. Griffin (ed.), *Archeology of Eastern United States* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), 198, hereinafter cited as Griffin, *Eastern United States.*

[3] W. D. Lighthall, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* Third Series, Vol. 25, Section 2, 71-81.

[4] John Witthoft, *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* (Washington, D. C., 1947), XXXVII (September 15, 1947).

Fenton,[5] Kraus, Speck, and Griffin among contemporaries follow in the main the idea held by Mooney that the Cherokees came into the South down the Alleghenies within the past thousand years. This view depicts them as a people who had moved into the East in the general Iroquoian migration which appears to have flowed on either side of Lake Erie, possibly, according to some, from a southwesterly direction. Somewhere along the way, very likely in the northern Alleghenies, the Cherokees split from one of the Iroquoian streams and moved toward the southern Appalachians along one of the great mountain troughs. Under the probable impact of long continued warfare with peoples to the east, north, and west, they continued their southwesterly course until they made contact with Muskogean peoples in northern and central Georgia whose temple mound civilization of the Middle Mississippian type probably made a strong impression upon them.

This study is concerned with setting forth further evidence of Cherokee migration from the North, some deductions from that evidence, the probable development of the nation after it reached its historic home, and the effect of that development upon the historic Cherokees.

Two fragments of the ancient migration myth of the Cherokees have come to light and both point to the North. One of these was recorded in 1725 by Alexander Long, a Carolina trader, and the other in 1826 by the famous Cherokee, Charles Hicks.

The Long fragment, which relates an arctic experience, reads as follows:

> We know now noething but what was had from our ancestors and has brought down from genration to genration // the way is thuss wee belonged to another land far distant from heare // and the people increased and multiplied soe fast that the land could not hould them soe that they were forst to separate and travele[?] to look out for another countrey they traveled soe four that they came to a countrey that was soe could . . . [context garbled in *Mss.*] yet goeing still one they came to mountains of

[5] W. Fenton, *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 100), 232.

snow and ice the prestes held a council to pass these mountains // and that they believed that there was warmer wether one the other sid of those mountains because it lay nearer to the sone setting which was belived by the whol assembly // we were forst to make raccitts to put on our ould and younge // and being all loded with provisions and fat lightwood we passed one our journey and at last found our ourselves soe fare gone over these mountains till we lost the sight of the same and went thrue darkness for a good space and then . . . the sone again and goeing one we came to a countray that could be inhabited and there we multiplied soe much that we spread all this maine.[6]

Somewhat more specific and vivid than the Delaware *Walam Olum* relation, this story depicts a people having snowshoes and thus familiar with the northern woodland economy of the so-called taiga variety. The narrative contains no data to warrant as specifically recent a dating as Lilly picks for the Delaware migration from Asia,[7] and strictly speaking is indefinitely old; yet that so much detail had survived could indicate the firmness of tradition that comes from national intactness, freedom from cataclysmic disaster, and a relatively recent experience. Though the movement depicted appears east to west and therefore geographically impossible as an overland migration from the eastern hemisphere, yet if one remembers that the arctic sun is southern in late autumn before the winter dark, the migration as presented becomes possible, and the original homeland, Asia.

As Asiatics these people very likely brought with them the religion of the Creator Fire and its cult of the feathered serpent—emphasizing the Creator heredity of the Fire King or headman by his privilege of concubines and polygamous marriage, ancestor reverence, awe of the bearded monarchs and priests, and sanctity of nakedness and sensuous looseness.

The Hicks fragment, which purports to have been in the priestly language of the old Cherokee national oration recited at the annual Green Corn festival, refers to much later

[6] Alexander Long, *A Small Postscript to the Ways and Maners of the Nashun of Indians called Cherikees* (Washington, D. C. Library of Congress, Papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, IV).

[7] Lilly, *Walam Olum*, 277.

events. It speaks of Cherokee settlement in southwestern Virginia and subsequent colonization of parts of western North Carolina, South Carolina, and East Tennessee:

> Can too ghi [towns] che oas ter [people] oosungh he tah oo lay mingh say ach [night's rest to another—or may be rendered, towns of people in their many nights' rest to another—or may be rendered, towns of people in their many nights' rest to others]; and the name is missing here, which there is no doubt belongs to this part of the oration—as a day represents for one year . . . and the first account that is given speaks of only two resting places in their emigration before they finally reached the lands of their rest; and the first of which is mentioned was at ah nee cah yungh lee yeh which have reference to some large mountains lying somewhere between the headwaters of the Holston, the Clinch and the Cumberland waters; and the other rest was somewhere near noh nah cloock ungh; and from this rest it is presumable the nation separated although there is no account given in the traditions; but it is stated that the third settlement was at a place called two sparrows-tully-ach-chesquah-yaw-ach-lying on the head of Tuckaleetchee River, fork of the Little Tennessee —and no doubt this part of the nation came up the French Broad River and from this it may justly be concluded that they extended their settlements on Cowee and Highwassee Rivers; and the other part of the nation as on about Echota [old Echota] on the Little Tennessee, but not till many years after of those two first settlements mentioned; and it is very likely that Cowee became the parent of the settlement they made on the Koo, wah, he [Kewehe] and Too, goo, lah rivers; and the settlement in the valley Towns became the parent of those on the big Tellico; and the nation being thus established as their final resting place, the concluding part of their emigrations is here introduced as testimonial of their rights of the soil by the gift of the power above— Cho tau, le, eh [Grand Elders of all] Can [u?], lauh, we, tah-oo, da, kne-la, eh [Their coundil been convened] Can [?] ske, lo, gi, eh-cheu, na, ka, se, eh [on their seats of white] Tay, che, eeh-can [u?] le, lul, te, ch [kept above and may be rendered thus "Grand Elders, or sires of all, their council been convened, on their benches, or seats of white, kept above" and it is represented that [it was] this council above that give this country to our forefathers; and some believe that this was the center of the continent where the forefathers were placed being at the extreme heads of the southern and western water; but this last part of the emigration oration will be found to be missing—that which

bestowed the gift on the fathers of the Cherokees, of which there is no trace of it more than is represented above; and the nation being thus established in four divisions and in a country that was calculated to supply themselves with food from the abundance of wild game of all kinds which must have abounded on their first arrival in this country; beside they had other resources to obtain their subsistence from the waters also—with the wild potatoe, which must have grown in abundance in these prairies. Besides these advantages they were in a situation to provide for their families from the inclemency of the cold, with warm wigwams from the long blue grass which grows in these prairies, where their settlements were established . . . and the antiquity appearance of the first two settlements of the lands and woods around them will justify a belief [that] they were the first that was established in this nation, etc.

The two foregoing parts of the emigration oration have been related as near as I have heard them repeated . . . and the lands they claimed by the gift from the elder fires above, for the word cho tauh ne le eh implies the elder brother, as [well as] Elder Fire of all—for he is acknowledged to have had a being before all things, etc.[8]

While Hicks' commentary on the migration myth suggests the possibility of an ancestral home near "the center of the continent . . . at the extreme heads of the southern and western waters"—i.e. anywhere from southern Colorado to southern Alberta— it definitely places the Cherokees at one time northeast of their historic home. It outlines a pattern of colonization and indicates a time order of settlement which may explain why so many of the artifacts of the southeasterly Cherokee mounds tie more closely into the neighboring cultures than do those of the Overhill mounds.

The story tells of division and migration, a superior council establishing others and very likely endowing them with a coal of the eldest fire of all. The migrants deriving from the earliest division of the nation, suggested by Hicks to have occurred in southwest Virginia, travelled southwest toward the Unaka and Great Smoky Mountains. Their direction indicates that the region to the north of them and the lowlands

[8] J. H. Payne, *Papers Concerning the Cherokee Indians* (Chicago, Illinois: Newberry Library), VII, 2-3, hereinafter cited as Payne, *Cherokee Papers*. The brackets used in this quotation were inserted by Payne or Hicks and not by the author. Editor.

on either side already sustained all the population they could support, but that the Southern Appalachians were empty. Such a movement, if occurring between 1000 A.D. and 1300 A.D., would fit into that conjectural chronology of eastern Indian culture held by Ritchie and Griffin which places Iroquoian development in the northeast between 1200 A.D. and 1450 A.D. and the Georgia phases of the Middle Mississippian from 1250 A.D. to 1450 A.D.[9] Migration in the pattern outlined by Hicks if occurring between the limits of these dates and the beginning of the historic period implies a rapid increase of population within a relatively short time, perhaps between 1300 A.D. and 1500 A.D. This could mean that woodland Cherokees acquired agriculture shortly before this period or that they seceded from a more numerous people which had already acquired agriculture. With the Cherokee acquisition of agriculture came an expansion of ancient rituals propitiatory of the Creator Fire to accommodate the agricultural fact. The reasoning followed here suggests that this occurred before they reached their historic home.

Perhaps the early migrants halted for periods on New River, on the Holston, and on the Nolichucky before traveling up the French Broad and through the mountain gaps to the Tuckaseigee.[10]

Where the settlement on the Tuckaseigee, if any, stood is doubtful. Hicks places it at "Two Sparrows . . . tully-ach-ches-quah-yaw-ach lying on the head of Tuckaleetchee River." Mooney believes that this meant Ketuah which, near present day Bryson City, North Carolina, stood but a few miles from the mouth of the Tuckaseigee River.[11]. However, one suspects that Ketuah had its origin as a "mother town" from the "Cowee" group; that perhaps it was sent from the Middle Settlements proper in the late seventeenth century to be the nuclear council fire of a new community to consist of southerly towns—Stecoe, Tuckareetcheee, and Tessentee—

[9] Griffin, *Eastern United States*, Fig. 205.

[10] John Haywood, *The Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee* up to the first settlements therein by the white people in the year 1768 (Nashville, Tennessee, 1823), 233, 237, hereinafter cited as Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History.*

[11] James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokees* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 21, hereinafter cited as Mooney, *Myths.*

which had fled from the Creeks.[12] If that is so, there very likely never had been another "mother town" on the Tuckaseigee. The early Tuckaseigee settlement of which Hicks spoke probably was mythical, or at best but a temporary settlement of the original migrant group preceding its final establishment on the Little Tennessee at Cowee or one of its neighbors.

Under this interpretation one must look to the Cowee group of towns, of which Nequassee near present day Franklin, North Carolina, was the historic "mother town," for the mother settlement of the Cherokees in North Carolina, South Carolina, and North Georgia. On the banks of the Little Tennessee behind the double protection of the Cowee and Balsam ranges and on wide meadows spread over the bottoms between low hills, the Cherokee villages later known as the Middle Settlements throve and grew populous. In the course of time, decades at least and possibly centuries, these towns colonized Upper South Carolina and northeast Georgia with communities centering on Keowee (Oconee County, South Carolina) and Toogaloo (Rabun and White counties, Ga.). By the eighteenth century these colonist Cherokees had been so long separated from the earlier migrants that they had developed their own dialect. Also from the "Cowee" towns, says Hicks, stem the Cherokee towns on the Valley and Hiwassee rivers (Cherokee County, North Carolina). The Valley towns, as these were called, in the course of time colonized Great Tellico over the mountains into what is now Monroe County, Tennessee, on Tellico Creek. In its turn Great Tellico was the parent of Chestowe and the settlement (circa 1760) at Hiwassee Old Fields. Except possibly for Ketuah, Great Tellico was the final "mother town" to stem from the early migrants.[13] Its possessing a mother fire caused trouble when the Overhill segment of the nation moved into its neighborhood, bringing the ancient mother fire of the Cherokees. The Overhills were the last to come to the Little

[12] Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 4.

[13] Cheoh, Eustanally, and the neighboring villages in Graham County, North Carolina, were refugee from Creek assaults in historic times and, lacking a mother fire, looked to the Valley for leadership.

Tennessee from the northeast.[14] Possibly because of assault from the northern Indians, the Cho tauh ne le eh, "the Elder Fire of All," finally settled near the rest of the nation—perhaps as late as the sixteenth century. Other peoples occupied their sites in the fifteenth century; but Spaniards found the Overhill town of Tanse on its historic site west of the Snowbird Mountains in 1567.[15]

In their new homes Cherokee stimulation by the Middle Mississippian pattern proceeded, in all likelihood, from a long period of peaceful contact [16] between Keowee-Toogaloo Lower Cherokees and the Muskogeans of central and east Georgia. From the lack of clearly identifiable Cherokee mounds on any of the sites of their migration southwestward it appears possible that under Muskogean influences the Cherokees began to place their town houses, those great domelike centers of their social, political, and ceremonial life, upon barrows which were burial mounds of their great men. These hereditary interrelated regional and local priestly chieftains, though not so represented in available Cherokee tradition, must in the logic of Asiatic origins have believed in their descent from or incarnation of the Creator God. Along with this development, the Cherokees may have further elaborated their ceremonial and their religious concepts until their priesthood pretended to the power and pride characteristic of the Aztec and Mayan priestly rulers. Nevertheless, in the light of Asian precedents one cannot bar the possibility of the Cherokees having had dormant temple mound concepts impossible of execution until they had become reëstablished in a sedentary way. The Muskogean example could have revitalized these.

Elaboration of the Creator Fire priesthood into the formal red and white structures characteristic of the Creeks, the red leaders being war officials, the white, peace officials, is not a drastic step from the separation of civil and military functions apparent in the religio-political structure of the eastern Indians. Both in Virginia and in New England, shamans

[14] Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 3.
[15] Mooney, *Myths*, 28, 29.
[16] Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 5.

with healer, conjurer, and religious functions, and a councilling duty, existed quite apart from the warrior group. The leadership of both probably derived from the same pattern of heredity as the Muskogean and Cherokee leadership, except where broken by tribal disaster. The more clear definition of the Cherokee and Muskogean organization indicates either less wilderness attrition of traditional patterns or a longer period of stable settlement.

Both factors may enter, though the latter appeals as the more probable. Aztec, Inca, and Mayan elaborations of the fundamental Indian politico-religious concepts were made possible by long periods of residence in economic plenty. The simpler religious and political structures of the Muskogeans could derive from similar circumstances on a less abundant scale.

In the historic Cherokees one does not find the serpent complex quite as elaborate as the De Soto chroniclers depict it to have been among the Muskogeans where there is frequent ornate exhibition of the awful majesty of the polygamous feathered serpent monarch. The complex is, of course, present among the Cherokees in the concept of the Fire King who on certain occasions of a religious nature is dressed in white, wears a white-winged, rainbow-decked, and serpent-tailed headdress and is borne on a platform by his relatives. It also appears in the serpent mask and adornment of the shamans, and in a body of serpent myths and teachings. Presumably it also is present in the relationship of the sexes, for they were Indians. But plural wives and concubines for the monarch have disappeared, or have become less conspicuous to the outsider. The individualistic family home appears an important social unit. Though woman has great freedom of action, the cult of nakedness and promiscuity does not appear as dramatically prominent as it does among the more northerly Algonkians.

A reason for the de-emphasis of the serpent cult may have been a Cherokee rebellion against the license of the priests. Charles Hicks wrote that the Cherokee priests were once known as the Proud,[17] a title which suggests ancient Musko-

[17] Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 5-7.

gean and Aztecan pomp. His description of them reminds of the historic Hopi priests of fire, sun, heat, and fertility, whose voices on occasion the laity heard in the night expressing the will of heaven as they moved in the dark toward such women as they chose.[18] According to Hicks,[19] the Proud eventually fell in bloody revolt occasioned by a priest's demand for the wife of a hunter. The husband killed the priest, and with his brother led the Cherokees against the priestly tyranny. Certain it is that before the eighteenth century the Proud had lost some of their power. The war leadership of the nation, as opposed to the peace leadership, had begun to loom large.

If the Proud had been stimulated by association with the Muskogeans to aggressive display of power, the reunion of the Overhills with the nation may also have contributed somewhat to their chastening. Long resident to the northeast, the Overhills possessed "the Eldest Fire of All." Remote from the Muskogean influence and under enemy assault, they had retained a more warlike character than the Lower Townsmen who had reveled in a long period of peace with their Muskogean neighbors. The Overhill war leadership must therefore have been strong. Had the power of the Proud not already been lessened, the arrival in the Nation of the Grand Elders of All would have reduced it. Certainly in historic times the Fire Kings of the nation came to the headship through the red or war phalanx rather than through the white or peace phalanx.

The Overhill coming occasioned another important manifestation. Once seated on the Little Tennessee, the Overhills appear to have struggled to reassert the authority inherent in their traditional prestige over all their lesser priestly relatives and councils whose fires, in essence, derived from theirs. Of necessity the regional councils of the Carolina and Georgia towns must accept the Overhill prestige or else question the very charter of their own existences and prestiges. The priests of Cowee (or Nequassee) who had in fact if not in acceptance stood in a parental character above those

[18] J. W. Fewkes, *Fire Worship of the Hopi Indians* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, 1920-1922), 308-309.
[19] Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, VII, 5-7.

of the Lower Towns and those of the Valley, though retaining great prestige, must yield before Chotte, the capitol of the Overhills. The war-mindedness of Chotte would stand ascendant in its sterner primitiveness while the Proud gradually dwindled toward lesser roles as witch doctors, minor conjurors, and leaders of ceremony. This would not mean that the Overhills rejected in toto the expanded ceremonialism of the rest of the nation, particularly if the cult was strong in the tribes around; for Indians tended to add the new to the old.

The arrival of the Overhills in the Tennessee basin appears to have caused the long series of wars which characterized Creek-Cherokee relations. Haywood in one context says that soon after the arrival of the Overhills, they became engaged in wars with their neighbors.[20] Despite this statement he elsewhere puts the outbreak later, as a result of Lower Settlements invading Creek hunting grounds on the Savannah.[21] Hicks also puts the outbreak as late, saying that it did not come until after the Creeks received guns from the whites.[22] However, both may be wrong. That Telassee and possibly Tomatley, Overhill towns, bear Creek names and appear to have done so from the seventeenth century at least, suggests much earlier wars; for sometimes at peace-making the contracting parties exchanged the names of selected towns.[23] And, of course, belligerence carried more prestige among the Overhills than it did elsewhere in the nation.

Besides warfare with the Creeks and the subordination of an over-developed peace organization, the Chotte council's drive to reassert its ancient power over all the Cherokees meant something of a reorganization in the nation. The "Cowee" council had apparently not only given each of the mother towns it sent out a share of the original mother council's fire, but also allowed them powers similar to those the ancient Cho tau le eh, The Grand Elders, had granted it on the original separation. Thus, each "mother town" had a re-

[20] Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History,* 235.
[21] Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History,* 235.
[22] Payne, *Cherokee Papers,* VII, 12, 13.
[23] Payne, *Cherokee Papers,* VII, 8.

gional council derived from the Elder Council via Cowee. That council apparently possessed full powers even to the privilege of granting refuge to offenders upon whom in any other town blood vengeance was by custom mandatory. The Grand Elders now established at Chotte on the Little Tennessee could not eliminate the sacred fires or the hereditary prestige of their relatives in the established councils; but they did eliminate the privilege of refuge in the precincts of lesser councils, reserving to themselves the prerogative of suspending the fundamental law.[24]

Not all the efforts of the Overhills to reassert their prerogatives met with success. Their pressures, while frequently forcing conformity, drove the younger councils to protestations and acts of independence, and to rivalries such as that existing in historic times between the mother town of Great Tellico, colonized by the Valley, and Chotte, the grandmother town of all, but twenty miles away. Grudgingly, the younger councils granted Chotte only an Elder Brother's position.[25] In historic times they frequently entered into treaties of trade and peace for themselves with but a token nod to Chotte. In the mid-eighteenth century we find Chotte after a period in which its ascendancy had been dimmed by English and French dickering with Great Tellico, struggling again, as it must have long before, to gain ascendancy over the centrifugal forces in the nation.

The net product then of Cherokee pre-history was geographical dispersion into regional entities, a well-developed but waning religious and ceremonial structure, a weakening of serpentism, a strengthening of the war leadership, and an accidentally loose political structure consisting of regional councils which were sometimes rivals despite blood ties, hereditary prestige, and traditions.

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[24] Payne, *Cherokee Papers*, III, 21. See also James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London, England: 1775), 81.

[25] Haywood, *Natural and Aboriginal History*, 237.

# COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

By KENNETH SCOTT

North Carolina did not consider the counterfeiting of its paper money or the passing of the same when forged as a light offense, since death without benefit of clergy was provided as the punishment in the act of 1714 for emitting £24,000 and in that of 1722 for issuing £12,000.[1] It was, however, far from easy to capture counterfeiters and passers and still more difficult to secure their conviction, as is shown in numerous instances. Thus, when in October, 1722, Joseph Oates was arrested on a warrant issued by the chief justice and brought before a Court of Oyer and Terminer at Edenton to answer to a complaint of one Thomas Lovick that Oates had passed a false bill of the province, the matter could not be proved, so that the prisoner was released.[2]

Again, in the spring of 1724 the General Assembly caused several counterfeit bills to be lodged with the clerk of the Court of Oyer and Terminer held at Edenton in order that the Attorney General might prosecute the offender whenever sufficient evidence or information might be forthcoming.[3] At the time nothing came to light but at the next sessions from July 28 to August 4 a certain Luke White was brought before the bar on the charge of having, on or about July 6, passed a false 7/6 bill. When it was discovered that he could neither read nor write and when he furthermore swore the bill on William Holliday, White was dismissed and a warrant issued for the arrest of Holliday,[4] who apparently was never captured.

In the following year a forged £3 bill, allegedly passed by James Spier (or Speers), was exhibited by the Precinct Court

[1] Walter Clark (ed.), *The State Records of North Carolina* (Winston, Goldsboro, Raleigh, and Charlotte: The State of North Carolina, 10 volumes and 4-volume index [by Stephen B. Weeks], 1895-1914), XXIV, 158, 174, hereinafter cited as Clark, *State Records.*

[2] William L. Saunders (ed.), *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: The State of North Carolina, 10 volumes, 1886-1890), II, 478, hereinafter cited as Saunders, *Colonial Records.*

[3] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 549.

[4] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 554.

of Bertie in Albemarle County to a Court of Oyer and Terminer held at Edenton in March and April. At the same time the Precinct Court of Bertie turned over to Attorney General Thomas Boyd a 2/— bill altered to 20/— and a counterfeit 7/6 bill. Edward Howard of Bertie Precinct was then indicted for altering the 2/— note and passing it, but a petit jury acquitted him, whereupon the counterfeit was lodged in the office of the clerk to be used as evidence against John Williams, also of Bertie Precinct. Williams was taken into custody but, as there was not sufficient evidence, was released on bail (£500 furnished by Williams and £250 each furnished by James Castellaw and Francis Pugh) to appear at the next sessions in July, 1725. When, however, no one appeared to prosecute him or testify against him, he was released, as was James Spier, also for want of evidence.[5]

Before long the authorities at last succeeded in detecting some counterfeiters, although the ultimate result of their endeavors was discouraging. In July, 1726, a planter named John Armstrong was brought before the court at Edenton on a warrant of the Attorney General for having passed two counterfeit 10/— bills to Edmund Smithwick. Armstrong nevertheless managed to convince the court that he had received the bad money from James Kelly, who delivered them to Armstrong from Thomas Oldner of Bertie Precinct in payment of a debt. At first suspicion fell upon Kelly, especially since he had likewise passed a spurious £5 bill to Thomas Pierce, Jr. Yet Kelly stoutly maintained that he had obtained all three bills from Oldner, so a search was made for Oldner, while Kelly was released on bail, £100 provided by himself and £50 apiece furnished by his sureties, Edward Moore and John Armstrong. At the court held in October the Attorney General was prepared to prosecute Oldner, but that individual was not to be found and apparently was not taken later. It seems likely that Oldner was guilty and also may have been associated with John Richardson, who was arrested at this time on a charge of counterfeiting the current money but broke prison and made good his escape.[6]

[5] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 586-587, 594.
[6] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, II, 658-659, 669.

Enforcement of the law was made more difficult through the laxness of magistrates in Bertie and Beaufort, some of whom were "persons of very ill Fame and Character." Thus when William Larner was arrested in 1733 for forging the paper currency he was admitted to bail by Benjamin Peyton, J. P., of Beaufort. Larner put up a bond of £1,000 for his appearance in court, with Robert Peyton, Sr., and Edward Travis as sureties, each in the amount of £500. Justice Peyton, however, instead of making return of this recognizance, sent in one acknowledged only by Larner without sureties, so it is not surprising that there is no record of Larner's appearance at the sessions.[7]

So troublesome had become the flood of counterfeits that when the Council met in the Court House in Brunswick on November 2, 1734, Governor Gabriel Johnston informed its members that since his arrival in the province he had been acquainted by several of the principal merchants and traders of the many and great inconveniencies to trade and commerce caused by the great multiplicity of counterfeit bills of credit issued by "Vagabond and Idle people passing from one part of the Government to another." It was decided that Johnston should issue a proclamation commanding all persons to assist in apprehending those who were guilty and offering a reward of £50 for the bringing to justice of anyone who should be convicted of the offense, while a royal pardon was promised to any of the accomplices of such criminals who should discover one or more of them so that they be taken and convicted, provided only that such discovery be made within two months from the date of the proclamation. The Provost Marshal, moreover, was charged with having the proclamation published at the courthouse door in every precinct in North Carolina and with having a copy affixed to each such door.[8]

On January 15, 1735, Governor Johnston addressed the Council and House of Burgesses, warning the members that the matter of the currency of their bills could no longer be

[7] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, III, 596.
[8] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 2.

neglected "without the entire Ruin of the Country." He pointed out that originally their notes were on a very precarious footing but that now the situation was infinitely worse because of the great number of counterfeits spread into all parts of the province "by the villanous Arts of wicked and ill disposed persons, and to the utter undoing of many poor industrious Families." The governor charged his hearers with finding a proper remedy for so great an evil and urged upon them, since the people could not carry on their dealings without a paper currency, the necessity of preserving the credit of the same and preventing the industrious planter from being robbed of the fruits of his labor "by the Tricks and Frauds of profligate and abandoned persons." [9]

The House, in replying on January 20 to Johnston's speech, laid the blame for the bad state of the currency on "the late corrupt Administration," which neither had the taxes collected in the proper fashion nor suffered the "vile persons" who counterfeited the bills to be prosecuted. An act for regulating the currency was passed on February 13, and the proclamation bore fruit within the two months that the offer of the reward was to be in effect, for on February 27 a claim for £100 in rewards for the discovery of two counterfeiters was approved by the House of Burgesses.[10]

The New Englanders had discovered long before that the best formula for catching counterfeiters was to offer a reward, and a pardon to an accomplice who would denounce the others in the gang. The success which attended the issuance of Governor Johnston's proclamation in 1734 must have led to a similar proclamation late in 1739 or early in 1740, for on March 4, 1740, a committee on claims, meeting in Edenton, received the claim of Thomas Brown for £50 as a reward for apprehending Thomas Hamilton Scott, accused of making and uttering counterfeit bills of North Carolina.[11] Scott had also been making bills of South Carolina and was taken into custody at Pon Pon, whence Lewis Lorimer, one

[9] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 78; *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), February 15, 1735.
[10] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IV, 84, 120, 149.
[11] Clark, *State Records*, XXII, 401-402.

of the constables of Charleston was sent to bring him to that city. Scott either committed suicide or, more likely, was killed in an attempt to escape, and along with him died Lewis Jones, apparently an accomplice, for Alexander Stewart, Coroner of Berkley County, held inquests on the bodies of the two men.[12] Three of Scott's accomplices, incidentally, one of them Lawrence Wolfersten, a counterfeiter from Pennsylvania who had been convicted there in 1727,[13] were arrested at Winyaw and committed to jail by Justice Thomas La Roche, who later had them removed to prison in Charleston.[14]

In 1745 the Assembly decided that new legislation was needed, so an act was passed for the punishment of those who should counterfeit, forge, alter, deface, or knowingly pass such counterfeited bills. One convicted thereof for the first offense was to be set in the pillory for two hours, have his ears nailed to the pillory and then cut off, while a second offense was to be punished as felony without benefit of clergy.[15]

An act of 1748 for emitting £21,300 set the same penalties, save that for the first offense, in addition to pillorying and cropping, the court, at its discretion, might also punish with whipping, not to exceed forty lashes.[16]

The Assembly, in October of the following year, put into force a number of statutes of the Kingdom of England, three of which were concerned with counterfeiters of coin: 1 Mary Ch. 6, providing that counterfeiting of foreign coins current in the kingdom should be adjudged treason; 1 & 2 Philip and Mary Ch. 11, providing that importers of counterfeit coin into the realm should be punished as traitors; 5 Elizabeth Ch. 11, providing that the clipping of coins, for gain's sake, should be high treason.[17]

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[12] J. H. Easterby (ed.), *The Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, September 12, 1739-March 26, 1741. The Colonial Records of South Carolina* (Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1952), 225, 244, 280, 281, hereinafter cited as Easterby, *Journal of Commons House.*

[13] Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1955), 17.

[14] Easterby, *Journals of Commons House,* 217, 280.

[15] Clark, *State Records,* XXIV, 235.

[16] Clark, *State Records,* XXIII, 295.

[17] Clark, *State Records,* XXIII, 322-323.

Only a few years later, in 1752, two persons were executed for treason in accordance with the above legislation of 1749. In the summer of 1752 a counterfeiting scheme was hatched in Virginia. Patrick Moore, a tailor, was living in that province, where he worked at his trade at the house of Richard Brooker in Gloucester County. A certain Daniel Johnston, alias Dixon, a chemist or doctor, and William Jillet, a blacksmith, frequently went to Brooker's home. If these two told the truth, Moore was the promoter of the counterfeiting venture. Be that as it may, sometime in June Brooker gave Moore a small boat with a supply of provisions sufficient to bring the tailor, Johnston and Jillet, with their bellows, hammers, molds, and other materials for making money, to North Carolina. About the end of June the men went up the Neuse River, where they landed and thence proceeded to the house of Peter Matthews, about thirty miles from New Bern. Near this dwelling, in a great swamp, they set up their forge and prepared molds and other materials for making doubloons, pistoles, pieces of eight, and half pistareens.

By some means the sheriff of the county discovered their undertaking and, acting with great vigilance and industry, captured the coiners at the home of Matthews, who was also apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in the affair. Some of the doubloons, a pistole, pieces of eight, and half pistareens were found on the persons of the three coiners but the money was so badly done as not to be imposed easily upon anyone. Apparently, however, the coins had not been completed, for, although they were very exact in similitude and size, they were much wanting in color, so that it was believed that the proper coloring of them was to have been the finishing stroke.

The prisoners were locked up in the jail at New Bern, a prison which had previously been remarkable for letting its inmates escape, but the sheriff kept a watch around the building each night and foiled several attempts which were made by the counterfeiters to break out. They came up for trial at the General Court which ended early in October. Moore turned evidence for the Crown against his associates,

Matthews was acquitted, and Jillet and Johnston were found guilty of treason and condemned to death.

Some ten days later the condemned men, together with another criminal named David Smith, alias Griffith, were executed. They were accompanied to the gallows by the Reverend Mr. Lopierre, who had also visited the men in jail. The convicted coiners appeared very penitent and expressed much sorrow and contrition for their wrongdoing. Johnston, it was reported, died a staunch Roman Catholic and was very earnest and pathetic in his prayers for the friends and followers of Lord Lovat, Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and all the rebels who suffered in the rebellion, while he heartily prayed for the continuance of "that noble Spirit which he hop'd was yet alive in Scotland among the Well-wishers of the Pretender."[18]

As regards counterfeiters of the bills of credit, an act of 1754 for the emission of £40,000 contained the same penalties as were included in the act of 1748,[19] but subsequent acts of 1756 (for emitting £3,400), of 1757 (for emitting £5,306), of 1758 (for emitting £7,000), and of 1758 (for emitting £4,500) all made counterfeiting and passing a felony without benefit of clergy.[20]

On February 3, 1764, Governor Arthur Dobbs, alarmed by the quantities of counterfeit bills in circulation, called upon the Assembly for new legislation to cope with the situation.[21] In response to his appeal a bill "for the more effectual detecting and punishing the makers and utterers of Counterfeit Bill Money" was introduced and passed in March.[22] In the preamble to the act, which was to be in force for two years, it was set forth that great numbers of evil persons in the frontier parts of the province had banded together and were supporting one another in committing murder and other felonies, as well as in counterfeiting the paper currency of

[18] *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), Nov. 9 and Dec. 7, 1752; *Boston Weekly News-Letter* (Massachusetts), Dec. 7, 1752; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), Nov. 23, 1752.
[19] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 393.
[20] Clark, *State Records*, XXIV, 333, 347, 352, 363, 372.
[21] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1090.
[22] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VI, 1104.

North Carolina and Virginia and in fraudulently and deceitfully imposing their bad money on the honest, industrious inhabitants of the colony, in defiance of authority and in open violation and contempt of all laws. It was therefore enacted that the penalty of death might be imposed on any person convicted of counterfeiting, or knowingly passing when so forged, the bills of North Carolina or Virginia or base coin or of escaping from prison after being committed for any of the above crimes and then neglecting or refusing to surrender to the sheriff before the last day of the Superior Court which should next follow the court wherein the bill of indictment was found. In every such case the chief justice, or assistant, or the associate judge, should issue proclamations for each county in the district, calling upon the offender to surrender within sixty days after the last day of the court session and stating that unless the offender should give himself up it would be "lawful for any Person or Persons to kill and destroy such Offender." If anyone should apprehend an offender who had escaped or neglected to surrender within the sixty days, such a person should be allowed a reward of £30 upon the conviction of the offender.[23]

The above act was, as has been noted, to be in effect for two years, so in November, 1766, a bill to revive the act was introduced and passed,[24] but on June 26, 1767, it was ordered repealed by his Majesty in Council.[25]

Very likely news of the repeal of the act encouraged counterfeiters, one of whom was an elderly man named Timothy Green. He proceeded to New York and on Tuesday, August 26, 1767, when he had been there but a short time, he applied to Elisha Gallaudet, a well-known engraver of that city, to procure of him plates with which to forge the current money bills of North Carolina, whence he had come. Gallaudet, however, had the would-be-counterfeiter taken before an alderman, who, after examining him and finding two false dollars in his possession, committed him to jail. Green was indicted in the Supreme Court on October 29 "for a Misde-

[23] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 616-617.
[24] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 300.
[25] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 673; XI, 213.

meanor," pleaded not guilty, and on October 30 was tried. The jury, without going from the bar, convicted him, and when, on the next day, the attorney general moved for judgment, the court ordered that the prisoner stand in the pillory on Wednesday next for one hour between the hours of ten and twelve in the forenoon and that on Thursday next he be whipped through the town at the cart's tail and receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back.[26]

Even though Timothy Green's plans were foiled, other counterfeiters were more successful, as is shown by an address made by Governor William Tryon to the legislators on December 7, 1767. Pointing out that the counterfeit bills circulating in the province tended "to the most ruinous consequences" to the government, he applied for some redress proportioned to the evil. "It evidently depreciates," he said, "the small remainder of currency in the Country and deprives the Creditor of his just debts, wounds the credit of the public, and what is of further consequence too frequently extends to the impoverishing of families in the exchange of their property for these false bills, too artfully resembling the true for common discernment to detect them." [27] A committee of both houses, on January 15, 1768, requested the governor "more particularly to state the distress of this Colony, partly occasioned by counterfeit money, and for want of a sufficiency of good paper currency or other medium of Trade." [28]

Governor Tryon was in sympathy with this request of the legislators, as is shown by the fact that on February 2 he wrote the Earl of Shelburne that the mischiefs arising from the counterfeited proclamation bills then circulating would cease if a new currency were emitted, since the remainder of the money then out would be immediately called in.[29] The same day he wrote to Messers Drummond & Co. that, if the royal consent were secured, he was ordered to obtain, in order to prevent counterfeiting, proper copperplates, paper, presses, and other materials. "If," he added, "by your ingenu-

[26] Kenneth Scott, *Counterfeiting in Colonial New York* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1955), 126-127.
[27] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 551.
[28] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 683.
[29] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 697.

ity this currency, should it have an existence, can be put out of the knavery of counterfeits, you will render an essential service to the inhabitants of this province who have felt the ruinous effects of the counterfeit currency." [30]

Had the governor but known it, another threat to the money of North Carolina was in the making and was only narrowly averted. During the second week of February, 1768, the Honorable William Smith, Jr., in New York received a letter from a gentleman in Fairfield, Connecticut, acquainting him that a schooner had lately been at that place, had remained there six weeks with five men on board, that they had passed some counterfeit New York bills, that they came from Rhode Island, and that he imagined they had gone to New York. This intelligence was communicated to the mayor, who immediately sent officers in search of the schooner. They found it just on the point of sailing for North Carolina, as it was thought. On board were arrested Gideon Casey, his two sons, Tibbets Hopkins (the master of the ship) and Daniel Wilcox, alias Chase, while a search of the vessel revealed a small bag containing all the instruments for coining and milling dollars of the years 1763 and 1764, two plates for making North Carolina currency, molds and stamps for making pistareens, recipes for smelting and varnishing metals, and several counterfeit forty shilling New York bills. The men were held in jail and indicted but by April 4 had been acquitted "for want of sufficient evidence," an indication that none of the gang would talk. Casey was a capable silversmith of Rhode Island but, like his talented brother Samuel, also a noted silversmith, he could not refrain from counterfeiting and had been convicted of passing false doubloons in Philadelphia in 1752.[31]

Although the province was mercifully spared the presence of Casey and his accomplices, other criminals were at work, two of whom, Samuel Robert Hall and James Mansfield, were captured in 1768, convicted and sentenced to death for counterfeiting the paper currency. While they were in the

[30] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 680-681.
[31] Kenneth Scott, "Gideon Casey, Rhode Island Silversmith and Counterfeiter," *Rhode Island History*, XII (1953), 50-54.

jail of Craven County awaiting execution, the speaker and several members of the Assembly, as well as other prominent inhabitants of the province, petitioned the governor on behalf of the two young men, who had formerly been of good character and had been seduced and instigated to commit their crime by John Butcher, a blacksmith, who had made his escape. Governor Tryon, on November 28, 1768, was pleased to pardon the young men and at the same time issued a proclamation offering a reward of £10 for the apprehension of Butcher.[32]

By the autumn of 1770 counterfeit notes were passing without sufficient question,[33] and Governor Tryon informed the council that large sums of the certificates of 1768 had been forged. A proclamation was therefore issued in which a reward of £200 was offered to any informer, except an offender, while the king's pardon was promised to that offender who should first appear and denounce his accomplices.[34] On December 5, Tryon delivered an address to the Council and House in which he stated that the circulation of so large a quantity of counterfeit currency afforded presumption that "persons of more considerable property than those of moderate substance" had been concerned in the base and dishonorable traffic. The evil, he pointed out, was "absolutely destructive of all public credit" and operated to the ruin of many honest homes and families. It was his opinion that, if the legislators called upon those who had passed the bad money to declare from whom it was received, by tracing back the counterfeits the authors of the iniquity might be discovered.[35]

The Council assured the governor that the detection of the counterfeiters was a matter of real concern and that every salutary measure would be taken to punish the guilty.[36] The same day, December 10, the House expressed itself to the effect that the great amount of false certificates and proclamation bills in circulation was alarming to the province, in-

[32] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, 870-871.
[33] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VII, xxix.
[34] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 249-250.
[35] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 284.
[36] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 289.

jurious to individuals and destructive to public credit. Nothing less than calling in all the paper currency could put an end to the fatal consequences attending so infamous an imposition on the inhabitants, a sentiment which the same body repeated on January 26, 1771.[37]

The governor had caused Adam Boyd to print two hundred handbills respecting the counterfeit debenture bills and to distribute them, as a result of which some information must have been received. Warrants were issued for the arrest of three suspects, Daniel Duncan of Orange County, George Martin, and John Alston. Duncan was immediately taken but discharged for want of proof. Martin, who was apprehended at the same time, was suffering from an indisposition which made traveling impossible without manifest danger of his life, so it was sometime later that he was taken into custody by Simon Bright and brought before the bar of the House. It is not recorded whether he was convicted or, like Duncan, discharged. There was, at least, some evidence against him, for a certain Philemon Hawkins appeared to testify against him. [38] John Alston was not to be found.[39]

Upon the presentation of sworn evidence other counterfeiters were sought in Granville County and elsewhere, two of whom, Robert Pryor and William Wharton, were arrested and then released on bail for their appearance at the Superior Court of Justice to be held at Hillsboro on March 22, 1771. When, however, it developed that because of the disturbances in the western part of the province the court would not be held at Hillsboro, it became apparent that, unless some extraordinary measures were taken, the two offenders, who were dangerous and clearly guilty, would escape punishment. Richard Henderson therefore petitioned the governor that a special court of oyer and terminer be held at Oxford, in Granville County, where, Henderson believed, it might sit "without danger of being obstructed by the Insurgents." The governor and council approved the request and

[37] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 312, 473.
[38] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 198.
[39] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 351, 370, 397, 443; IX, 125.

ordered a special commission of oyer and terminer, so that presumably Pryor and Wharton were tried.[40]

On August 15, 1771, Josiah Martin, the new governor, wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough that the treasurer of the Southern District had agreed to pay Governor Tryon's warrants by promissory notes, so that a new species of currency had arisen on the faith of public credit. The notes were easier to counterfeit than any previous money, for they bore only one signature, that of the treasurer, and not several, as did all other bills. The various earlier emissions, furthermore, had been widely counterfeited and the evil was so pernicious that it deserved immediate attention. Martin was of the opinion that the only remedy would be the extinction of all former issues and a new emission to replace them and to provide a sufficient currency for the needs of the growing province.[41] An act of 1771 authorized the emission of £60,000 in debenture bills to pay the costs of Governor Tryon's expedition against the insurgents, and the penalty for counterfeiting, altering, or defacing these notes was to be death without benefit of clergy.[42]

John Alston had been sought in vain in 1770-1771 and had continued his nefarious activity. According to the *Virginia Gazette*[43] on the evening of March 4, 1773, Moses Terry of Halifax County, Virginia, was brought to Williamsburg and committed to jail for passing false bills, a charge to which he pleaded guilty, informing against many others and confessing that he had passed counterfeits "which were made by the Allstons in Carolina (who appear to be the great instruments of this horrid plot against the peace and welfare of this country)." Another of the Alstons suspected of counterfeiting was Philip, a gunsmith, for whom James Ransom, Jr., sergeant at arms of the House of North Carolina, and four assistants made a determined but fruitless search.[44]

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[40] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, VIII, 539-540.
[41] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 18.
[42] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 851.
[43] *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), March 4, 1773, and *Rind's Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), March 4, 1773.
[44] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 391-392, 480-481.

The House of Burgesses of Virginia, thoroughly alarmed by the counterfeiting of their money in North Carolina, passed an act making it a felony "to prepare, engrave, stamp, or print" the money of other British colonies or to cause the same to be done or knowingly to pass such bad money. This step was taken because it was supposed that certain evil persons had lately established presses in Virginia for preparing counterfeits of the paper money of other colonies and by that means such forged paper was put into circulation with greater facility and with more security to the authors of the mischief. Reasonably enough, Virginia hoped for a similar action by colonies which did not already have legislation making it a crime to forge the bills of the other provinces. As a subcommittee of the House of Burgesses pointed out, the chief author of the recent counterfeiting of the currency of Virginia was an inhabitant of North Carolina (probably Philip or John Alston was meant).[45] Governor Martin of North Carolina warmly commended the policy of the legislature of Virginia in its measures designed "to prevent that most baneful crime of counterfeiting the paper currency circulating in the Colonies of America."[46]

In February, 1773, a bill "for the more effectual punishment of Counterfeiters of the Public Debenture Bills of Credit of this Colony and Coin" was introduced in the House. The measure was passed both by the Council and House but early in March, when it reached the governor, he withheld his consent.[47] In a letter, written on May 30, 1773, to the Earl of Dartmouth, Governor Martin explained that he had rejected the bill because "the Criminals marked out to reproach by punishments allotted in this Act and rejected on all hands would lose every sense of shame, become desperate and abandon themselves to the perpetration of every kind of enormity, dreading death (the Law's utmost penalty) less than existence held at the expense of everything that can make life

[45] Kenneth Scott, "Counterfeiting in Colonial Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXI (1953), 24, hereinafter cited as Scott, "Counterfeiting in Colonial Virginia"; Clark, *State Records*, XI, 241.
[46] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 709.
[47] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 386, 390, 396, 399-401, 443, 446, 464, 468, 478, 494, 497, 500-503, 507, 584, 586.

desirable." [48] From this it may be assumed that the bill would have made the counterfeiters outlaws.

Since the governor's assent had been refused, Mr. Joseph Hewes of Edenton moved early in December, 1773, that he be granted leave to prepare and bring in a bill to prevent the counterfeiting of the paper money of North Carolina and the other British colonies and the gold and silver coin circulating in the province. On December 20 it was introduced and duly passed and approved by the governor.[49] The preamble of the act, which was to be in force for five years, stated that it was supposed that presses had been established in North Carolina of late to forge the bills of other provinces. It was judged reasonable that neighboring colonies having intercourse in trade should provide against the debasing of their medium of commerce, and it was also a fact that the laws of the province for the punishment of counterfeiters of the gold and silver coin in circulation were defective. To remedy this situation it was provided that death without benefit of clergy should be the penalty for those who defaced, counterfeited, or altered bills or who knowingly passed counterfeits.[50] Governor Martin was delighted with the new law, about which he wrote on July 13, 1774, to the Earl of Dartmouth: "I conceive great hopes that it will be attended with the best effects." [51]

The outbreak of the Revolution could by no means be expected to check counterfeiting, so that, when an emission of bills by North Carolina was authorized in September, 1775, it was provided that any person accused of counterfeiting them should be imprisoned until the next meeting of the Council of Safety and that upon conviction an offender should be punished by death.[52] As for Continental currency, Lieutenant Governor Colden, on February 14, 1776, wrote that the British would endeavor to depreciate the Congress paper "by throwing in forged notes." [53]

[48] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 663.
[49] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 728, 744, 777, 784, 836, 839, 847, 861, 882, 884, 888-889, 896, 904, 906-907, 927.
[50] Clark, *State Records*, XXIII, 969-970.
[51] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, IX, 1012.
[52] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 195.
[53] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 453.

By June, 1776, information had reached the Council of Safety that counterfeits of the four dollar bills emitted by the Congress held at Hillsboro, had been passed by Benjamin Sheppard of Dobbs County and, when Sheppard was arrested, he could give no satisfactory account of how he obtained the bills and was therefore ordered to give a bond of £1,000 to appear before the Council whenever called.[54] It became clear in July that the dollar bills issued by the Congresses held at Hillsboro and Halifax had been counterfeited [55] and by July 22, 1776, the Council had information that five persons concerned in the affair had been taken and jailed in Williamsburg, Virginia, one of whom was an old offender named Benjamin Woodward, who had assisted in cutting the plates for the counterfeits.[56] It may be noted that Woodward was a slippery customer, who broke jail and long eluded the officers of the law, although Virginia offered a reward of four thousand dollars for his capture. He was finally taken in Georgia but not before 1791. He was arrested there again in 1796. One of his neighbors, John Young, once found in the woods near Woodward's home several thousand pounds in counterfeit North Carolina bills, as well as tools for counterfeiting and coining.[57]

Not only were the four and one dollar bills imitated but also the two and a half dollar and five dollar notes. David Craig, a second lieutenant in William Temple Cole's company, was suspected of passing these counterfeits and of being concerned in the making and engraving of the five dollar plate. As President Samuel Ashe put it in a letter to General Moore, such practices were "frequent" and "of the most dangerous Tendency." [58] Thus the newborn state was beset from the beginning by an assault on its currency from the British, from professional counterfeiters, and even from members of its own army.

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[54] Saunders, *Colonial Records*, X, 635, 638.
[55] Clark, *State Records*, XI, 317.
[56] Clark, *State Records*, XI, 320.
[57] Scott, "Counterfeiting in Colonial Virginia," 28, 30-33.
[58] Clark, *State Records*, XI, 346-347.

# JOSEPH SEAWELL JONES OF SHOCCO– HISTORIAN AND HUMBUG

By EDWIN A. MILES

Everyone who met Joseph Seawell Jones of Shocco, North Carolina, agreed that he was a most unusual person. Although he was a licensed lawyer and the author of two historical works, his greatest fame resulted from his non-professional ventures. "An inveterate propensity to hoax and play upon the credulity of the public distinguished him, and made him known far and wide." [1] "The time has been," wrote a Tennesseean in 1849, "when the sayings and doings of this singular personage were chronicled with as much avidity as is displayed by the Court Journal in the narration of the movements of the British queen." [2] And, it might be added, the sayings and doings of the fun-loving North Carolinian were a far greater source of amusement than the movements of the staid Victoria.

Take March, 1840, for example—the month following the Queen's marriage to Prince Albert. Newspaper subscribers throughout the United States were avidly reading accounts of how Shocco Jones, "the Mammoth Humbug," had completely mystified hundreds of prominent Virginians, North Carolinians, and Mississippians in two separate hoaxes performed the previous year. By the time of his death in 1855, he was almost a legend. Three years later the *Weekly Raleigh Register* asked: "Is there a grown man in North Carolina, or the United States, who has not heard of Joseph Seawell Jones, who, having been born in Warren County, on the banks of Shocco Creek, was as famous in his day as 'Shocco Jones,' as ever was Mr. Randolph as 'John Randolph of Roanoke!?" [3]

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[1] *Natchez Daily Courier* (Mississippi), March 3, 1855, hereinafter cited as *Natchez Daily Courier*, quoting *Columbus Democrat* (Mississippi).

[2] *Herald and Correspondent* (Port Gibson, Mississippi), April 13, 1849, quoting *Nashville Whig* (Tennessee).

[3] *Weekly Raleigh Register*, April 21, 1858. This paper was published variously as the *Raleigh Register and North-Carolina State Gazette, Raleigh Register and North-Carolina Gazette, Raleigh Register*, and other titles but will in all cases be hereinafter cited as *Raleigh Register*.

This remarkable individual first saw the light of day "on the banks of Shocco Creek" about 1806, the son of Edward J. and Elizabeth Seawell Jones.[4] There was nothing in his ancestry to indicate that his happiest moments would be spent while "enjoying the fun of hoaxing people."[5] On the contrary, Edward Jones—according to his own obituary notice—was a "valuable and highly respected planter" of Warren County;[6] his wife was a member of a prominent North Carolina family—a sister of Judge Henry Seawell of the State Supreme Court and a niece of Nathaniel Macon, one of the most distinguished sons of the Old North State.

The early years of Joseph Seawell Jones were spent at Poplar Grove, his father's 2,000-acre plantation within a mile and a half of Shocco Springs, one of the state's most fashionable watering places.[7] Each summer during Joseph's boyhood, Edward Jones maintained a boarding house for visitors to the Springs.[8] His children, Joseph, Edward, Jr., and Martha Ann, probably played many carefree games with the sons and daughters of the prosperous merchants and planters who annually flocked to the popular resort.

But there were serious moments, too, at Poplar Grove. In the fall of 1816 Edward Jones and two of his neighbors announced the establishment of Shocco Academy, a boarding school, to meet at his house.[9] Undoubtedly, young Joseph and his brother Edward were among the first students enrolled. Edward Jones, Sr., however, never lived to see the school enjoy the "flourishing state" which he predicted for it

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[4] The most complete sketch of Jones's life is by Marshall De Lancey Haywood in Samuel A. Ashe, Stephen B. Weeks, and Charles L. Van Noppen (eds.), *Biographical History of North Carolina from Colonial Times to the Present* (Greensboro: Charles L. Van Noppen, 8 volumes, 1905-1907), VI, 329-334, hereinafter cited as Ashe, *Biographical History*. The exact date of Jones's birth is not known. His parents were married in February, 1803. *Raleigh Register*, February 22, 1803.

[5] The quotation is from Joseph D. Shields, *The Life and Times of Seargent Smith Prentiss* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1884), 296, hereinafter referred to as Shields, *Prentiss*.

[6] *Raleigh Register*, June 6, 1817.

[7] For the reference to Poplar Grove, see *Raleigh Register*, June 18, 1813. For a description of the estate see *Raleigh Register*, November 14, 1817.

[8] For examples, see his advertisements in *Raleigh Register*, May 22, 1812, June 18, 1813, June 2, 1815, and June 19, 1816.

[9] *Raleigh Register*, November 1, 1816.

in March, 1817.[10] In May, with death imminent, he drew up his last will and testament and died shortly thereafter.[11] Two years later his widow married James Gordon, who had been one of the co-founders of Shocco Academy, which had already ceased to exist.[12]

Under the guardianship of their uncle, Hill Jones, and later their stepfather, Joseph and Edward Jones, Jr., continued their studies at schools in nearby communities. For a while they attended Warrenton Academy, taught by George W. Freeman, the schoolmaster of old Shocco Academy;[13] then transferred to Midway Academy, conducted by Charles A. Hill.[14] In 1824, during Shocco's last term at Midway—located in Franklin County "midway" between Louisburg and Warrenton—Edward, his brother and schoolmate, died.[15] Less melancholy, we may assume, was another memorable event of that term: Professor Hill's schoolhouse burned to the ground.[16]

In the summer of 1824, his stepfather gave him $80.00 and young Joseph Seawell Jones set out for Chapel Hill to enter the University of North Carolina.[17] It was probably during his college days that he became known as "Shocco"—to distinguish him from three other students at the University who

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[10] *Raleigh Register*, March 7, 1817.

[11] *Raleigh Register*, June 6, 1817; Warren County Wills, 1780-1825, III, 28, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

[12] *Raleigh Register*, November 19, 1819.

[13] For tuition payments to George W. Freeman, see the accounts of Joseph S. Jones and Edward J. Jones with Hill Jones, their guardian, 1822, Warren County Guardian Accounts, 1792-1825, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as Warren County Guardian Accounts. Freeman taught at Warrenton Academy from 1820 through 1823. Charles L. Coon (comp.), *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840, A Documentary History* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1915), 584-585, hereinafter cited as Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies*.

[14] For tuition payments to C. A. Hill see the accounts of Joseph S. Jones and Edward J. Jones with James Gordon, their guardian, 1823 and 1824, in Warren County Guardian Accounts, 1792-1825. Hill taught at Midway Academy from 1822 through 1824. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies*, 107-110.

[15] For a division of his brother's estate, November 20, 1824, see Divisions of Estates, Warren County, 1782-1825, State Department of Archives and History.

[16] Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies*, 110.

[17] Account of Joseph S. Jones with James Gordon, his guardian, July 12, 1824, in Warren County Guardian Accounts, 1792-1825.

possessed the same familiar family name.[18] He spent two and one-half years at Chapel Hill, but they were not entirely happy ones.[19] He particularly disliked the necessity of attending chapel and classes. Finally, during his senior year, in December, 1826, a faculty committee counted up his total absences for the term: " . . . from prayers 76 times, and 22 times from recitation." Since he was also "exceedingly deficient in scholarship especially on mathematics and Natural Philosophy," the faculty dismissed him from the University.[20] According to a classmate, Governor Henry T. Clark, Shocco felt that his dismissal was due to the fact that the Professor of Mathematics, presumably James Phillips, had done him a "grave injustice."[21]

Discouraged by his unhappy experiences at Chapel Hill, Shocco did not immediately resume his formal education. Then, in September, 1829, he journeyed northward to enter the Harvard Law School. On the whole, he was pleased with the society of Cambridge and vicinity. In nearby Boston he found "quite a North Carolina circle here in the very heart of New England."[22] Among the transplanted Carolinians was William Gibbs McNeill, a young engineer from Wilmington, who became his closest friend.[23] He also met many

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[18] Du Ponceau D. Jones, John Jones of Salisbury, and John H. Jones of Raleigh attended the University of North Carolina while Shocco was a student there. Daniel Lindsey Grant, *Alumni History of the University of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: General Alumni Association of the University of North Carolina, 1924), 327-329.

[19] He was a member of the Dialectic Society, Dialectic Society Minutes, April 12, 1826 (list of members), Dialectic Society Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. This collection will hereinafter be cited as Southern Historical Collection. On one occasion he took the affirmative side in a debate on "Will the Dark Ages Ever Return." Joseph Blount Cheshire, *Nonnulla, Memories, Stories, Traditions, More or Less Authentic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 231, hereinafter cited as Cheshire, *Nonnulla.*

[20] Report of Public Examinations, Faculty Reports, December, 1826, University of North Carolina Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[21] Cheshire, *Nonnulla,* 230-231.

[22] Jones to William Gaston, Boston, November 8, 1833, William Gaston Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as William Gaston Papers.

[23] Jones dedicated his first book to him. *A Defence of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina from the Aspersions of Mr. Jefferson* (Boston: Charles Bowen; Raleigh: Turner & Hughes, 1834), v, hereinafter cited as Jones, *Defence of North Carolina.* For a sketch of McNeill see Howard K. Beale, "William Gibbs McNeill," Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 21 volumes and index, 1928——), XII, 152-153.

of the distinguished statesmen of Massachusetts and often acted as an unofficial host to young North Carolinians visiting in Boston. In June, 1831, for example, he accompanied Fred S. Blount on a visit to former President John Quincy Adams;[24] and two months later he arranged an introduction for William A. Graham with Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story.[25]

According to records in the Harvard University Archives, Jones "entered" and "left" the Law School three times between 1829 and 1832.[26] In January, 1831, long before he had completed his studies, the Supreme Court of North Carolina granted him a license to practice in the county courts of his native state.[27] Although he returned to Cambridge three months later, he soon became so fascinated with the reading of Spanish literature and history that he neglected the study of law. He talked of visiting Europe to continue his studies of the Iberian culture; he even wrote of "making my bow—my farewell goodnight to my native land."[28] But for some reason—possibly because he lost interest in the project as quickly as he had taken it up—the proposed trip abroad did not materialize. Finally, in 1833, the Harvard Trustees awarded him the LL.B. degree.[29]

While in Law School, Jones had become engaged in a new project: the writing of a Revolutionary history of North Carolina. State pride stirred him to action. Thomas Jefferson had once declared that the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" was a spurious document; and he had also stated that "we had not a greater tory in Congress" than William Hooper, one of the North Carolina signers of the national

[24] Fred S. Blount to John H. Bryan, Boston, June 29, 1831 (copy), William Gaston Papers.

[25] Extract from the Journal of William A. Graham of His Trip from Hillsboro to Boston, June 20, 1831 to August 20, 1831 (August 18) (copy), William Gaston Papers.

[26] Letter to the writer from Kimball C. Elkins, assistant in the Harvard University Archives, February 14, 1952.

[27] *Raleigh Register*, January 6, 1831.

[28] Jones to William A. Graham, Cambridge, October 4, 1831, William A. Graham Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as William A. Graham Papers.

[29] Letter to the writer from Kimball C. Elkins, assistant in the Harvard University Archives, February 14, 1952.

Declaration of Independence. Jones determined to expose the "Sage of Monticello" as a base liar whose name deserved "the execration of every native citizen" of the Old North State.[30]

In March, 1832, Jones probably discussed plans for his book with David L. Swain, whom he accompanied on part of the latter's journey while attending court in the eastern part of the state.[31] He spent several months in North Carolina collecting materials. He interviewed many elderly persons—"every old man and old woman from Cape Hatteras to the Blue Ridge," according to his own reckoning.[32] Some interviews were disappointing. His kinsman, Nathaniel Macon, refused to be quoted during his lifetime. Jones, who complained privately of the sensitiveness of "the old men of our country on the subject of being quoted," was thus obliged to state in his work "many acts without giving authority."[33] In general, he believed "the details of elderly ladies, on matters of history, more correct than those of old men."[34] But he realized that "personal testimony . . . is always weak, as the memory of man is fallible." "A distant historian," he conceded, "will demand more contemporary records, as the best evidence in the case."[35]

In search of more valid evidence, Jones consulted such printed works as *The Memoirs of Josiah Quincy,* Peter Force's *National Calendar,* John Marshall's *Life of Washington,* William Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry,* and the writings of Herman Husband, the North Carolina Regulator. He also gained access to certain manuscript sources in the Secretary of State's office in Raleigh; of particular value were the journals of the Council and Assembly. He also examined the

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[30] Jones, *Defence of North Carolina,* vii.

[31] David L. Swain Diary, March 24, 1832, State Department of Archives and History.

[32] Jones, *Defence of North Carolina,* 6.

[33] Jones to David L. Swain, Shocco, August 24, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, hereinafter cited as Swain Epistolary Correspondence. At Jones' request, Macon consented to leave a paper, dated October, 1835, "to be published by my executor." It concerned the reputation of William Hooper. Nathaniel Macon Papers, Southern Historical Collection, hereinafter cited as Nathaniel Macon Papers.

[34] Jones, *Defence of North Carolina,* 269.

[35] Jones, *Defence of North Carolina,* 7.

private correspondence of a few Revolutionary leaders, including the papers of John Williams and James Iredell. The Iredell Papers, one member of the family later complained, "were obtained from my father against his positive injunction to their removal from his office." [36] The family never regained possession.

Shocco did most of the writing of his book in Cambridge. At first he contemplated a work of 250 pages; and in January, 1833, he wrote David L. Swain, then governor, that it was "nearly completed." [37] Shortly afterwards, however, he returned to North Carolina in search of additional material. On October 26, once again in Cambridge, he wrote Swain: "My book—my book—It is about to grow up into a dangerous size." He had enough manuscript to fill 800 pages, but he decided to print "only 350—or 400—at the farthest." [38] "Too proud—or too ambitious—to publish it in any other than the most elegant form," he arranged with a Boston printer to execute the book in a manner "superior to the general stile of historical works." [39] Rising costs forced him to offer the book at a higher price than he had originally intended. He urged Governor Swain "to speak of my book as coming out in an elegant stile of printing as often as you can—for such conversation may not only assist the sales—but apologize for any charge above 2 dollars." [40]

Although the book was in the binder's hands by January, 1834, it was not published until several months had elapsed. The cost—more than $1,200 for 1,300 copies[41]—proved to be too great for the author's limited resources; and he was

[36] James J. Iredell to David L. Swain, Raleigh, August 5, 1856, David Lowry Swain Papers, State Department of Archives and History, hereinafter cited as David Lowry Swain Papers.

[37] Jones to Swain, Cambridge, January 17, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

[38] Jones to Swain, Cambridge, October 26, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

[39] Jones to David L. Swain, Cambridge, October 26, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence; Jones to William Gaston, Boston, November 8, 1833, William Gaston Papers.

[40] Jones to Swain, Cambridge, October 26, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

[41] Jones to Swain, Cambridge, October 26, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

forced to sell his copyright to a "Mr. Patterson" of Boston.[42] Shocco chafed at Patterson's delay in releasing the book, but the latter insisted on withholding publication until the southern merchants made their annual shopping visit to the northern cities.[43] Further delay resulted from the tardy arrival of the copies shipped to Turner and Hughes, Raleigh booksellers, who were the co-publishers.[44] It was not until September, 1834, that *A Defence of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina from the Aspersions of Mr. Jefferson* by "Jo. Seawell Jones, of Shocco, North Carolina" was finally published.

Jones devoted his book to three principal themes: a history of North Carolina from the Regulator movement through July 4, 1776; a defense of the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence"; and a vindication of the character of William Hooper. Thomas Jefferson, not George III, was the chief villain. Prior to the publication date, Shocco had shown copies of his book to several friends, most of whom "objected to its severity" in dealing with the Virginian.[45] Justice Joseph Story, however, was pleased with the treatment accorded Jefferson. "I read the work with great satisfaction," he wrote, "& think it is a triumphant refutation of his misrepresentations. It will do you great credit with the public."[46] Patriotic North Carolinians also applauded the defender of the State's Revolutionary history. In May, 1835, Jones visited Charlotte where he was an honored guest at the sixtieth anniversary of the "Mecklenburg Declaration."[47]

In his treatment of the Regulators, Jones was more sympathetic than were the previous North Carolina historians, Hugh Williamson and Francois X. Martin. "I know from my own investigations," he wrote Governor Swain, "that the

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[42] Jones to Swain, New York, February 12, 1834, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.
[43] Jones to Swain, New York, February 12, 1834, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.
[44] Jones to William Gaston, Washington City, August 7, 1834, William Gaston Papers.
[45] Jones to Gaston, Washington City, August 7, 1834, William Gaston Papers.
[46] Story to Jones, Cambridge, July 30, 1834, William Gaston Papers.
[47] *Raleigh Register*, June 9, 1835.

clamor of their being all tories during the war—is not true."[48] "I espouse the cause of the Regulators," he wrote William A. Graham, "vindicate them—and sanctify them with the title of real Fire worshippers."[49] Jones is probably responsible for the origin of the belief—still widely held by many North Carolinians—that the Regulators were striking an early blow for American independence in their opposition to Governor William Tryon; for example, he referred to the colonial militia that subdued them at Alamance as the "King's forces."[50]

The Washington *Daily National Intelligencer* (edited by two former North Carolinians) declared Jones's work to be "highly creditable to his talents."[51] Contemporary historians, however, were divided in their opinion. Lyman C. Draper wrote a few years later that Shocco "put his hands to the plough, & looked back."[52] On the other hand, Griffith J. McRee, who had no respect for Jones as an individual, wrote in 1857 that "I think his Def. of No. Ca. a reliable work—creditable to him & the State."[53] In 1851, Fordyce M. Hubbard, in an address before the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina, expressed this judgment: "The events he records, are well chosen, judiciously arranged, often grouped with some measure of artistic skill, and, so far as I can judge, his representations of important facts are very much to be relied on for substantial truth and minute accuracy." But, Hubbard added, "It may be, that in some cases,

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[48] Jones to Swain, Cambridge, January 17. 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

[49] Jones to Graham, Cambridge, January 12, 1833, William A. Graham Papers.

[50] Jones, *Defence of North Carolina,* 48. Jones was also apparently responsible for originating the dispute concerning the roles of Alexander Lillington and Richard Caswell during the Moore's Creek Bridge Campaign. "If you publish the sketch of Gov. Caswell sent you some time since," David L. Swain wrote the historian Benson J. Lossing on December 20, 1851, "please strike out the words 'in conjunction with Col. Lillington.' The statement implying a divided command was first made by Jones, and followed by Wheeler." William R. Davie Papers, No. 2, Southern Historical Collection. See also Jones, *Defence of North Carolina,* 343.

[51] *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), hereinafter cited *National Intelligencer,* quoted in *Raleigh Register,* October 28, 1834.

[52] Draper to David L. Swain, Baltimore, Maryland, February 18, 1845 (copy), in David Lowry Swain Papers.

[53] McRee to David L. Swain, September 24, 1857, David Lowry Swain Papers.

as has been alleged in regard to his story of Miss Esther Wake, he took too much counsel of his imagination." [54]

Ah, Miss Esther Wake, the charming and beautiful sister-in-law of Governor Tryon—in whose honor Wake County was named. Or so Shocco said. Actually, she was one of the first of many hoaxes that he played upon an unsuspecting generation. Jones vowed to subject Governor Tryon "to a most rigid scrutiny" and promised that not even "the lovely and accomplished females of his family, his lady and her sister, Miss Esther Wake," would "escape that vigilant observation which a faithful historian on all such occasions will always exercise." [55] When puzzled New Bernians questioned the existence of such a lady, Jones appeared to be offended. In 1838 he wrote William A. Graham an account of "Miss Esther Wake" replete with quotations from "a number of private letters" attesting to her beauty and charm.[56] Yet no historian —except Shocco, of course—has ever produced any contemporary reference to the beautiful heroine.[57] In view of Jones's subsequent career, it is not difficult to believe that Miss Esther Wake was a creature of his imaginative mind.

Shocco was indeed gaining a well-earned reputation for eccentricity. R. B. Creecy remembered him as a "man, swarthy, tall, long-haired, [and] wild eyed." [58] Returning to Chapel Hill in 1832 when his friend William Gaston made the commencement address to the Senior class, he proposed to address the Freshmen "on the most approved method of

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[54] "An Address Delivered before the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina, June, 1851," in *University of North Carolina Magazine*, new series, I (October, 1852), 351.

[55] Jones, *Defence of North Carolina*, 18.

[56] Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, who found this account among the papers of the North Carolina Historical Commission, apparently believed the narrative—for a while. In 1915 he wrote that "unless our modern historians are prepared to charge Jones with inventing the letters . . . from which he quotes with so much circumstantiality, they will have to revise their histories and do the lady the justice of restoring her to the place of preeminence among the heroines of North Carolina history." "Was Esther Wake a Myth?" *North Carolina Booklet*, XIV (April, 1915, 220-224.

[57] See Marshall De Lancey Haywood, *Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina, 1765-1771* (Raleigh, privately printed, 1903), 74-75, and Kemp P. Battle, "Is Esther Wake a Myth?" *North Carolina University Magazine*, XIV (November, 1894), 91-95.

[58] R. B. Creecy, "What I Know about 'Schocco' [*sic*] Jones," Trinity College Historical Society, *Papers*, II (1898), 31.

getting bulls in the Chapel."[59] The following spring he attended the wedding of Laura Baker and the Reverend Joseph Saunders in Martin County. There were many raised eyebrows among the other guests when Jones embraced the bride almost before the groom had an opportunity to do so.[60]

His friends were doubtlessly pleased to learn in early 1834 that Shocco was planning to get married. "Ay—Governor—," he wrote Swain from Cambridge on January 2. "Suppose I bring a Yankee wife—about the first of May—and go to housekeeping!"[61] Shortly afterward he wrote that he had persuaded "a couple of moral industrious and enterprizing printers" from Boston "to go with me to Raleigh with a view of setting up a press and executing all printing jobs."[62] At last, it appeared, Shocco was planning to settle down.

But, alas, within a few weeks a duel had smashed this idyllic dream. "The real cause of the difficulty," he wrote Swain, "is the delicate reputation of a Lady—and this fact must prevent me from being too particular even to you." A certain Hooper—no relative of the North Carolina Revolutionary statesman—had "questioned not only her integrity —but the *honor* of my most particular and beloved *male friend.*" Jones had boxed Hooper's jaws "and succeeded in giving him without the slightest injury to myself—further and proper chastisement." A duel had followed. Shocco assured his friend that reports that he had been wounded in the left leg were erroneous. Writing from New York on February 12, he stated that "I do not only walk with great ease—but almost every evening waltz with the most sublime dignity—with the lovely ladies of this mam[m]oth city." The duel, however, had broken up his "matrimonial prospects."[63]

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[59] George N. Evans, "Reminiscences of Joe Sewell [*sic*] Jones (Shocco Jones)," Southern History Association, *Publications*, X (May, 1906), 141-142, hereinafter cited as Evans, "Reminiscences."

[60] Evans, "Reminiscences," 142. The marriage took place on March 25, 1833. *Raleigh Register*, May 21, 1833.

[61] Jones to Swain, Boston, January 2, 1833 [1834], Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

[62] Jones to Swain, Boston, January 22, 1834, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

[63] Jones to Swain, New York, February 12, 1834, Swain Epistolary Correspondence. According to the *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, February 1, 1834, the duel took place on the previous day at Pawtucket, Rhode Island. "Mr. Jones was wounded, his antagonist's ball passing through his left thigh. The wound is not considered dangerous, he being able to walk."

The meeting with Hooper took place within the borders of Rhode Island, where duelling was prohibited by law. Governor John Brown Francis of that state—according to Shocco—issued a proclamation for the arrest of the participants. At any rate, when Jones returned to North Carolina, he drafted a counter proclamation—to which he affixed the "Great Seal of Shocco"—offering a reward of "a barrel of tar and forty pounds of feathers" for Brown's apprehension! Shocco vowed never to fight another duel in Rhode Island. The next time he engaged in one, he would do so across the borders of that state, "which is not more than the usual distance between the parties in such cases convened."[64] In view of Shocco's later venture on the field of honor, perhaps the affair with Hooper should not be considered too seriously. George N. Evans felt that the duel had been "gotten up for effect"—to publicize Jones's forthcoming book.[65]

Publication of his first volume did not terminate Shocco's interest in the history of the "Old North State"—a phrase, incidentally, that he popularized and perhaps originated.[66] He was one of the charter members of the North Carolina Historical Society, incorporated by the General Assembly during its 1832-1833 session.[67] In October, 1834, he issued a call for the organization of the society.[68] Apparently no record exists of this meeting—scheduled for December 1 in Raleigh. At any rate the movement to establish a state historical society at that time came to naught.

As early as January, 1834, Shocco had "already projected a new book on the history of the state."[69] He requested permission for an "entire insight" into the records of the Secretary of State's office, which the General Assembly granted.[70] He obtained additional collections of private manuscripts,

[64] Ashe, *Biographical History*, VI, 333-334.
[65] Evans, "Reminiscences," 144.
[66] Ashe, *Biographical History*, VI, 331.
[67] *Public and Private Laws of North Carolina, 1832-1833*, Chapter LXIII. Governor Swain was responsible for making Jones a charter member. Swain to Jones, Raleigh, December 30, 1832, David Lowry Swain Papers.
[68] *Raleigh Register*, October 28, 1834.
[69] Jones to Swain, Boston, January 2, 1833 [1834], Swain Epistolary Correspondence.
[70] *Public and Private Laws of North Carolina, 1833-1834*, Chapter CXXXV.

including the papers of Archibald D. Murphey and Richard Henderson.[71] In October, 1834, he wrote Swain from Washington, D. C., that he had examined the records relating to North Carolina history in the State and other federal departments. "I have by the favour of the President . . . ," he wrote, "got an insight into the Colonial office at London." Andrew Jackson had been "exceedingly kind," permitting Shocco to order copies in his name from a London bookseller.[72]

Jones tentatively entitled his new work, "Curiosities of North Carolina." In November, 1834, he wrote William A. Graham that the first volume was already "in type," but that he had suspended publication "to see if I cannot do something in the way of collecting some interesting matter when I shall come to the State." [73] The following April, the *Raleigh Register* reported that Jones was preparing "A Picturesque History of North Carolina"—to be "served up in a style of extraordinary splendor . . . with rich, and of course expensive engravings." [74] Seven months later Jones wrote Graham that "I have completed the first volume of my Picturesque history of N Carolina—and it will be before the public as soon as I can close some little traffic with the gentlemen of the trade. It comprises only the history of the Raleigh colony and is adorned with 12 plates and sixteen *vignettes* of rather an expensive character." [75]

In January, 1836, "A Democrat," writing for the *Richmond Enquirer*, reported that he had lately seen "a copy of a work,

[71] Jones to Swain, Shocco, August 24, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence. For many years these and other papers entrusted to Jones were feared lost. After Shocco's departure from North Carolina, Lyman C. Draper tried in vain to get information concerning their location. After Jones's death, David L. Swain, through "a lucky accident," traced them to their hiding place and deposited them with the collection of the Historical Society of the University of North Carolina. Draper to Swain, Madison, Wisconsin, June 20, 1855, Swain to James J. Iredell, Chapel Hill, August 8, 1856, David Lowry Swain Papers; William Henry Hoyt (ed.), *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey* (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 2 volumes, 1914), II, 213; Kemp P. Battle, *History of the University of North Carolina* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 2 volumes, 1907-1912), I, 487.

[72] Jones to Swain, Washington, D. C., October 23, 1834, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

[73] Jones to Graham, New York, November 21, 1834, William A. Graham Papers.

[74] *Raleigh Register*, April 14, 1835.

[75] Jones to Graham, New York, November 13, 1835, William A. Graham Papers.

entitled 'A Picturesque History of the State of North Carolina; by Jo. Seawell Jones, of Shocco: Raleigh, Turner & Hughes—1835.' " "In the first place," he wrote, "no one will pretend to believe that a work, containing a dozen large and expensive steel engravings, and sixteen vignettes—all executed in London—was ever published in Raleigh, North Carolina. It is a mere bookseller's trick. . . . " Although he criticised Shocco for his harsh treatment of Jefferson and Virginia, the writer conceded that "Mr. Jones has got up this book in a style superior to any work of the age." [76]

In reply to "A Democrat," a correspondent for a "Boston Paper" took exception to the inference that "Mr. J's work was [not] printed and got up in this country." "We assert from actual knowledge," the writer continued, "that it is purely an American work, printed and published in America, which affords a proud evidence of the progress which the arts have made in our country." [77]

"A Picturesque History of North Carolina" was another hoax perpetrated by Shocco Jones.[78] Possibly he planned such a work but it was never published. The correspondent of a "Boston Paper" predicted that "the promise of 'A Democrat' to pursue that subject in a more studied manner will not be performed." [79] Undoubtedly he spoke with authority: it appears likely that the author of "A Picturesque History" wrote both reviews!

In the meantime Jones wrote a series of articles on North Carolina history, which were published in the *New-York Mirror,* a popular literary magazine of the day, the *Raleigh Register,* and other journals.[80] Perhaps originally intended for

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[76] Quoted in *New Bern Spectator and Literary Journal,* January 22, 1836, hereinafter cited as *New Bern Spectator.*

[77] Quoted in *New Bern Spectator,* February 26, 1836.

[78] "The Norfolk Beacon is also led into the common error respecting Jones's History of North Carolina. Did the Beacon ever *see* that History—or ever see any one who did? The History was a hoax. . . ." *Vicksburg Sentinel (Mississippi),* November 5, 1839, hereinafter cited as *Vicksburg Sentinel,* quoting *Old Dominion* (Portsmouth, Virginia), hereinafter cited as *Old Dominion.*

[79] Quoted in *New Bern Spectator,* February 26, 1836.

[80] *The New-York Mirror; A Weekly Gazette of Literature and the Fine Arts,* XIV (November 4, 1836), 149-150, (November 12, 1836), 158, (November 19, 1836), 166. See also *Raleigh Register,* September 16, 1834, November 10, 1835, July 23, 1838.

"A Picturesque History," they provided the nucleus for a small volume entitled *Memorials of North Carolina,* published in 1838.[81] Shocco's second book—it boasted no engravings or vignettes—contained chapters dealing with "The Landing of Sir Walter's Colony," "The Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," "Roanoke Island," and "Miss Flora MacDonald." Over one third of the book was devoted to a newspaper controversy in which Jones had defended his "assumptions for North Carolina." All in all, *Memorials of North Carolina,* to quote Shocco's own criticism of Williamson's history, "reflected no lustre either on the author or the subject." [82]

In the 1830's Shocco took an active interest in politics. In the nullification controversy his sympathies lay with the advocates of state rights. To Governor Swain in January, 1833, he pledged his whole-hearted allegiance to North Carolina. "Consistently with that faithful allegiance," he wrote, "I will do anything but fight—a remark I now make to save myself the trouble of a refusal when you shall order me off with a shot gun—to the State of S. Carolina." [83]

Like many Nullifiers, Jones joined the newly created Whig party in 1834. At that time he criticised his venerable relative, Nathaniel Macon, who supported President Jackson's removal of the deposits from the Bank of the United States. "I was surprised to hear this," he wrote his great-uncle, "for I thought you were always opposed to breaches of faith—public as well as private." [84]

In December, 1835, Shocco participated in a Raleigh meeting that endorsed the nomination of Senator Hugh Lawson White, one of the Whig candidates for President in 1836.[85] Yet in the closing days of the campaign he attended a New York rally in honor of General William Henry Harrison, the

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[81] It was printed by Scatcherd & Adams of New York. For a favorable review, perhaps written by Jones himself, see *Raleigh Register,* November 12, 1838.

[82] Jones, *Defence of North Carolina,* 14.

[83] Jones to Swain, Cambridge, January 17, 1833, Swain Epistolary Correspondence.

[84] Jones to Macon, Washington City, April 4, 1834, Nathaniel Macon Papers.

[85] *Raleigh Register,* December 29, 1835.

Whig candidate in most of the northern states. According to reports in the Democratic press, Jones, "while puff'd up with flattery and mellowed with wine," assured the gathering at Niblo's Saloon that "the Whig party of N. Carolina was ready to go for Harrison in the event of *White* being out of the question." North Carolina Democrats used this indiscreet statement by the "young federal-whig 'in buckram' " to bolster their argument that White was merely a stalking horse for Harrison in the South.[86] By a narrow margin, North Carolina cast its vote for Martin Van Buren, the Democratic candidate.

In 1837 Shocco met Van Buren.[87] Two years later he was a strong supporter of the President he had opposed in 1836. "A good old Democrat of the So. Carolina school," he wrote the Kinderhook statesman years later, "[I] learned to love you in former times—and to know you to be a thorough State Rights man. . . ." [88] When Jones pulled off another of his celebrated hoaxes in 1839, one North Carolina editor attributed "his fall from the high stand which he formerly occupied, as a courteous, high-toned well-informed gentleman of honour, to nothing but his recent defection from his old Whig associates. . . ." [89]

It was another "affair of honor" that thrust Jones once more into public prominence in 1839. On April 27 the Norfolk *Beacon* and the Portsmouth *Old Dominion* carried accounts of a duel between the North Carolina historian and "Mr. H. Wright Wilson of New York." The affair had taken place the previous day near the Dismal Swamp Canal in Norfolk County, Virginia, close to the North Carolina line. The dispute between the two men, it was revealed, had arisen from an incident at a Petersburg race track. Wilson had stated in Jones's presence that "I know enough of Southern people to know that they NEVER comply with their obliga-

[86] *North Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), October 27, 1836.

[87] Jones secured a letter of introduction from Nathaniel Macon. Macon to Van Buren, Warren County, June 18, 1837, in Elizabeth Gregory McPherson (ed.), "Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Van Buren," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XV (January, 1938), 71.

[88] Jones to Van Buren, Columbus, Mississippi, July 8, 1848, Van Buren Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

[89] *New Bern Spectator*, October 18, 1839.

tions"—whereupon Shocco had twisted the New Yorker's nose. A challenge followed, and the "melancholy affair," with pistols at six paces, was "conducted in the most honorable manner by all parties." On the first fire the ball from Wilson's pistol grazed Jones's temple. Shocco, however, was a more accurate shot, and his adversary fell dead from a gaping wound in the breast." [90]

The first non-participant to learn the details of this tragic *rencontre* was H. C. McLaughlin, an Edenton schoolmaster who was journeying to Norfolk. He had stopped at the Dismal Swamp Hotel near Lake Drummond about noon on that fatal day "for the purpose of resting my horse and taking some refreshments." "I had not been seated many minutes," he revealed afterwards, "when I observed Mr. Jones, of Shocco, N. C., enter, under much apparent perturbation, and evidently, after a hard and long chase."

Jones approached the schoolmaster and hastily confided to him the details of the tragedy. He was being pursued by officers who had been informed of the proposed duel; consequently it was necessary for him to leave Virginia. Yet the unsettled state of his affairs in Norfolk, where his mother now lived, made it imperative for him to return there for a few hours. Of his new acquaintance Jones made a strange request. "The reasons urged in behalf of this request," McLaughlin later explained, "were of such a nature as to decide me, at once, in rendering him any aid in my power that might be likely to facilitate his visit to, and escape from Norfolk, and I accordingly agreed to his plan, that I should take his clothes and name and accompany him to Norfolk; and, in case of danger of arrest, pass myself off as Mr. Jones, until he was beyond the limits of Virginia."

Shocco showed McLaughlin copies of the correspondence that had led to the fatal meeting. He then accompanied his new friend to the field of honor, which was found " 'fairly and honorably measured,' and stained in several places with

[90] The *American Beacon and Virginia and North Carolina Gazette* (Norfolk, Va.), hereinafter cited as *Beacon;* and the *Old Dominion* accounts were reprinted by the *Raleigh Star and North Carolina Gazette,* May 8, 1839, hereinafter cited as *Raleigh Star,* and the *Western Carolinian (Salisbury),* May 17, 1839, respectively.

blood." They visited a nearby house where McLaughlin examined a blood-stained handkerchief. A woman testified that she had been attracted to the field by the sound of pistol fire and had discovered the handkerchief. She also had seen what appeared to be "a dead body in a sack" being carried from the scene.[91]

Jones and McLaughlin then proceeded to Norfolk, where news of the duel had preceded their arrival. That night Shocco told his story to the editor of the Norfolk *Beacon*. "Should it be said that it was singular in a duellist to tell the story to an editor," his newest confidant explained, "it must be remembered that the mother and the family of Jones resides [*sic*] in Norfolk, and that the affair according to his statement must be made public by those who are in quest of his person, with such exagerrations as might give unnecessary pain to his friends." [92] On the following day the *Beacon* revealed the affair to its readers. "We have reason to know of the high appreciation in which the character and worth of the dec'd was held by him whose hand he has fallen," lamented the editor, "& the bitter regret which he feels that such a step was deemed indispensible [*sic*]." [93]

After a brief visit with his family, Shocco hastily prepared to leave the state. About midnight he left hurriedly for North Carolina "on a swift horse," which his new friend, the Edenton schoolmaster, had provided. McLaughlin returned to North Carolina on the following day, "and, being dressed in Mr. Jones' clothes felt no slight apprehensions for my own safety, when, about eight miles from the town I met some nine or ten constables, with green bags, and a grave looking coroner, returning after their fruitless search for the dead body of the unfortunate Wilson." [94]

Papers throughout the nation carried accounts of the duel between Jones and Wilson. But within a short time many suspicions were raised concerning the affair. No body of the

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[91] For McLaughlin's version see the *National Intelligencer* (tri-weekly), October 3, 1839, quoting the *Alexandria Gazette* (District of Columbia), hereinafter cited as *Alexandria Gazette*.

[92] *Tarboro' Press*, October 26, 1839, quoting the *Beacon*.

[93] *Raleigh Star*, May 8, 1839.

[94] *National Intelligencer*, October 3, 1839, quoting *Alexandria Gazette*.

victim could be found, although Jones had said that it would be shipped on an early boat to Baltimore. The correspondence leading to the meeting, promised by Shocco, was not immediately forthcoming.[95] Within a few weeks several editors, aware of Shocco's "love of fun, frolick and hoax," expressed disbelief in the reports of the duel. Yet credence in the authenticity of the story was somewhat restored when the promised correspondence was delivered to the editor of the *Beacon* "under the frank of a member of Congress from North Carolina," who expressed his faith in Jones's integrity.[96] "We believe," said the puzzled editor of the *Baltimore Chronicle*, "this question is destined to be as mysterious as the birth, education, and death of Caspar Hauser."[97]

The puzzle was finally solved by McLaughlin himself. The schoolmaster had returned "to the spot of 'painful remembrance,' where the duel took place, to remove some misgivings, which, in the face of all evidence to the contrary, were daily arising in my mind, with regard to the mysterious affair." "I reached the spot," McLaughlin wrote, "and there found a solitary mourner, lamenting the fate of an unfortunate pig, found a short time before, near the duelling ground, whose mangled throat fully indicated whence the blood flowed, by which the ground and handkerchief were so abundantly stained."[98]

Several months before McLaughlin revealed that "Mr. H. Wright Wilson" had been "nothing more than a little Pasquotank roaster,"[99] Shocco had embarked upon an even more fantastic adventure in the state of Mississippi. It made his duel hoax by comparison seem "but a small affair."[100]

Mississippi was perhaps the hardest hit of all the states during the years following the panic of 1837. The "wildcat" banking system, which had made possible fantastic speculations in lands and slaves during the "Flush Times" of the mid-1830's, had completely collapsed. "We have had hard

[95] *New Bern Spectator*, May 10, 1839; see also *Raleigh Register*, June 8, 1839; *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), June 5, 1839.
[96] *Tarboro' Press*, October 26, 1839, quoting the *Beacon*.
[97] Quoted in *Raleigh Star*, June 19, 1839.
[98] *National Intelligencer*, October 3, 1839, quoting *Alexandria Gazette*.
[99] *Raleigh Register*, March 20, 1840.
[100] *Vicksburg Sentinel*, November 11, 1839.

times in No. Ca.," said one visitor in 1840, "hard times in the east, hard times everywhere, but Miss. exceeds them all...."[101] Shocco turned to Mississippi—according to one contemporary—because "the present rottenness of her banking institutions and the generous and unsuspecting character of her sons" made that state a fertile field for his peculiar talents."[102]

Arriving in Columbus a few weeks after he "had made poor Wilson, alias the old lady's pig, 'bite the dust,' "[103] Shocco carried with him impressive parcels labelled "Cape Fear Money" and "Public Documents," which he deposited in a local bank. Reluctantly, it appeared, he let it be known that he had come to the state in a dual capacity: As an agent of the Bank of Cape Fear of Wilmington, North Carolina, he was seeking investment opportunities in Mississippi; as an emissary of the United States Treasury Department, he had instructions to compel the Agricultural and Planters' Banks of Natchez to repay the government deposits that had been entrusted to those two "pet banks" prior to the suspension of specie payments in 1837.

Under such circumstances Jones became at once the most respected and feared man in Mississippi. He was wined and dined by applicants for loans—for in 1839, as one newspaper correspondent expressed it, "if there were a bank in the desert of Sahara, which had money to loan, the Mississippians would find it out, and besiege its portals."[104] The directors of the hard-pressed Real Estate Bank of Columbus were so anxious to obtain a loan from the Bank of Cape Fear that they elected Shocco's stepfather, James Gordon, their president at a salary of $3,000 per annum![105] Some minor technicality, such as failure to obtain final approval from officials in Wilmington, always prevented Jones from completing negotiations for the loan; and in the meantime he was entertained royally.

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[101] William H. Wills, "A Southern Traveler's Diary in 1840," in Southern History Association, *Publications*, VIII (January, 1904), 35.
[102] *Raleigh Register*, March 20, 1840.
[103] *Raleigh Register*, March 20, 1840.
[104] *Weekly Mississippian* (Jackson), April 5, 1839.
[105] *Southern Argus* (Columbus, Mississippi), June 18, 1839; *Vicksburg Sentinel*, December 24, 1839.

Shocco's fame preceded him as he journeyed to Jackson, Vicksburg, and Natchez. In each town he placed his special deposits in a local bank. In Jackson he became fast friends with former Governor Hiram Runnels, president of the Union Bank of Mississippi. Runnels, who had been authorized to float a new $5,000,000 bond issue for his state-sponsored institution, eagerly solicited Jones's advice. He apparently hoped to sell a portion of the bonds to the Bank of Cape Fear.[106] In Vicksburg Shocco became equally intimate with Seargent S. Prentiss, the celebrated Whig orator, whom he promised a liberal fee for aid in the government's case against the "pet banks."[107] Jones and Prentiss were inseparable even after Prentiss began his campaign for the United States Senate that summer.

In Natchez the directors of the Agricultural and Planters' Banks, informed of the nature of Shocco's mission, trembled at the prospect before them. When Jones arrived in that city, the Natchez "nabobs" courted him assiduously.[108] Apparently the managers of the "pet banks" hoped to hold off the wrath of Jones, the Treasury agent, until they could negotiate loans from Shocco, the representative of the Bank of Cape Fear!

Throughout the summer of 1839 Jones successfully kept up the masquerade. It was not until October, four months after his arrival in Columbus, that the United States Marshal William M. Gwin, who had not originally doubted the genuine nature of his mission, exposed Jones as a prankster. Shocco had answered an innocently posed question in such a manner that the marshal became convinced that he was not an agent of the Treasury Department.[109] Within a few days Jones had quietly slipped away and it was only then

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[106] *Vicksburg Sentinel*, November 11, 1839.

[107] For further details concerning Jones and Prentiss see Shields, *Prentiss*, 296-297.

[108] *Vicksburg Sentinel*, February 5, 1840.

[109] ". . . I discovered he was an imposter [*sic*] by [his] saying in answer to a mere idle question of mine as to who issued the distress warrants, he after hesitating replied the Secr$^{y}$ of the Treasury, when in fact all were issued by the Solicitor of the Treasury. My question arose from a change at that time in the Solicitor$^{s}$ office. . . . " Gwin to J. F. H. Claiborne, San Francisco, November 14, 1878, Claiborne Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

that an examination revealed that his parcel of "Cape Fear Money" contained nothing but blank pieces of paper and that his "Public Documents" were in reality old newspapers!

The exposure of Jones's Mississippi hoax occurred almost simultaneously with the disclosure that his duel with Wilson had also been a cunning deception.[110] A few months later, Francis Leech, a minor Democratic politician of Columbus, wrote an engaging account of "The Mammoth Humbug, or the Adventures of Shocco Jones in Mississippi, in the Summer of 1839," which was published in the *New York Herald* and copied by scores of other newspapers.[111] Shocco Jones became a household name throughout the nation.

But Shocco's Mississippi adventure was his last great hoax. "He seemed suddenly to have sunk into oblivion. Whether he were gone down 'to the vaults' of Death, or were touring in Europe as the agent of the United States Bank, or smoking a pipe with the Sultan, or doing pilgrimage, in sandal or sackcloth, to the Holy Shrine of Jerusalem, or joining a caravan to that of Mecca, or engaged in exploring for the northwest passage, or gone to establish a bank in the Sandwich Islands, or become Prime Minister of the Emperor of Japan,

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[110] McLaughlin's letter to the public was published in the *Intelligencer* (Macon, Mississippi) on October 31, just two weeks after Jones and Prentiss attended a Whig barbecue in that town. On October 30 the *Vicksburg Sentinel* exposed the secret of Shocco's special deposits.

[111] "The Mammoth Humbug" enjoyed a great popularity. For example, both the *Star* and the *Intelligencer and Petersburg Commercial Advertiser* of Petersburg, Virginia, carried the account, and the *Star* later published it in pamphlet form. *Vicksburg Sentinel,* April 21, 1840. In Mississippi it was even more popular, being copied by several newspapers. James Hagan, editor of the *Vicksburg Sentinel,* published five hundred extra copies of the issue that contained the narrative. He stated on March 30 that "the edge of public appetite seemed only to be 'set' by that meagre supply." In a letter to Joel R. Poinsett, May 15, 1840, Chapman Levy of Columbus identified Leech as the author of the anonymous "History of Shocco Jones's travels and operations in Mississippi." Poinsett Section, Henry D. Gilpin Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The present writer's account is based on Leech's narrative, as it appeared in the *Raleigh Register,* March 20, 1840, rather than the better known account of "Shocco Jones in Mississippi," in H. S. Fulkerson, *Random Recollections of Early Days in Mississippi* (Vicksburg: Vicksburg Printing and Publishing Company, 1885; reprinted by Otto Claitor of Baton Rouge, La., 1937), 66-75. Portions of Fulkerson's account are reproduced in Arthur Palmer Hudson, *Humor of the Old Deep South* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1936), 362-366, hereinafter cited as Hudson, *Humor of the Old Deep South.*

or President of the Bank of China"—nobody seemed to know.[112]

After the burst of his "Mississippi bubble," Shocco never again attracted public attention in such a spectacular fashion.[113] He left the state for a while but soon returned to Columbus, where he lived for a time in the law office of George N. Evans, a former North Carolinian. Later, in a delirium, he jumped from a second story window and broke a leg. He subsequently retired to the home of his mother and stepfather near Columbus. After her death he lived alone. In his latter years he became a devout Roman Catholic.[114] "From between the crevices of my cabin," he told one visitor to his retreat, "I can peep at the great world rolling by and laugh at it, as I did when I was in it." [115]

Although he had few contacts with his fellow men, he retained the marvelous power of conversation that had sustained him in many of his earlier adventures. One who met him in 1853 wrote that "such were his knowledge of men and things in the world of fashion and politics—his powers of narrative and description—his talent at gracefully embellishing every subject he touched—the ease with which he passed from one topic to another, &c; &c;—that I was perfectly delighted, and almost forgot his former errors." [116] Another visitor to his retreat, perhaps the novelist Joseph Holt Ingraham, reported that "he was full of anecdote! He knew Van Buren, Jackson, both Adamses, Calhoun, Clay, Randolph,

[112] Hudson, *Humor of the Old Deep South,* 368-369, quoting *Natchez Daily Courier,* May 15, 1853.

[113] According to one report, Jones went to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, immediately following the exposure of his Mississippi hoax. The Alabama legislature was then in session. He informed the prominent men of the state that he had concluded from his studies of physiology and comparative anatomy that "moral and mental greatness was derived solely from the maternal parent." He proposed to write biographical sketches of Alabama's distinguished sons to prove his hypothesis. Apparently he had little difficulty in obtaining biographical information about the maternal ancestors of many Alabamians. This story is related in a slightly revised version of Leech's narrative, *The Mammoth Humbug: or, the Adventures of Shocco Jones, in Mississippi, in the Summer of 1839, including the History of His Visit to Alabama, and "the Way He Come It over Certain Members of Its Legislature, &c. &c.* (Memphis, Tennessee, 1842), 21, hereinafter cited as *The Mammoth Humbug.* A copy of this pamphlet is in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

[114] Evans, "Reminiscences," 146-149.

[115] Hudson, *Humor the Old Deep South,* 372, quoting *Natchez Daily Courier,* May 15, 1853.

[116] *Raleigh Register,* June 4, 1853.

and every man of note who had figured on the world's stage for thirty years past, and had anecdotes to tell of each. He knew the private history of everybody who had any 'private history,' had danced with the belles of two generations, had dined with all the foreign ministers of seven administrations, and was *au fait* of all the political and domestic scandal of Washington for as many reigns."[117]

But for the most part Shocco lived "forgotten by the world, . . . smoking pipes all night, and dreaming of the world he had flown from and sleeping all day. He was very grey; he had the habits of a monk, in his love for solitude, for his cabin was his castle. . . . In more absolute obscurity a man could not live who had formerly been so prominent before the public eye."[118] He died on February 20, 1855.[119]

"I have never . . . inflicted a pang on the crushed spirit—never drawn a tear from the widow or the orphan—never imposed on the weak and defenceless, nor betrayed the confiding heart of the young, the beautiful and the good." These words have been attributed to the "immortal Shocco."[120] His contemporaries—except those few who had fallen the hardest for his ruses—bore him no malice. Upon his death, the editor of the *Columbus Democrat* summed up the feelings of many:

"He was a remarkable man in many respects—possessed a vigorous well cultivated intellect and fine social qualities, but unfortunately, he yielded to the tempting seduction of the Epicurain [*sic*] philosophy and buried a talent which, if properly used might have raised him to distinction. . . . But there was no malice, ill-feeling or selfishness in his hoaxes and humbugs. It was all done for the humor and fun of the thing. When we remember his companionable disposition, his easy, quiet humor, his sprightliness and jests on occasions, we forget his failings; we drop a tear of regret over his grave and feel inclined to exclaim, with Hamlet in the play, ALAS! POOR SHOCCO!!"[121]

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[117] Hudson, *Humor of the Old Deep South*, 371. The editor of the *Raleigh Register*, June 4, 1853, in reprinting the same article from the *Natchez Daily Courier*, May 15, 1853, surmised that Ingraham was the author.

[118] Hudson, *Humor of the Old Deep South*, 372, quoting *Natchez Daily Courier*, May 15, 1853.

[119] *Natchez Daily Courier*, March 3, 1855.

[120] *The Mammoth Humbug*, 22.

[121] Quoted in *Natchez Daily Courier*, March 3, 1855.

# WOODROW WILSON: THE EVOLUTION OF A NAME *

By GEORGE C. OSBORN

"Our boy is named *Thomas Woodrow,*" wrote the child's mother to his grandfather, the Reverend Thomas Woodrow.[1] The child was born, on December 28, 1856, to Joseph Ruggles Wilson and Jessie Woodrow Wilson. Within a year, this "beautiful baby boy," as the neighbors said of him, who was just as good as he could be and who gave his mother as little trouble as it is possible for a baby to do, was answering to the call of "Tommy." And Tommy the child's name was to remain for years. It was Tommy Wilson who played chase or tag with his two older sisters in the yard of the Presbyterian Manse in Augusta, Georgia. It was Tommy who, as he grew taller, but still a small boy, held his father's hand as the two of them went to visit members of the minister's spiritual flock. Upon returning from the round of clerical calls, father Wilson habitually inverted a chair on the floor, and fortified by a pillow, reclined on the floor with Tommy stretched out on a nearby rug to listen, fascinated, to the reading of choice bits of literature, or orations from famous authors, or passages from the Bible.

One autumn morning Professor Joseph T. Derry looked up from his desk at his private school in Augusta to see the Reverend Joseph R. Wilson standing before him. Upon shaking the local Presbyterian minister's hand, he was introduced to Tommy. To the other students at Professor Derry's school young Wilson was Tommy. For those interested in such matters, Tommy was not an average student. In fact, he learned his A-B-C-'s at nine years of age and had passed his eleventh birthday before he could read.

In 1870, Dr. Wilson moved to Columbia, South Carolina, to become Professor of Rhetoric and Theology in a seminary.

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[1] Jessie W. Wilson to Thomas Woodrow, April 27, 1857, in Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited Wilson Papers.

When Sunday came Tommy could frequently be seen accompanying his mother to the First Presbyterian church. Jessie, or Janet Woodrow, who was born in England, was thought by many of her husband's parishioners to be "high hatish." This was perhaps untrue but she was definitely reserved. Of this reserve she bestowed a bountiful amount upon her first born son—*Thomas Woodrow.*

While at Columbia, the Wilsons built a large house, for years one of the show places of the South Carolina metropolis. An example of the Irish love for grandeur, the Wilsons delighted in showing it to friends and in entertaining neighbors in it. Occasionally, Uncle James Wilson, educated at Heidelberg and elsewhere abroad, came to visit and to instruct young Tommy in the sciences. Apparently, the nephew was dull or preoccupied or just had no liking for scientific facts.

"Tommy," quoth Uncle James, "you can learn if you will. Then, for heaven's sake, boy, get some of this. At least, if you have no ambition to be a scholar, you might wish to be a gentleman."[2]

On July 5, 1873, "three young men out of the Sunday School and well known to us all," so read the records of the First Presbyterian Church, applied for membership in the church. After confessions they were unanimously admitted to membership in the church. One of these three lads was Tommy Wilson; only this time the record reads—"Thomas W. Wilson."[3]

Another private school, just across the street from the new Wilson home was attended by Tommy. To all his fellow schoolmates the Wilson youth was just plain Tommy Wilson. He was an average boy and gave no indication of any unusual future whatsoever.

In such an ordinary environment, unusual only in that he was a preacher's son, Tommy Wilson had his childish heart formed and his youthful mind trained. He grew from freckled

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[2] William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson: The Man, His Times, and His Task* (Boston, 1924), 47, hereinafter cited White, *Woodrow Wilson.*

[3] See Minutes of the First Presbyterian Church, Columbia, South Carolina, South Carolina Archives Department, Columbia.

boyhood to callow youth in the grand house in Columbia. During these years the Wilson boy was always "Tommy"; he was never "Tom."[4]

In the fall of 1873, Davidson College, located some twenty miles north of Charlotte, in a country of rolling red fields, had among its newly matriculated students a youthful "T. W. Wilson." To young Wilson's one hundred-seven fellow Davidsonians, he was Tommy. Interestingly, however, in this the first time the young Wilson's name is officially recorded away from home he became "T. W. Wilson." For the first time Tommy joined a literary society—the Eumenean Society—and for the first time he participated in debate. For sitting on the rostrum, "T. Wilson" was fined ten cents by his society and, evidently, paid his fine.[5] Freshman Wilson gave an original oration at least once during the session before his society confreres.

The young Wilson was witty and popular, but languid. Reportedly, the captain of the baseball team, for which Tommy was an aspirant, remarked explosively: "Tommy Wilson would be a good baseball player if he weren't so damned lazy."[6] Perhaps the boy wasn't so lazy; he just didn't have the physical stamina for the game.

Back home in June, 1874, went the Wilson boy, carrying in his pocket a report card that contained only average grades. Upon arriving home Tommy's father realized at once that his son was not well. For some fifteen months this tall frail youth remained at home. Home meant, after September, 1874, Wilmington, North Carolina, where the itinerant Dr. Wilson became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. When acquaintances were made, the first-born son was always presented as Tommy. Somehow, the lad never cared much for the North Carolina port town. Many times in the years ahead, after the boy became known only as Woodrow Wilson, he referred to his youth in the South. Frequently, he

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[4] White, *Woodrow Wilson*, 81.

[5] Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, His Life and Letters* (New York, 8 volumes, 1927-1939) I, 76, hereinafter cited as Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*.

[6] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, 74.

mentioned Augusta or Columbia. Seldom did he refer to Wilmington.

In the autumn of 1875, "T. W. Wilson of Wilmington, North Carolina" entered Princeton College.[7] Not very well prepared for the Freshman work there, Tommy Wilson found his work most difficult. In fact not once did he make the Dean's List, or the Honor Roll, during the eight semesters he was a student. When one realizes that the list included from eighteen to twenty-two per cent of the class each semester, then the mediocrity of Tommy's grades is clearly revealed.

The decade of the 1870's was one of great activity in the Whig Literary Society at Princeton. As soon as school routine was established Tommy joined this group under the name of "T. W. Wilson." When he participated on the society's program for the first time, however, it was as "T. Wilson."[8]

In many ways Tommy's Sophomore year at the New Jersey college was one of the most significant of his young life. According to his official biographer, he found himself intellectually at that time.[9] In Whig Hall, as T. W. Wilson, he won second prize as Sophomore orator, his subject—"The Ideal Statesman." Try though he did, Wilson never won another oratorical contest at Princeton. Thereafter, young Wilson participated in a number of debates, always as "T. Wilson." When elected as first comptroller of Whig, he is, in the society's records, "T. W. Wilson." Moreover, this was this Princeton student's signature on all society reports, etc., which are extant. During the session, 1877-1878, the new speaker of the Whig Society was "T. W. Wilson."[10] Young Wilson's greatest contributions to Whig Hall, concludes the society's historian, was in discussions of the business sessions.[11]

Dr. Wilson's son and some of his chums organized a Liberal Debating Club. Among those chosen as officers were "Thomas

[7] Consult records in Princeton University Library. Photostatic copies in Ray Stannard Baker Papers, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Baker Papers.

[8] Jacob N. Beam, *American Whig Party of Princeton University* (Princeton, 1933), 188ff, hereinafter cited Beam, *American Whig Party.*

[9] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson,* 85.

[10] See Whig Hall records in Princeton University Library. The best published source is Beam, *American Whig Party,* 178 *passim.*

[11] Beam, *American Whig Party,* 192.

W. Wilson of North Carolina, Secretary of State." Apparently, Wilson wrote the constitution which was modeled on the English system—the Secretary of State exercising the powers of Prime Minister.[12]

While a student at Princeton young Wilson decided upon a career in politics. Having made the decision, and having set his goal, he wrote out his political objective on many cards which he distributed among his classmates. Upon receipt of the card, each read:

Thomas Woodrow Wilson
Senator from Virginia [13]

In tracing the multiplicity of changes in Tommy Wilson's name, one cannot omit the signatures which he used himself in his early published writings and in his youthful private letters. Fortunately, some of each remain of the Princeton period.

Wilson's first published article was in the *Princetonian*, June 7, 1877, on the subject of "oratory" and was signed, in complete anonymity, "X". The second article, longer and more significant than the first, was signed "Atticus." Entitled "Prince Bismarck" it appeared in the *Nassau Literary Magazine*, November, 1877. From this anonymous beginning as a writer, Tommy emerged triumphantly a year later. A prize essay—"William Earl Chatham," when published in the same periodical was signed "Thomas W. Wilson, '79 of N. C." Here we find not only his name but his Princeton class and the state in which he lived. A third article, Tommy's first to be published off campus, came out in the *International Review*, August, 1879. It bore the signature of "Thomas W. Wilson." Of the few letters written by the young Wilson during this period that are known to be preserved, his signature is "Thomas W. Wilson"[14] or "T. W. Wilson." On a visit to Columbia, South Carolina, in the summer of 1878, Wilson wrote: "I have just returned from calling on a whole family

[12] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, 94-95.
[13] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, 104.
[14] See Thos. W. Wilson to Bobie [Robert R.] Bridges, July 18, 27, August 20, 1877; August 10, 1878. All of these letters are in the Karl A. Meyer Collection of the Correspondence of Woodrow Wilson and Robert R. Bridges, Library of Congress, hereinafter cited as Meyer Collection.

of girls who are old acquaintances. They all knew me as a boy and know me as 'Tommie.' I always enjoy getting among people who know me well enough to throw aside the formal prefix *Mr.* and call me *Tommie,* simply." [15]

Having chosen politics as a career, it was natural for the Princeton graduate to select law as his profession. "I entered the one because I thought it would lead to the other," he confided to Ellen Axson.[16] The War Between the States and its aftermath—Reconstruction—kept this aspiring young man from entering a northern law school. There was only one of distinction in the South and so he went to the University of Virginia. According to the bursar's record, Tommy entered the institution, which was the lengthened shadow of Thomas Jefferson, on October 2, 1879, as "Thomas W. Wilson." When he returned a year later his name became "T. Woodrow Wilson." [17]

Here the embryonic barrister joined the Phi Kappa Psi social fraternity, sang first tenor in the glee club, indulged himself in an arduous romance, and as a member of the Jefferson Society participated in campus forensics. Among those elected to membership in the Jefferson Literary Society at its first meeting in October, 1879, was "T. Woodrow Wilson." [18] Subsequently, Tommy became secretary of his society under the identical signature in which he achieved membership. During his tenure as secretary the minutes of "Old Jeff" were signed "T. Woodrow Wilson." On January 31, 1880, "Mr. T. Woodrow Wilson" was unanimously elected orator for the ensuing month. Tommy's oration, "John Bright," was given March 6, 1880, and was unsigned when published in the *University of Virginia Magazine* a few days later.[19] "Mr. Wilson," as Tommy was now referred to in campus publications, contributed an essay to the same journal the following month, April, 1880. Although "Mr. Gladstone: A Character

[15] T. W. Wilson to J. Edwin Webster, July 23, 1878, Baker Papers.
[16] Woodrow Wilson to Ellen Axson, October 30, 1883, quoted by Baker, *Woodrow Wilson,* I, 109.
[17] See Bursar's Records, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.
[18] Consult Minutes of Jefferson Society, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, hereinafter cited as Minutes of Jefferson Society.
[19] *University of Virginia Magazine* (March, 1880), 354-370.

Sketch" was signed "Atticus," on the page containing the table of contents "by Woodrow Wilson" is opposite the title of the article.[20] Significantly, this is the first time that Wilson's name appeared publicly as it was to be permanently.

That Tommy Wilson repeatedly participated in debating is attested by the minutes of his society. He is mentioned as a debator—"T. W. Wilson," "Mr. Wilson," or "Brother Wilson." [21] Returning to Charlottesville in the fall of 1880, "T. Woodrow Wilson" was the first member to sign "Old Jeff's" register. On October 9 he was chosen, again unanimously, as president. The first reference to Wilson as "President Wilson" came a week later when the secretary of Jefferson began the minutes: "The House was called to order at 7 o'clock, President Wilson in the chair." [22] The most dramatic event of Tommy Wilson's life, as an "Old Jeff," was the participation in a debate on April 2, 1880, on the negative side of the question: "Is the Roman Catholic Element in the United States a Menace to American Institutions?" Much to Wilson's dismay, the first prize, as the best debator, went to an opponent. "Mr. T. W. Wilson" had to accept second prize as the best orator.[23]

Early in the session of 1880-1881, Tommy's health broke completely. As he left for Wilmington and home, a campus publication noted that "Mr. T. W. Wilson" had left the University on account of his health.[24] Several letters written by young Wilson from the fall of 1879 to 1881 have remained. To Charles A. Talcott, a chum of the Princeton years, Tommy wrote periodically. Invariably, the signature was "T. Woodrow Wilson." [25] His correspondence with Robert Bridges continued but no letter was ended with "Woodrow Wilson." A change from "Thos. W. Wilson" to "T. Woodrow Wilson" was subscribed in November, 1879. A postscript gave the rea-

[20] *University of Virginia Magazine* (April, 1880), 401-426.
[21] Minutes of Jefferson Society, 1879-1880, 1880-1881.
[22] Minutes of Jefferson Society, October 16, 1880.
[23] See *University of Virginia Magazine* (May, 1880), 524-525; A. W. Patterson, *Personal Recollections of Woodrow Wilson* (Richmond, 1929), 17. Patterson, a member of the Jefferson Society, was a classmate of Wilson's at the University of Virginia.
[24] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, 127.
[25] T. Woodrow Wilson to Charles A. Talcott, July 7, December 31, 1879; May 20, October 11, 1880; Baker Papers.

son: "I sign myself thus at mother's special request, because this signature embodies *all* my family name.[26]

A contributing factor to Tommy's ill health which forced his withdrawal from Jefferson's educational institutional was the exactness of law coupled with Tommy's repeated journeys over to Staunton. Attending Mary Baldwin's Academy there was Harriet Woodrow, who, though Tommy's first cousin, was the center of his affections. Of the letters which must have passed between them only a few have been preserved, and all of these were penned after Wilson left the University of Virginia. In April, 1881, Tommy concluded a long letter: "You know that I love you dearly . . . Lovingly yours, Woodrow." [27] The next letter preserved addressed to "My Sweetest Cousin" is signed "T. Woodrow Wilson." [28]

On February 12, 1881, "T. W." published a letter in the *New York Evening Post*. From Wilmington, North Carolina, the author's correspondence was entitled, "Stray Thoughts From the South." [29] Fourteen months later, April 20, 1882, a second letter published in the same paper, on the subject "New Southern Industries," was signed "W. W." [30] Sometime earlier in a personal letter to his intimate friend, Robert Bridges, Tommy Wilson had not only signed "Woodrow Wilson" but added this explanation: "You see, I am no longer 'Tommy,' *except to my old friends;* but have imitated Charlie [Charles Andrew Talcott] in taking the liberty of dropping one of my names, as superfluous." [31] The evolution of "Woodrow Wilson" was practically complete by 1882. Exceptions were to occur, however, as late as June, 1885, when Wilson signed a letter to his Uncle Thomas Woodrow, the father of Harriet, as "Thomas Woodrow Wilson." [32]

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[26] T. Woodrow Wilson to Robert Bridges, November [?] 1879; February 25, 1880; August 18, 1880; September 18, 1880; January 1, 1881; February 24, 1881; May [24], 1881; Meyers Collection.

[27] Woodrow [Wilson] to Harriet Woodrow, April 22, 1881, Baker Papers.

[28] T. Woodrow Wilson to Harriet Woodrow, May 10, 1881, Baker Papers.

[29] See copy of letter, Wilson Papers.

[30] See copy of letter, Wilson Papers.

[31] Woodrow Wilson to Robert Bridges, August 22, 1881, Meyer Collection.

[32] Thomas Woodrow Wilson to Thomas Woodrow, June 8, 1885, Baker Papers.

Why did Tommy finally decide on "Woodrow Wilson" for his name? Was it because a Princeton chum deleted one of his names? That was a good explanation, but was it the real reason? Several have offered their conclusions which are interesting to note. Ray Stannard Baker concludes: "After going through all the permutations and combinations of "Tommy" and "Tom," "T. W. Wilson," "Thos. W. Wilson," "T. Wilson," and "T. Woodrow Wilson," the last of "Tommy" drops away—sacrificed on the altar of euphony. Thereafter he never signed anything but "Woodrow Wilson." [33] William Allen White declared that "Tommy" was dropped because it lacked dignity. "It was Tommy the turkey and Tommy the cat and Tommy the gardener." Moreover, the same biographer adds that Tommy declared to Robert Bridges: "I find I need a trademark in advertising my literary wares. Thomas W. Wilson lacks something—Woodrow Wilson sticks in the mind. So I have decided publicly to be Woodrow Wilson." [34] But Wilson, as White contended, had not turned some sudden corner at the University of Virginia and "lost Tommy forever." [35] The transition began at Charlottesville, only to be completed later. Yet another suggested the longer signatures were altogether too lengthy, too commonplace, too lacking in distinction. Woodrow Wilson was brief, alliterative, more striking, and easier to remember.[36] Was Wilson superstitious? Did he believe the thirteen letters in "Woodrow Wilson" contained some kind of fixed destiny or good luck? Although this has been contended, it is doubtful.[37]

Wilson declared to Bridges his decision to use only "Woodrow," and no longer "Tommy," within a few days after Harriet Woodrow had refused to marry him. Wilson's letters to his cousin, Harriet, reveal the deep passion of his affection for her. In accepting her rejection of his love, he vowed to

[33] Baker, *Woodrow Wilson*, I, 137. Baker is wrong in saying Wilson never signed anything but "Woodrow Wilson" after 1881. There were several examples of variations but not many. I have found none after 1885.
[34] White, *Woodrow Wilson*, 89.
[35] White, *Woodrow Wilson*, 85.
[36] Harold G. Black, *True Woodrow Wilson, Crusader for Democracy* (New York, 1946), 38-39.
[37] David Loth, *Woodrow Wilson: The Fifteenth Point* (Philadelphia, 1941), 30.

love her always.[38] Did Wilson retain only "Woodrow" in romantic remembrance of his first love? If so, Harriet Woodrow, in rejecting "Tommy Wilson's" proposal for marriage, influenced destiny greatly.

[38] See Woodrow [Wilson] to Harriet Woodrow, no date but obviously in summer, 1881, Baker Papers.

# CHILDHOOD RECOLLECTIONS OF MY FATHER

By MARY C. WILEY

When I was a child my favorite place to play when my father was at home[1] was the Study—the book-lined upper room with the sun streaming in the eastern window, with the view of friendly neighborhood yards from the western and northern windows; and beyond the quiet street, wide stretches of unbroken woodland, part of the Moravian reservation upon which Winston stood, which we always designated as Fries' woods (since in our childish way of thinking the Fries of Salem stood for all Moravians, past and present).

My sister Annie and David and Jimmy, my brothers, would be at school, my baby sister Mittie would be downstairs with her beloved Henreetta,, the young black girl, whose forebears had belonged to my father's people, and who was regarded by all of us as one of the family.

I can see myself now, quiet as a mouse, playing with the bits of paper and the yellow envelopes my father would give me, building houses under the window with the books I could reach from the lowest shelves of the open book cases, slipping up every now and then to the table before the open fireplace where my father was writing, watching his pen go back and forth across the white sheet, as I lovingly smoothed the little red and white China dog that stood in his accustomed place on the corner of the table—as a paper weight, I suppose.

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[1] Calvin Henderson Wiley, son of David L. and Ann Woodburn Wiley, was born February 3, 1819, in Guilford County, at the old homeplace (near Greensboro), of his great-grandfather, William Wiley, who in the Scotch-Irish emigration of the 1750's had come down the "Great Wagon Road" through the Valley of Virginia, from Pennsylvania to Guilford County (at that time Orange County). Calvin H. Wiley, *Alamance Counety, Historical Address* (1879), C. H. Wiley Diary, April 9, 1876, 9-10.

He served as first Superintendent of Public Schools of North Carolina from 1852 until their suspension in 1866. He was District Superintendent of the American Bible Society, Middle and East Tennessee, 1869-1874; North and South Carolina, from 1874 until his death, January 11, 1887. *Encyclopædia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1884), 1009, hereinafter cited as *Encyclopædia of the Presbyterian Church.*

I can see every detail of the sunny morning room, dominated as it was by the presence of my father: the old-fashioned schoolmaster's desk of massive walnut, standing between the eastern and northern windows, filled, every pigeon hole and the deep well under the heavy lid, with neat piles of closely written sheets of paper, and bundles of letters, labeled and tied with red tape. In the big drawer extending all the way under the desk were stacks of paper, numbers of paperback books, which my father always referred to as "annual reports" and thin little books, soft to the touch, with reddish backs or yellow or black, which years later I learned were the diaries which my father so conscientiously kept during the years he was in the service of the American Bible Society.

But more interesting to me than the papers and books in the old desk were the various paper boxes carefully stored away from childish fingers and brought out on long Sunday afternoons that we children might see the bits of jewelry, cherished as mementoes of happy occasions; the time-stained sheets and half-sheets bearing various signatures greatly prized by our father because they related to the days when his father and his father's father lived at the old home in Guilford—Woodbourne, he himself had named it in honor of his dearly beloved mother, Ann Woodburn Wiley; the yellowed slips of printed paper, the "s's" looking like "f's" and the animals pictured on them unlike any animals we had ever seen. These pictured slips, we were told, had been used in place of copper and silver money in the days when our people first came to Guilford and during the Revolutionary War, and we loved to imagine the stirring events that must have happened in those days when they passed from hand to hand in exchange for sugar and shoes, as receipt for taxes paid the sheriff, as payment of the schoolmaster's monthly bill for "scholar-and-a-half."

Hidden somewhere in the roomy desk must have been the brace of ancient pistols, used in the Revolutionary War, which the tenants at Woodbourne during the years my father

lived in Tennessee had badly misused, picking out most of the ivory.

In my mind's eye I can still see the large colored map of North Carolina hanging on the Study wall across from the desk, and under the bottom bookshelf next to the door, the heavy oblong box, filled with mysterious looking parts, which when fitted together and mounted became the sun, moon, and stars, revolving around the earth on its axis.

I can see the open bookshelves, covering two sides of the room, getting smaller and smaller as they reached the top, the heavy thick books on the lower shelves, the tiny black ones in fine print on the top shelf, with the big earthen bottle of ink beside them safe from little fingers and the stout little wooden box with old-fashioned lock and key—always locked.

In the corner where the front and side bookshelves came together was a deep open space where the long, heavy Woodbourne hunting pieces were stored and the rusty old sword with the dark stain on the dull edge, which we children were sure was blood spattered on it at the Battle of Guilford Court House.

And beside the old guns and Revolutionary sword were the walking sticks, twelve or more, which had been presented to my father on various occasions and by special friends. I liked to play with the glossy, slender stick made of wood from Mount Olivet, the strong, heavy cane made from the wood of some battle ship and mounted with a band of plain, hand-beaten silver; but my father liked best the tall, light cane made of twisted palmetto and he often carried it on his walk to the post office, especially on sleety, cold days.

The books packed tightly on the Study shelves my father prized greatly. Many of these books were arithmetics and readers and geographies presented to him when he was Superintendent of Common Schools; many were works on theology,[2] Bible commentaries and writings on Bible proph-

[2] My father studied theology under his life-long friend and the pastor of his church, Old Alamance Presbyterian Church of Guilford County, Rev. Eli W. Caruthers, D.D. In 1855 my father was licensed to preach by the Orange Presbytery and in 1866 he was ordained by the Presbytery to the full work of the ministry. *Encyclopædia of the Presbyterian Church,* 1009.

ecy. There were some of the law books he had used when reading law after college days, and legislative volumes relating to the common schools of the 1850's and 1860's. Many of his histories of North Carolina, works of fiction, and law books, we were told, had been destroyed by fire in the days when he was a young lawyer in Oxford, North Carolina.[3]

The books in the Study represented Home to my father; he had carried them from Woodbourne to Tennessee and then back again from Tennessee to North Carolina and when at length he spread them out on the shelves in the home he had built in Winston, he felt that he had really settled down for good in the Old State he so dearly loved.[4]

In front of the open wood fire was my father's writing table, the shiny walnut top spread with the soft checkered table cloth, maroon and black, to protect it from the occasional ink spot.

Stretched out beside the writing table, Dan, our beautiful, intelligent bird dog, kept company with me in the quiet Study. He loved to be near my father; often he would accompany him to the post office, and when my father died, he sensed that something was wrong, and he would come whining to the study door and then walk down street to the post office and back again to the Study door; for several days he kept this up.

My father had built for Dan a comfortable doghouse, on the back porch, with a bed of fresh leaves and a strip of rag carpet hung over the open side; how well I remember how my father on a cold winter night would go out to the back

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[3] Stephen B. Weeks, *Beginnings of the Common School System in the South* (1898), 1431. In the fall of 1875 while on a visit to Oxford in the interest of the American Bible Society, my father records in his Diary: "Milton. October 25, 1875. My reception here, my home for some years when I was quite young and where I practiced law, was exceedingly kind & gratifying."

[4] In his Diary, July 5, 1877, my father records: "Today got all of my books & papers put up at my new home (Spruce Street, Winston). I have yet in Guilford (at Woodbourne) some 20 or 30 volumes of books & considerable numbers of papers. Since May 1869 when I went to Tennessee, I have not had all my books & papers together, but the Lord willing, I hope soon to have all together once more at my own home."

And on July 7, 1877, he continues on the same subject: "At last I am even with my office business, & have my books & papers all arranged. Now for the first time since May 1869 are these my fixed companions, put up & arranged at my home to remain."

porch before locking up for the night to see that Dan was warm and comfortable.

Like black Hen'retta, Dan was one of the family, and when he died, we grieved as if a beloved relative had departed.

I can see my father now, tall, thin, soft brown hair streaked here and there with white, bending over the Study table, writing, writing, writing. I didn't understand what it was that kept him so busy writing all the time he was home from his trips.

But now, from reading his Diary, I can appreciate how arduous were the home duties he had to perform as District Superintendent of the American Bible Society:[5] the making of long monthly statistical and narrative reports to the home office of the Society in New York City—reports that had to be sent strictly on time, complete in every detail; the checking of the accounts sent in by regional Bible depositories and by colporteurs; the answering of numerous and varied inquiries relating to the planning of union denominational meetings in widely separated areas and of anniversary celebrations of Auxiliaries in his field stretching from the western boundaries of North Carolina to the southeastern shores of South Carolina; the thinking-out of sermons to be preached in the near future; the constant study of the Scriptures that he might give his hearers fresh inspiration from the living streams of spiritual life.

It is of interest to note that my father never wrote out his sermons, the notes he carried to the pulpit being the barest of outline, often jotted down on the backs of used envelopes.

As I look back in memory upon this period of my father's life—the final period of his busy and fruitful life—and think of the strenuous pioneer work in the educational field he had crowded into the thirties and forties of his manhood and

[5] A few items from my father's Diary give an idea of the writing he had to do between his field trips. On April 26, 1879, he records that on returning home from a field trip he found 82 letters awaiting him and 33 documents needing immediate attention. On September 1, 1880, he records: ". . . letters for August 115, documents 242." On August 7, 1885, he writes: "I am very tired. Since noon yesterday I have written 27 letters, one of them 3 pp. & one nearly 4 pp." His entry for April 5, 1886, states: "Today I finished the 5 statistical tables of my annual report & copied them—a heavy work."

then at fifty years of age had entered upon an entirely different life service, yet a service requiring the same dauntless spirit, the same resourcefulness of mind and selfless devotion to his task that his earlier work had required—when I think upon these things, I marvel at the amazing vitality he put into his Bible work, the unabated keenness of mind, the enthusiasm with which at fifty and sixty years of age he carried on duties which might well have taxed the mental and spiritual resources of a much younger man.

His physical powers were indeed taxed during the years of his Bible work; frail from boyhood, he found most wearing the constant traveling in draughty, over-heated or under-heated railroad cars of the old type, in open hacks or buggies over rough, dusty roads; the sleeping in noisy hotel rooms and the eating of hotel fare unsuited to his delicate stomach.[6]

Yet with all the exacting office work and strenuous field service as District Superintendent of The American Bible Society, my father ever took an active part in the affairs of his home town.[7] With constructive suggestions and loyal co-operation he responded to the many and varied calls of small town Winston, taking a leading part in the establishment of graded schools; he graciously entered into the social activi-

[6] These entries from my father's Diary show the hardships of railroad travel in the 1880's:

"August 20, 1880. Left Winston at 7 a.m. & arrived at Lexington, N. C. at 11 a.m. The Southbound train was 1 & ½ hours late, full of passengers & ran from 40 to 45 miles an hour. Extremely warm & dusty. Arrived At Greenville, S. C. at 6 p.m.

"May 30, 1881. I feel worsted by this trip, the fare & water disagreeing with me. It is astonishing how carelessly many people live. I have scarcely tasted a vegetable since I left home & have seen only raw onions, lettuce, cabbage, new & unhealthy Irish potatoes.

"June 23, 1882. Left R[ockingham] at 10 a.m., arrived at Charlotte at 6 p.m.—71 miles in 8 hours. On the Carolina-Central Railroad the night train makes 13 miles an hour & the day train 9. The road goes through a hot, unhealthy country, the water is bad & the hotels poor. I am thankful to God He enabled me to stand a trip I greatly dreaded."

[7] *The Western Sentinel* of Winston in its issue of January 13, 1887, states:

"In 1874 Mr. Wiley (as District Superintendent of the American Bible Society, New York, for North and South Carolina) made Winston his home; this was at a time when the town had just begun to enter into its new and prosperous career. He took a great interest, as a man and a citizen, in its growth and welfare and from the first sought to promote good schools. The establishment of the present Graded School was due in a very large measure to his personal ability, influence, and zeal in the matter."

ties of his widely divergent circle of friends, men and women of culture and wealth, citizens of little education; and to the struggling little Presbyterian Church he was a tower of strength. Before the calling of Dr. Frontis Johnston of Lexington as full-time pastor, he visited the sick of the congregation, held Wednesday night prayer meeting and Sunday services when he was in Winston. After Dr. Johnston took full-time charge of the church, he continued his active interest in the affairs of the congregation, organizing a society for young men, teaching a Bible class of young adults,[8] filling the pulpit in the absence of Dr. Johnston on presbyterial duties.

As I look back upon my childhood days and recall the affection my father lavished upon his family,[9] his love for home and appreciation of simple home joys and home interests, the strong local attachments he had, it seems almost a tragedy that all his married life he should have had to spend so much time away from home.

It was seldom that he could spend a week end in Winston, with no preaching appointment in some local church in the interest of the Bible work, and these rare occasions were red-letter days with us.

Some Sunday evenings he would "baby sit" with the three youngest of us, while our mother attended church services with the two oldest children.

"Tell us about when you were a boy," we would beg and pressing close about him, we would never tire of the stories he had to tell again and over again of his childhood in the "Old Place," as we called Woodbourne: of the big spring at the foot of the hill with the spring house made of logs; of the clear branch flowing from it with the earthen vessels in

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[8] In his Diary on Sunday, Nov. 20, 1881, my father writes: "At 2 p.m. in the Presbyterian Sabbath School heard a Bible class of adults, mostly married, organized for me.

"I have been much desired by males & females, married & young, to take such a class. I delight in this work, but if I teach on Sabbaths, it will have to be at irregular intervals."

[9] A sketch of my father published in the *Encyclopædia of the Presbyterian Church*, 1009, speaks of his devotion to family: "The richest overflow of his sympathies has been in the home-circle, where devotion to kindred, strong filial feeling, and tenderest attachments have ever marked his character."

it filled with milk and butter; of the meadow where the wild strawberries grew; of the woods, with the squirrels cracking the nuts which fell from the tall hickory trees; of the sweet old-fashioned "pinks" (his favorite flowers) blooming in his mother's flower garden just off the kitchen and the great bush of yellow roses beside the front gate.

How real he made the people, black and white, who lived at Woodbourne when he was a boy. There was the little slave boy, Newt, just about his age, who loved to run around with him; there was smiling, fat Aunt Hettie, the cook, Newt's mother, who lived with her family down the road in the log cabin, with the outdoor stairs leading to the room above and the big cactus bush just outside the room below. How our mouths would water as he told us of the peach "pot pies" Aunt Hettie would bake, the crusty salt rising bread, the "hard biscuits" beaten by hand until the bubbles rose and cracked in the soft unrisen dough.

How we loved to hear him tell about going with his mother to the Female Missionary Society of Old Alamance Church, sitting up in front of her on the big fat horse, listening during the meeting to the ladies talk about the Indian boy they were supporting, whom they had named David Caldwell after the beloved pastor of former days, David Caldwell of Revolutionary fame.

What an appeal to the imagination were the stories he told us of boyhood days when he would walk to church barefoot, cool his feet in the clear little branch running below the churchyard and put on his squeaky shoes just in time to reach the family pew before the preacher ascended the steps to the tall pulpit with its sounding board above and the "clark" arose with his tuning fork to lead the hearty congregational singing.

We would beg for stories of his early school days at the little red schoolhouse near his Grandmother Woodburn's home; with the big open fire, the backless benches, the narrow writing table under the high window at which the "scholars" took turn about copying the lines the master had written in his flowing hand. We loved to hear how the master would call, "To books! To books!" whenever the noisy hum of boys

and girls conning aloud their lessons would die down and how he would place the dunce cap upon the head of the luckless fellow who failed to get the right answer to his "sum," and make the "bad boy" sit on the high stool in the corner.

We loved to hear the story of the hungry little bear, who passing one day by the open door of the schoolhouse, caught a whiff of the dinner pails hanging on the nearby pegs and waddled in for his dinner; we loved to hear of the time the "scholars" locked out the master and how the master climbed up on the low roof of the schoolhouse and slipped down the wide chimney, scattering the soot and setting everybody sneezing.

We never tired of listening to his account of the trips he would make to Fayetteville with his father's slaves in the big farm wagon filled with butter and other farm produce to exchange at the town stores for sugar and coffee, bone-handled knives and forks, and sewing materials for his mother. Here and there along the road other wagons would join his father's wagon and at night the wagoners would camp around a big pine knot fire. It was on one of these trips that the "stars fell" but he was fast asleep and saw nothing of the awe-inspiring sight which to the terrified Negro wagoners betokened the Judgment Day.

Memory goes back to the simple home pleasures of a wintry evening, the sense of security and family oneness, as, doors closed and window blinds shutting out the stormy darkness, we gathered around the open wood fire. My mother would be busy with her needle, my father would join us in popping corn (for in those days the corn-popper was as necessary an adjunct to the hearthstone as tongs and shovel), guessing riddles, playing checkers, or dominoes, or authors.

The game of authors I remember best of all the games our father played with us; for though I could not read, I was not left out. With my little chair pushed up just as close as I could get it to my father's chair, I was allowed to hold the "books," as a completed set of one author's titles was called. And it was thus unconsciously I learned, from hearing the others call for titles, the names of many authors and their works, such as Whittier's *Tenting on the Beach,* and Cooper's

*The Deerslayer,* long before I could tell a letter of the alphabet.

As I recall my earliest memories connected with my father, I can smell the faint, pleasant odor of tea cakes which seemed always to emerge when my father opened his roomy, linen-lined valise to unpack after a trip, for whenever his journeyings took him to Raleigh, where his beloved niece, who had married my mother's brother, lived, he had a way of slipping in among his fresh handkerchiefs and socks a package of fresh tea cakes for his little grandnieces and nephews.

The pungent smell of his cigar lingers also in my memory. He had a way of cutting his cigar in two and leisurely puffing down to the tip of each small piece. I loved to watch the curling whiffs of smoke as they drifted from his cigar into the fire-lighted room where we gathered after supper on a wintry evening, and I loved, too, the dry tobaccory smell which lingered in the old-fashioned woolly dressing gown he wore as he relaxed in his favorite chair, the high-arm chair with the short worn-down rockers, the chair which had been the favorite chair also of his father and his father's father.

The scent of apples, delicious sheep nose apples, a variety long off the market, is among the earliest memories of my father. In my mind's eye I can see my father coming down Spruce Street in the winter twilight, a large paper bag of apples in his arms. I can hear his quick, decisive step, as I run out the gate to meet him. He selects from his bag one big juicy apple for me to sample before supper. Taking out his ever-handy pen knife, he proceeds to peel it (I never saw him eat an apple without first peeling it) while I, my mouth watering, stand by watching the knife go round and round, the curling skin growing longer and longer.

In the attic of our Spruce Street home (or garret as we called the long, wide room with the sloping roof over the dining room and kitchen ell) are two small, split-bottomed chairs whose smooth, worn backs bear silent testimony to the fun we used to have as children, when after supper, our father would join us in our winter sport—sliding down the long, gently-sloping side yard covered deep in freshly fallen snow. We didn't have sleds enough to go round and so when

all of us wanted to slide at the same time, we used the chairs for sleds.

My father, with the youngest in his lap, preferred the safety of a chair-sled which he could guide at his own rate of speed between the big trees down the sloping yard to the chain of sleds loosely fashioned together and guided by the boy in the foremost sled lying flat on his stomach.

With shouts and laughter, my father the very center of the merriment, we would fly down the track from front street to back; then plowing up the unbroken snow beside the beaten track, drag our sleds or chairs up to the starting point and slide down again.

The neighborhood boys and girls, up and down the street, would come with their sleds to join in our sport, and whenever the snow began to cover the ground, they were just as eager as we were for our father to get home before the sliding was over.

It was surprising how many people there were who dropped in to see my father on the days between his trips and the varied missions upon which they came.

There was an old gentleman up Spruce Street, an early merchant of Winston and former mayor, Martin Grogan ("Squire" he was called), who loved to drop by on a summer evening and talk with my father. He was never at a loss for a subject of conversation, but the one topic upon which he could converse upon for hours was the subject of Greenbacks.

I didn't know what he meant by Greenbacks but I trembled as I listened to his dire prophecies of what would happen to our country if those who advocated Greenbacks did "get in" (or did not "get in")—I don't remember which.

I trembled, too, as adroitly he turned the conversation from Greenbacks to the Judgment Day—a subject in which both he and my father were keenly interested. In my childish imagination, the Judgment Day was one of two most dreadful things that could possibly happen; and from conversation far over my head I gathered it was imminent without warning at any moment. The other dreadful thing was the return of the Cholera.

It was from stories handed down from my father and mother that I knew all about the cholera scare in Tennessee of the early eighteen-seventies, and I shuddered at the mere thought of the dread epidemic ever threatening our North Carolina home.

My father, as Superintendent of the American Bible Society for East and Middle Tennessee, was living in Jonesboro, Tennessee, when the epidemic of cholera began to spread eastward from West Tennessee and with my mother and their young son and infant daughter refugeed to Rural Retreat, in Wythe County, Virginia.

So vividly did my parents portray the dreadful weeks of the cholera epidemic that I felt as I heard them talk that I, too, had lived in Jonesboro that sultry, rainy summer when everything in the house molded, when overnight the grass grew in the village streets and in the gardens vegetables hung lush and rank, and household after household suddenly became stricken with the strange black sickness—vomiting and raging fever.

Day and night could be heard the mooing of cows unmilked and untended, straying along the village street, the barking of dogs unfed, the tolling of church bells not only for the burial of the dead but for the digging of graves for the stricken and dying.

One man, while listening to the tolling of the church bell for the friend whose grave he was digging, was suddenly attacked with the disease and so rapidly did it run its course that he was buried in the very grave he had been digging for his friend. The man in whose care my father left his house when he refugeed to Virginia died and was buried with the key to the house in his pocket.

My father's family physician, Dr. Deadrick, and his good wife (the parents of Mrs. Robert B. Glenn, wife of North Carolina's Governor Glenn) remained in Jonesboro all through the epidemic, ministering to the sick and dying, and through their letters which I have found among my father's papers, the impressions of my childhood have been deeply strengthened of this terrible scourge.

And thus I bring to a close these childhood recollections of my father. It has not been easy to lay bare these intimate memories and I have done so only in the hope that they may enable students of my father's work as a builder of the public school system of our State to have a fuller, richer understanding of his rare, innate qualities of mind and spirit as best shown within the circle of his family.

# BOOK REVIEWS

James K. Polk, Jacksonian, 1795-1843. By Charles Grier Sellers, Jr. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1957. Preface, illustrations, description of sources, and index. Pp. xiv, 526. $7.50.)

This volume, appropriately described in the Preface as both biography and history, is devoted entirely to the pre-presidential career of Polk, revealing him as a hardworking politician with boundless ambition but with no suggestion that he will ever achieve the high office. Eugene I. McCormac's *James K. Polk: A Political Biography,* is cited as covering his later career adequately.

Polk's Scotch-Irish ancestors had like so many of their compatriots made their way to Maryland's Eastern Shore and from there had gone to the frontier. After a stay in western Pennsylvania they moved down the valley of Virginia to Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. Though the Polks left Mecklenburg when James was only eight, his biographer feels that his brief stay there coupled with his growing up on the Tennessee frontier made him the stanch Jacksonian that he remained throughout his life.

The Polks were by no means obscure frontiersmen. They belonged rather to the planter, farming, land-speculating, office-holding group who played important roles in local, state, and even national affairs. James's frail health in his early years shut him off from more robust activities and turned his energies to law and politics.

After his graduation from the University of North Carolina in 1818 his is largely a political biography. He began by studying law in the offices of the famous lawyer-politician, Felix Grundy, at Nashville and was admitted to the bar in 1820. Already he was serving an apprenticeship in politics as he was clerk of the Tennessee Senate from 1819 to 1823. He was elected to the lower house of the Tennessee legislature in 1823, and two years later he entered the national House of Representatives where he served fourteen years, the

last four as speaker. A term as governor of Tennessee followed after which he suffered defeat in 1841 and 1843 as the Whigs took command and Polk's career in politics appeared ended. On this note the book ends.

The first part of the book provides an interesting account of frontier North Carolina and Tennessee in all aspects, but it becomes more and more a description of the political issues, personalities, and campaigns in state and nation in which Polk was playing an increasingly important role.

C. W. Tebeau.

University of Miami,
Coral Gables, Florida.

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O. Henry in North Carolina. By Cathleen Pike (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Library. 1957. Pp. 29.)

This is another in the useful North Carolina Biographical Series of the University's Library Extension Publications. Its Foreword and five short chapters give an account of William Sidney Porter's schoolhouse, boyhood, and drugstore youth in Greensboro, a statement of his connections with the State during the Texas and the New York years, a list of the North Carolina memorials to him, and a very cursory treatment of the impact of the scenery, life, and culture of his native state upon his stories. The first two chapters furnish some new-found facts about O. Henry's early life (e.g., that he was a registered druggist), and the last shows how the experiences at Aunt Lina's school and Uncle Clark's drugstore reappear in his stories—to their benefit. It is well that we know also where this famous son lies buried and what memorials have been raised to him, as given in Chapter 4.

Now, O. Henry is important for his stories and whatever helps the reader to a richer appreciation of them is a good thing. The last chapter does this: it shows to some extent wherein his living and visiting in North Carolina lent color and irony and pathos to his work. It is unfortunate, however, that the scope of the pamphlet did not allow a fuller treat-

ment of this subject. And it is likewise unfortunate that the author had not the chance to point up O. Henry's unique pathos built, as it was, upon his rather whimsical sense of irony—and derived ultimately from his Greensboro days, when caricature was his hobby. The writing in this piece is clear; it lacks the distinction that its subject deserves. One hopes, however, that it may serve to renew interest in the work of an exceptional craftsman, in these days too often neglected.

Thomas B. Stroup.

The University of Kentucky,
Lexington.

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The Cokers of Carolina. By George Lee Simpson, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. 237. Illustrated. $5.00.)

This is the biography of a South Carolina family which has had an extraordinary influence not only on life in their state, but possibly in the whole South. This family stems from Caleb and Hannah Lide Coker who were married in 1830. The centers of Coker activity have been Society Hill and Hartsville. Caleb Coker and his wife underwent the characteristic experiences of an ante bellum southern couple who began life on meager resources, and undertook to stabilize their conditions by farming and merchandising. Caleb's history was somewhat more important because of his storekeeping activities. Even in those days of factorage supply he served a tremendously vital purpose in making merchandise available locally. Through his limited records both his biographer and the reader are able to catch a glimpse of life in the early cotton belt as it concerned supply and credits.

The numerous brood of Caleb Coker reached maturity during the war years. Three of the boys were caught in war from the outset, and the experiences of these three constitute a thrilling chapter of the anxieties and griefs which befell southerners during these tumultuous years. Charles Coker was killed at Malvern Hill; William was captured at Gettys-

burg; and James was seriously wounded at Chattanooga. The story of Hannah Coker's journey to Chattanooga and her return with the wounded James sounds like an ancient saga.

Once the war was over and James and William were back home, the Cokers began to unravel the tangled threads of their lives. The Coker story through the Reconstruction days involved not only the enormous social and political struggle going on about them, but the tremendous effort necessary to make a come-back in the cotton South.

Two things seem to have set the Cokers apart from their neighbors. They had a deep respect for education and scientific knowledge, and they seem to have been free of defeatism and bitterness. Certainly the reader does not detect bitterness in this book. Even in the field of racial upheaval the Cokers seemed to have kept an even keel, as they did in most of the Tillman period.

The struggle of the Cokers to re-establish themselves in the New South involved about all the woes to which southern farming was heir. It was clearly evident that the old system of cotton alone would not sustain the region. Something more than cotton, Negroes, and mules was necessary. There was a considerable casting about for an industrial outlet. In 1890 this family embarked upon a venture which in many respects was an astonishing undertaking. They believed that paper could be made from pine pulp, and today the paper mill at Hartsville confirms this faith. In fact, nearly all South Carolina at this moment of industrial revolution confirms the Coker faith in paper and the common pine.

Two chapters of this book stand out over all the rest; they are the ones which deal with David R. Coker and the development of pedigreed seed, and the collapse of the rural way of life in the sand hills of South Carolina. The author was able to strike at the heart of two fundamental southern problems. Without specifically defining the woes of the South in this century, he does give his reader a concept of change. Possibly few men in the South saw more clearly the fate of the old line cotton business than did D. R. Coker. Out of all the

members of this numerous family, "Mr. D. R." saw what was coming, and made genuine progress in preparing the cotton industry for this moment. In doing so, however, he helped virtually to remove from the small farmer's field the cotton patch and helped to make it a heavily mechanized crop—or world market and production conditions prepared the way. There is no way of knowing how much Coker plant breeding has meant to the South. Coker tobacco, oats, corn, and grasses have gone far toward revolutionizing southern farming.

Today the Coker empire is rather extensive. It not only encompasses the seed breeding plant, but the oil industry, the store and the bank, the paper mill, and the cone manufacturing industry. Through the solid efforts of all the family this empire has been held together, and now in the hands of the third generation it is prospering.

Members of the family have strayed from the Hartsville fold to become botanists, political scientists, chemists, medical doctors, and businessmen. Few southern families can lay claim to such solid accomplishments, nor can they take satisfaction in the absence of so few blacksheep as can the Cokers.

The author had great respect for his collectivized subject. Often-times, it seems to this reviewer, he might have done the Cokers a greater service if he had been more analytical and critical of phases of their history. Too, there are places where the writing drags; this is especially true in the earlier chapters where the author becomes bogged in the details of family background. He did have access to family records, incomplete though they were. Despite some of these shortcomings, Mr. Simpson has made an interesting exploration into the background of a southern family which has displayed unusual intelligence, and a tremendous amount of determination to remain decent and successful.

Thomas D. Clark.

University of Kentucky,
Lexington.

The Land Called Chicora: The Carolinas under Spanish Rule with French Intrusions, 1520-1670. By Paul Quattlebaum. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1956. Pp. xiv, 153. $3.75.)

This volume reminds us that nearly one hundred and fifty years before the permanent settlement of Carolina the Spanish had explored the coast, built a fort, and established a temporary town. In 1520 Lucas Váquez de Ayllon, a member of the Royal Council of Hispaniola, sent out a voyage of discovery, and it is believed that contact with the land of Chicora, stretching possibly from the Cape Fear to the Savannah, was made first in the region of Port Royal, South Carolina, on Santa Elena's Day, 1520. Nearly a year later the expedition entered Winyah Bay; in 1523 Allyon received a patent from Charles V of Spain with authority to plant and govern a colony in the new land. In 1526 he sailed from Hispaniola with a fleet of six vessels and some five hundred men, touched at the river Jordan (which the author believes to have been the Cape Fear), and then proceeded to Winyah Bay where the first Spanish settlement north of Mexico, San Miguel de Gualdape, was founded on lower Waccamaw Neck. A scourge of malaria brought death to Ayllon, and treachery brought an end to the colony. Some twenty years later De Soto was an unwelcome guest in the land of Chicora. Then in 1562 came Jean Ribaut, representing the Huguenots of France, to build Charlesfort on what is now Parris Island. This was the beginning of a bitter rivalry, accentuated by religious differences, which was to result in the defeat of Ribaut and René de Laudonnière by Pedro Menéndex de Avilés, the Spanish govérnor of Florida. The attempt to hold St. Elena for Spain was abandoned in 1587 when the Spanish felt compelled to consolidate their forces at St. Augustine.

The author includes a brief sketch of the early English explorations and the first settlements. He discusses the unsuccessful missionary efforts of the Jesuits, and he has two chapters on the Chicora Indians and their way of life. Mr. Quattlebaum, a resident of South Carolina who has spent a

lifetime in the region he discusses, is especially interested in the local geography, and he has used his experience as an engineer and his familiarity with nautical instruments to piece together the fragmentary evidence found in old maps and drawn from the confused accounts of early narrators. It is obviously a labor of love, and a good summation of a little-known period of our history.

Robert H. Woody.

Duke University,
Durham.

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The Colonial Records of South Carolina. Series I, Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, September 10, 1745-June 17, 1746. Edited by J. H. Easterby. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1956. Illustration and index. Pp. xii, 291. $8.00.)

The competent editorial hand of J. H. Easterby has brought forth another excellent edition of the colonial records of South Carolina. In this instance, the deliberations of the Commons House of Assembly is presented for the period September 10, 1745, through June 17, 1746. Large pages, clear type, and a good index characterize this as another fine volume in the series.

Although this work represents but a small portion of the immense editorial job which Mr. Easterby and staff have undertaken—that of editing and publishing the entire available previously unpublished colonial records of his state—it is nonetheless an interesting and absorbing unit of colonial history. The gentlemen who assembled in the Commons to discuss their colony's affairs were concerned with defense on the western frontier and on the coast; they deliberated over economic affairs, such as the decision to abandon the bounty on indigo after the crop had proved successful; they tackled such diversified problems as taxation, immigration, counterfeiting, and cattle disease. The South Carolina Commons wrangled with the Upper House, with Governor Glen,

and with each other. In short, this legislative body seems to have acted in the tradition of American legislatures.

Yet this record of deliberations abounds in the fine touches of humor and serious business which make such records important to the student of American history. Whether we delve into these pages for teaching, research, or for simple reading pleasures, our gratitude to Mr. Easterby is bound to be endless.

Henry T. Malone.
Georgia State College of Business Administration,
Atlanta.

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The Letters of William Gilmore Simms, Volume V, 1867-1870. Collected and edited by Mary C. Simms Oliphant, Alfred Taylor Odell, and T. C. Duncan Eaves. (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 571. Illustrations. $8.50.)

This volume brings to a successful conclusion one of the biggest and most important scholarly undertakings in the field of nineteenth-century Southern literary culture. Each of the four preceding volumes has been an impressive picture of a man central to that culture and, through its elaborate annotation, a valuable picture of the principal currents in Southern literary, cultural, and social history. This concluding volume consists of the letters of Simms for the last three and a half years of his life, of additional letters which came to the attention of the editors too late for inclusion in their proper places in the earlier volumes, and of two very valuable indices—one a general index, which replaces the "temporary" indices to each of the earlier volumes, and the other a most useful index of references to Simms's voluminous works. It thereby becomes a useful key volume to the entire set.

The letters themselves show Simms in the concluding years of his life, writing desperately in an effort to maintain the basic needs of his family, aiding his son and his sons-in-law in re-establishing a healthy economic life under Reconstruction, and combating his growing illness, almost certainly cancer. His temper is healthy, his spirits good, his fortitude

sufficiently strong to remove his sad story from the realm of the pathetic to that of the tragic.

Students of Southern life and literature in the nineteenth century owe to Mrs. Oliphant, the late Professor Odell, and Professor Eaves a debt of deep gratitude for their excellent work in collecting and editing these valuable letters. They have performed their task with great skill and have maintained the highest standards of scholarly excellence.

C. Hugh Holman.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

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Stub Entries to Indents Issued in Payment of Claims Against South Carolina Growing Out of the Revolution. Books C-F. Edited by Wylma Anne Wates. (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department. 1957. Pp. vii, 278. $6.00.)

The term indents, as used in this volume, applies to interest-bearing certificates issued after the Revolutionary War by the South Carolina Treasury in payment of a relatively small number of claims outstanding on May 12, 1780, when Charleston was occupied by the British, and of larger debts contracted afterwards as the war progressed. On each stub remaining in the Treasurer's books after the indent was detached there was entered the name of the recipient, the service rendered, and the amount paid. These entries on the stubs represent summaries of thousands of individual debts, accounts of which had been received, audited, and approved. They reveal much as to how troops were recruited and supplied, of the exercise of power while the civil authority was largely in abeyance, of the fiscal policy of the government after its restoration, and of the activities of hundreds of men whose military service is not recorded elsewhere.

This is the twelfth volume in the series to be published since 1910 and it is anticipated that one additional volume will be sufficient to complete it.

William S. Powell.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

A Bibliography of John Marshall. By James A. Servies. (Washington: The U. S. Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of John Marshall. 1956. Pp. xix, 182. $1.50.)

This bibliography gives a list of all the collections of Marshall writings, with brief annotations. Then in chronological order, it gives the other letters and papers with an indication of the source for each. All Marshall's Supreme Court decisions, and his dissents, are noted as well as his legislative, diplomatic, and personal papers. The contents of important letters and papers are stated in a few words.

More than half the volume is devoted to "Works About John Marshall," including the well-known biographies by Beveridge and Corwin, monographs in which Marshall was of secondary importance, such as Abernethy's *Burr Conspiracy*, others in which the great jurist's name enters only incidentally, and a host of essays and addresses. A three and a half page "List of Abbreviations" gives some indication of the breadth of the work. Other noteworthy features are the chronology of events of Marshall's life and the thirty-six page index.

This is an extremely useful book, and should stimulate and facilitate future historical writings concerning Marshall. No competent historian working on any phase of our early national history will dare to disregard it.

Gilbert L. Lycan.

Stetson University,
DeLand, Florida.

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The Legend of the Founding Fathers. By Wesley Frank Craven. (New York: New York University Press. 1956. Pp. 191. Footnotes and index. $4.50.)

Despite the diverse racial, religious, and cultural origins of the American people there has developed a common na-

tional tradition as to the causes and significance of the nation's origins. To show how this tradition or legend of the founding fathers was created and the various influences which have maintained this tradition at various stages in our history is the major concern of the author. The result of this effort is a thoughtful and stimulating study in which the author does not attempt to assess the historical validity of this tradition but rather seeks to show American interest in its development. The six chapters which comprise this work were originally prepared as lectures and delivered in 1955, as another in the fine series of Anson G. Phelps Lectures in Early American History at New York University.

Professor Craven finds two groups of founding fathers who have contributed to this legend—those associated with the early settlement of the colonies and those who participated in the American Revolution. While not neglecting the contributions of this latter group to the shaping of the legend, the author is most concerned with the part the pre-Revolutionary settlers contributed to the legend.

The author finds the roots of the legend of the founding fathers in New England's concept of its own founding. For a number of reasons, the autocratic Puritan founders of the New England theocracy had become invested by their mid-eighteenth century descendants with the robes of seekers after religious and political liberty. By the time of the Revolution the New Englander's view of his own founding fathers had become the accepted popular concept of the founding fathers in the thirteen colonies. This concept of the founding fathers as seekers after religious and political liberty filled the needs of the propagandists of the American Revolution who, using this already well-defined legend, could call upon the American people to die for the liberties their fathers had braved the wilderness to secure.

The most original and centainly the most interesting portion of Dr. Craven's study is that which shows how this legend has fared at the hands of Americans since the days of the Revolution. As immigrants poured into the country in the

nineteenth century, there was no effort by these new Americans to reject the legend of the founding fathers but a conscious effort, almost ludicrous at times, to identify themselves with the legend. The rise of such organizations as the Daughters of the American Revolution at the close of the nineteenth century, the author states, grew out of the fear that the rising tide of immigration might overwhelm the national traditions. The job which these organizations assigned for themselves, however, was not to stop the flow of immigration but to educate and indoctrinate the newcomers in the established national traditions. The twentieth century brought with it the challenge of the debunker to our national traditions. This challenge failed, however, and the author believes that by mid-century the legend stood as sound and vital as ever.

Herbert R. Paschal, Jr.

East Carolina College,
Greenville.

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Counterfeiting in Colonial America. By Kenneth Scott. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 283. $5.00.)

Counterfeiting in all countries is as old as money itself, and the English colonists in America were familiar with such crimes as "forging the coin of the realm" and the severe punishments inflicted in the mother country upon offenders. Counterfeiting prevailed in the colonies, from the days when Indians counterfeited wampum by dyeing the lower-valued white beads a darker color, to the Revolution, when the British Government and the Tories found it an excellent device for depreciating Continental and state currencies and undermining the national economy.

Mr. Scott, who is Professor of Modern Languages at Wagner College, has been doing research on colonial counterfeiting for many years and is a recognized authority in this field. He has produced a scholarly, readable, and exciting history of a somewhat neglected but important phase of colonial

economic and social life. He has shown how coins of all sorts—English, French, Spanish, Massachusetts "pine tree shillings," and other coins were clipped and counterfeited. He has given many details about the counterfeiting of paper currency: the individuals and groups who were engaged in "money making"; the techniques used by counterfeiters, the sums emitted by some of the larger operators of this "colonial racket"; the punishments meted out to those counterfeiters who were apprehended, and the effects of the circulation of counterfeit money on the economy of the colonies.

Of the scores of counterfeiters whose activities are related here, most were engaged in counterfeiting paper currency, though there were always those who "tampered with coins." In the seventeenth century most of the counterfeiters operated on an individual basis, but by the middle of the eighteenth century much of the counterfeiting was being carried on by organized and co-operating groups, some of which carried on their nefarious activities in more than one colony. More than one-third of the volume is devoted to the activities of these gangs. There are chapters on: "John Potter and the Rhode Island Counterfeiters in 1741"; "Samuel Weed and the Derby Gang"; "Owen Sullivan and the Dover Money Club"; and "The Pittsylvania and Morristown Gangs." There are also interesting chapters on "Women Money Makers"; "Silversmiths as Counterfeiters"; and "John Bull Turns Counterfeiter."

One of the earliest counterfeiters in the colonies was Peregrine White, Jr., son of Peregrine White, "Mayflower" baby and first-born New Englander of English parentage. Perhaps the largest operator of the counterfeit racket was Samuel Ford, who was so successful that his associates called him "the treasurer of three provinces" (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania). A contemporary described Ford as "the most accomplished villain that the country has produced."

Counterfeiters came from all social and economic classes: farmers, sailors, weavers, carpenters, bakers, school-masters,

merchants, doctors, deacons, justices of the peace, legislators, printers, blacksmiths, and silversmiths (including some noted ones such as Samuel and Gideon Casey, Abel Buell, and Garrett Onclebag).

There were "money makers" in every colony, more perhaps in New England and the Middle Colonies than in the South. Counterfeiting "posed a constant threat to the credit and commerce of the provinces." North Carolina had fewer counterfeiters than most of the colonies, but throughout the late colonial period there were constant complaints of the circulation of bogus currency.

In 1734, soon after Governor Gabriel Johnston arrived in North Carolina, he was apprised by several of the leading merchants and traders of the numerous and great inconveniences to trade and commerce caused by "the great Multiplicity of Counterfeit Bills of Credit issued by Vagabond and Idle people passing from one part of the Government to another." On January 15 of the next year, Johnston addressed the session of the legislature, warning the members that the matter of the currency of their bills could no longer be neglected "without the entire Ruin of the Country." He urged the legislators to do something to prevent the industrious planter from being robbed of the fruits of his labor "by the Tricks and Frauds of profligate and abandoned persons." Professor Scott gives a facsimile of "A counterfeit twenty shilling North Carolina bill of the emission of 1735, perhaps one of those forged by Thomas Hamilton Scott." He also reproduces a twenty shilling North Carolina bill of 1783, which carries the interesting warning "Counterfeiters Beware."

In some colonies, notably New York and Virginia, counterfeiting was a capital offense, and the currency put out by the money makers in those colonies carried such ominous warnings as: "'Tis Death to Counterfeit" and "To Counterfeit is Death." In a few instance, notably that of Owen Sullivan in New York in 1756, counterfeiters were put to death. In most cases, however, they were placed in the pillory, had their

ears cropped, or were given a public whipping. But the severe punishments meted out to offenders failed to solve the problem of counterfeiting.

Hugh T. Lefler.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

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Rebels and Redcoats: The Living Story of the American Revolution. By George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin. (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company. 1957. Pp. 572. Introduction, notes, bibliography, index, and maps. $7.50.)

In recent years the American Revolution has had increasing popularity as a subject of historical study in the United States, and many excellent books have been written about it. Now another has been added to the list: *Rebels and Redcoats: The Living Story of the American Revolution,* by George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin. Primarily a military history, it covers the same ground covered by other histories of the war, leading the reader through a detailed account of each of the major battles and campaigns from Lexington to Yorktown. Though it contributes nothing that is startling in the way of interpretation or information, it is nevertheless unlike anything else in print. For it tells the story of the war, whenever possible, in the words of those who lived it, and therein lies its justification and its charm.

As the result of extensive research, mainly in printed sources, the authors have gathered together in this volume a large and diverse collection of original accounts, many of them little used before. These accounts, skillfully woven into the authors' own well-written narrative, constitute perhaps one-half of the text. They have been extracted from a variety of sources—letters, diaries, official reports and journals—and they include the writings of all manner of men: Americans, Britons, Frenchmen, and Hessians; the highest ranking officers and the lowliest soldiers; and civilians, too, male and female, patriot and tory. Some of the accounts are deadly serious,

some are full of the soldier's lusty humor, some are downright bawdy, some are grisly. If some are more interesting than others, few are dull, and one gains through them a sharply realistic and intimate picture of the war. On the whole, the quality of selection is excellent.

There are things about the book that give to the reviewer his coveted opportunity to quibble. Since it deals almost exclusively with military history a more appropriate sub-title might have been "The Living Story of the Revolutionary War." It is a very long book, perhaps excessively so (490 pages of finely printed text). Had the authors been willing to sacrifice some of the detail they could have produced a shorter, easier to read and probably more effective work. The authors separate the accounts taken from the sources from their own narrative by little stars at the beginning and end of each passage, and the source of each of these passages is appropriately indicated in the notes. But the text is studded with other quotations (designated in the standard way) for which no sources are indicated at all. All quoted passages, it seems, should have warranted footnoting, no matter how designated in the text. Generally speaking, the maps are well-done and helpful, though the map of New Jersey (p. 205) places the village of Trenton on the wrong side of Assunpink Creek. One last thing—John Adams was not "always an advocate of independence" (p. 150).

But these are only minor criticisms of a well-executed and worthwhile book, one, indeed, that should have wide appeal. The historically minded layman should find it vastly interesting; the Revolutionary specialist will find it useful; the teacher of history will find it an unfailing source of anecdotes with which to enliven lectures.

Robert L. Ganyard.

The University of Houston,
Houston, Texas.

Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals, 1776-1784, of Adjutant General Major Bauermeister of the Hessian Forces. Translated and annotated by Bernhard A. Uhlendorf. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 640. $9.00.)

The writer of the ninety-four letters and diaries presented here, Carl Leopold (later von) Bauermeister, was in a good position to report at firsthand many of the momentous events and decisions of the "American War." He was a general staff officer, serving as first adjutant to all three Hessian commanders-in-chief, Leopold Phillipp von Heister, Wilhelm von Knyphausen, and Friedrich Wilhelm von Lossberg. For some time between 1779 and 1782 he was aide-de-camp to Sir Henry Clinton. Only once did he command a body of troops, namely at Eagle Hill, in the Philadelphia campaign. In 1783 he was authorized by Generals von Lossberg and Guy Carleton to negotiate in person with Congress for the return of German prisoners and deserters who had settled in the Philadelphia area or were employed in the iron works at Mount Hope, New Jersey.

Bauermeister, an intelligent man, a keen and relatively unbiased observer, and a professional soldier, reported to his superior, the Minister of State of Hesse Cassel, on the military events in America and also on the social, economic, and diplomatic aspects of the war. It is interesting to note that before the war ended, Hesse Cassel sent to America 16,992 officers and men out of a total population of less than three hundred thousand. More than one-third of the virtually seventeen thousand did not return to Germany. Some had been killed in action or had died from wounds or disease, but by far the greatest number had deserted or had else "escaped" from American prisons to settle in this country and could not be persuaded to return to their homeland at the close of the war. Yet Bauermeister had written in 1781: "The Hessians are becoming accustomed to the American climate, but not to the extent of preferring this air in any respect to that of the Fatherland."

The Hessians, as revealed in these interesting and highly informative letters and diaries, were not the ogres many schoolbooks paint them to be. In the beginning of the war they were feared by the civilian population, but later on they were gradually better liked and more civilly treated than were the British. Legends of the Hessians being guilty of a great deal of plundering have survived to this day, but the Hessians looted no more than did the British—or the patriots when Tory property was concerned. Bauermeister's letters and diaries contain many remarks about pillaging, marauding, and plundering—always uttered in condemnation of the offense.

Bauermeister not only gives a full account of the much-maligned Hessians, but also comments critically on such subjects as British laxity and negligence and the interrelation of British commerce and warfare. In contrast with most personal accounts of the Revolution, his narrative contains a great deal of information about the movements and activities of the British naval forces, especially in the West Indies. He felt that unless British military and naval leaders displayed more efficiency than they had shown in most of their campaigns "England may lose everything." At the same time, he declared that the "stubborn and inexperienced rebels are too lucky." Until the British surrender at Yorktown, in October, 1781, he believed that the rebels might be brought to terms of submission. Yet he wrote: "To conquer the Americans completely and impose arbitrary terms is thought to be improbable."

Bauermeister was interested in almost every aspect of the war. He commented about American uniforms, guns, wagons, military supplies, and the fighting quality—or lack of it—displayed by Continentals and militia. Commenting about George Washington, he wrote: "Everyone is captivated by this general . . . even though he is not a good strategist" and "does not always follow through." Time and again, Bauermeister referred to prices and the depreciation of paper currency. He gave a vivid account of the activities of various Tory leaders, among them John Butler of New York and David Fanning of North Carolina. He wrote about the sectional jealousies in America, the bickerings of Congress, and

General Washington's relation to Congress. On several occasions he commented about American suspicions of French sincerity, and declared that these suspicions were well founded.

Bauermeister had little to say about the causes of the war. He seemed to be doing a job that had to be done and he was reporting to his superiors in Germany what he thought they wanted to hear. As early as October, 1777, he stated his hope that "this miserable war will soon end." He estimated that if the rebels had, in addition to their own soldiers, "twelve thousand men generaled in the German way," they would win a quick victory. He had little praise for the undisciplined American troops. Yet he wrote: "The Americans are bold, unyielding, and fearless. . . . They have their indomitable ideas of liberty, the mainsprings of which are held and guided by every hand in Congress."

Hugh T. Lefler.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill.

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The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson. By Robert D. Bass. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1957. Pp. viii, 489. $5.75.)

Publishers have a nasty little way of putting authors on the spot through their dust jacket "blurbs." To declare any book "definitive" goads every reviewer to work with diligence to prove that jacket wrong, sometimes even to the point of digging out innocuous minutiae which have little to do with the main current of the narrative.

Doctor Bass was a brave man to select as the subject of a biography Banastre Tarleton, for "Bloody Tarleton" was possessed of a personality that only a biographer or a mother could love.

The story begins during the American Revolution, the arena in which Tarleton gained his greatest fame and suffered his greatest disgrace. His green-coated British Legion plundered, despoiled, and killed with abandon and enthusiasm. Even to-

day the name Tarleton conjures up a picture of brutality and needless slaughter. His comeuppance came that January 17, 1781, when, at a place called Cowpens in South Carolina, Daniel Morgan administered the cocky cavalry leader a thrashing that was to haunt him the rest of his days.

With the cessation of hostilities and his subsequent return to England, Banastre Tarleton lived a life that revolved just outside the pale of respectability. On a bet he seduced Mary Robinson, ex-mistress of the Prince of Wales, and then became so enamoured of his conquest that he found it difficult to break away from her for many years. He became as debauched as any of the gay crowd who ran with the royal princes, so much so that the London *Morning Post* said of this young roué that his "chief boast is that he has killed more men and ruined more women, than any other man in Europe. . . ."

Mary Robinson, a talented actress and writer, became his great love, and it was Mary who wrote his speeches when Tarleton became a member of Parliament. As a legislator from Liverpool he fought the abolition of the slave trade in the interests of his sea-faring constituency. But once outside the solemn halls he spent much of his time in gambling, many of his losses being covered by Mary's literary earnings. In Parliament he prided himself on being something of a military expert, although the largest body of troops he ever led had been defeated at Cowpens and after leaving America never again did he lead troops into battle. Eventually, possibly because of his friendship with the royal princes, he was made a full general. Nevertheless, he was never assigned to a really important command.

Always "the unfortunate day at Cowpens," hung about his neck like the albatross. The publication of his *Campaigns of 1780-1781, in the Southern Provinces of North America* was his apologia and in it he bit the hand that had protected him. Lord Cornwallis, who was his champion after the defeat at Cowpens, was saddled with the blame by the ungrateful Tarleton. The readability of his *Campaigns* apparently is due largely to the deft strokes of the pen of Mary Robinson, but true to his nature, Tarleton was to discard the woman he lov-

ed and in middle age was to marry a young girl with money.

In interest, this book starts slowly and gathers momentum as it progresses. That portion covering the period of the American Revolution moves at a languid pace and contains some errors, albeit of a minor nature. The research here does not seem to have been as thorough as in the later chapters. It is only after Tarleton returns to England that the book takes on life, slowed only by the author's penchant for printing long passages from Mary Robinson's writings or complete letters of Banastre Tarleton. The latter, however, are of value; Dr. Bass has turned up a number of hitherto unknown Tarleton letters which are not readily available to the historian.

The author's facile pen draws a well-delineated picture of the gay social whirl of London's "younger generation" in the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, it is Mary Robinson who most often carries the narrative, with Tarleton apparently just coming along for the ride.

Contrary to Dr. Bass's statements, Williamsburg was not the capital of Virginia in 1781; Cornwallis was not the pursued, but the pursuer in the Virginia campaign; theater curtains did not part, but rose in the eighteenth century; and the orchestra was not called that, but was referred to as the "pit." To enumerate other errors of a like nature would seem picayunish and indicate that this reviewer had picked up the gauntlet thrown down by the publishers when they used the adjective "definitive." This is a good book, and *is* the final word of Tarleton's life in England, but his role in the American Revolution is yet to be fully done.

Hugh F. Rankin.

Tulane University of Louisiana,
New Orleans.

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Mighty Stonewall. By Frank E. Vandiver. (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1957. Pp. xi, 547. Maps, illustrations, notes and index. $6.50.)

In the brief space of one year, Thomas Jonathan Jackson, once a none-too-successful teacher at the Virginia Military

Institute, demonstrated that he was a rare military genius. From the spring of 1862 to the end of April, 1863, he defeated a succession of Federal armies in a brilliant campaign in the Valley of Virginia, went to Richmond to help defeat and immobilize McClellan's Peninsula Campaign, fought at Cedar Mountain, and Second Manassas, captured Harper's Ferry, joined Robert E. Lee at Sharpsburg, and served valiantly at Fredericksburg. His achievements inspired the South, threw terror into the North, and won the lasting admiration of students of military science for all time to come.

For many years Colonel G. F. R. Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War* has stood as the standard military study of Jackson and his campaigns. A work of high merit, it seemed so definitive that no one attempted to replace it. Freeman, in *Lee's Lieutenants*, gave considerable attention to Jackson. But neither Freeman nor Henderson succeeded in integrating the strange personality of Jackson—who bore both the nicknames of "Stonewall" and "Tom Fool"—with his military achievements. Dr. Vandiver has now succeeded where both previous military students failed. His study of Jackson places "Tom Fool's" strange quirks—his odd diet, his eccentric mannerisms, his unusual religious devotion—in perspective while displaying "Stonewall's" sense of logistics, strategic imagination, and tactical skills. The result is a rounded, full-fleshed biography which is at once fascinating to read and penetrating in its scholarship. Vandiver's lucid analysis of campaigns and dramatic descriptions of battles can take rank among the best writing on the Civil War.

William B. Hesseltine.

University of Wisconsin,
Madison.

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Fiction Fights the Civil War: An Unfinished Chapter in the Literary History of the American People. By Robert A. Lively. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957. Pp. viii, 230. Bibliography, footnotes, and index. $5.00.)

"The Connecticut lady who laid aside the description of Sherman's march in *Gone with the Wind* with an explosive

'Those damn Yankees' puts in forceful context the process I seek here to analyze," writes Robert A. Lively in this discerning and provocative treatise on Civil War novels. "One cannot doubt", he adds, "that Southern traditions of the Civil War have been more firmly fixed in the American consciousness by Miss Mitchell's best seller than by Douglas Southall Freeman's minute examination of the career of Robert E. Lee."

Professor Lively is a historian, but this does not mean that he objects to people turning to fiction for ideas about the past. Indeed, his examination of 512 novels about the Civil War has given him a wholesome respect for the novelist as historian. All the major interpretations that successive generations of historians have applied to the conflict, he states, are to be found in works of fiction; and, what is more important, the appearance of these interpretations antedated, sometimes by many years, their exposition in history books. The implication is not that the historians appropriated the ideas of the novelists—Professor Lively seems to think that historians generally are disdainful of historical novels—but rather that they moved at a slower pace in their search for an understanding of the Civil War. Historians had to proceed more slowly because they could accept as truth only what they could establish by the standards of their discipline; novelists on the other hand were free to use their imagination. And what the good novelist discerned intuitively, in Professor Lively's opinion, was often closer to the truth than what the historical scholar dug out laboriously from masses of records. The advantage of the novelist is summarized thus in a passage about Southern novels:

> Even dreams spun from the realm of romantic illusion have their place with such achievements, for in the artist's vision there may be captured a truth more accurate than fact, because it is conceived in the spirit which informs the fact. Stately gentlemen of unblemished honor, loyalty beyond the fear of death, unwavering conviction of righteous purpose—these qualities seem lost forever except in the pages of such books as these, which bring us again to the time before the Union was divided, before blue and gray were faded, before the bright hope, unrealized, collapsed in early sorrow.

As the above comments indicate, Professor Lively is a bold scholar. His daring is quickly manifested when in his first chapter he selects from the 512 titles the fifteen "best Civil War novels." Space will not permit complete listing of his favorites, but they include De Forest's *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty,* Faulkner's *The Unvanquished,* Glasgow's *Battle-Ground,* Caroline Gordon's *None Shall Look Back,* Kantor's *Long Remember* ("The best modern novel produced in the North about the war."), Lytle's *The Long Night,* Tate's *The Fathers,* and Stark Young's *So Red the Rose.*

Writing about the war is not a phenonomen peculiar to any period, according to the author, though the peak decade for Civil War novels was 1900-1909, when 110 were published, and the nadir was 1870-1879, when only 17 appeared. "The unusual times were the years when Civil War novels were not being published" in considerable quantity.

The author analyzes some of the better novels. He also essays a comparison of northern and southern works. Northern novelists, he finds, tended to portray the war as "more a calamity in individual lives than a national or regional experience." Even so, "they succeed in outlining important underlying forces of the time" and their work, because it seeks to point up the war's lasting effects on the nation, has "a vitality, a social usefulness, which is evident less frequently in southern portrayals of the war as a catastrophic punctuation point of the majestic phases of an old litany."

A distinquishing feature of southern novels about the war, he notes, is the emphasis on family. This exaggerated consciousness of kin, and all the customs and loyalties associated with it, appears, not only among Stark Young's aristocratic McGehees, but also in Andrew Lytle's yeomen McIvors. "The dissolution of manners, of group pride, or of family loyalty becomes evidence of defeat more devastating than the result of purely military action."

*Fiction Fights the Civil War* is a thoughtful, well-written, and richly interpretive book. It would be a credit to a writer of twice the years of its youthful author. Its merit is so excep-

tional as to mark him as one of the most promising of the excellent crop of historians produced during the period following World War II. He will bear watching.

Bell I. Wiley.

Emory University,
Emory University, Ga.

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Lincoln's Commando: The Biography of Commander W. B. Cushing, U.S.N. By Ralph J. Roske and Charles Van Doren. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1957. Pp. x, 310. $4.50.)

William Barker Cushing was dismissed from the Naval Academy in March of 1861, a few months before he was to graduate. Four years later his reputation for bravery and individual deeds of daring was unequaled by anyone, North or South, who fought in the Civil War. How he wangled his way back into the Navy, pleaded for, planned, and successfully executed numerous missions (several of them unauthorized) it told in detail in *Lincoln's Commando*. Brief attention is given to his forebears, his family, and his post war career.

The high point of Cushing's career was the sinking of the Confederate ram *Albemarle* at Plymouth, North Carolina, for which he received $56,000 prize money, a Congressional vote of thanks, and the frenzied acclaim of the Union. Less significant but equally hazardous were his raids into most of the navigable inlets and rivers of the North Carolina coast.

Dullness is impossible in a book that undertakes the Cushing story. By generously quoting Cushing's letters, the authors give us a fair glimpse of the man. On receiving his first assignment and before any action, he wrote a cousin: "Wherever there is fighting, there we will be, and where there is danger in the battle, *there will I be*, for I will gain a name in this war." On his first visit home after the war began, he arranged for his letters to his mother to be published in the local paper as soon as she had read them. Following a minor engagement in the Nansemond River in which he acquitted himself well,

he wrote his mother: "I am no braggart, but I challenge the world to furnish a more determined fight, or a victory more richly deserved." The authors are at their best with a quiet humor concerning Cushing's exaggerations and his bombast.

Despite its inevitable interest and reasonably good writing (one scene of suspense is pure pulp) the book is a failure as a historical work. It begins with "Acknowledgments", the usual thanks to persons and libraries, and it ends with an index. The intervening 303 pages abound with facts and quotations the sources of which, with four exceptions, the authors play hide and seek. "D. S. Freeman said in his R. E. Lee" and "Wells wrote in his diary" account for two. "Stewart, his official biographer" probably refers to Charles W. Stuart, who wrote two articles on Cushing for the *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings* (Vol. XXXVIII, Nos. 11 and 111). Cushing's home town newspaper, the Fredonia *Censor,* is mentioned without date as the source of two quotations. The book is innocent of footnotes or bibliography.

The authors' credentials are presented on the dust jacket. Ralph Roske is a *summa cum laude* graduate of DePaul University and now teaches history at Humbolt State College. Charles Van Doren is a *cum laude* graduate of St. John's College and presently teaches English at Columbia University. These abundant professional talents were not well used in this book.

Winston Broadfoot.

Duke University,
Durham.

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Still Rebels, Still Yankees, and Other Essays. By Donald Davidson. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 284. Wood engraving by Theresa Sherrer Davidson, and index. $4.50.)

Right away, what will impress any reader of this book is that there are few stylists like Donald Davidson around anymore. Delightfully, the sentences ripple along with a lucid rhetoric reminiscent of that characterizing the best old South-

ern orators. This is as it should be; for the ideas expressed in these seventeen essays are straight out of the Old South. The author, a confessed traditionalist and a regionalist without shame, is spokesman for the "golden days," when men lived off the land and a folk culture was abroad.

At present Professor of English at Vanderbilt University, Donald Davidson was one of the original agrarians. His colleagues have dispersed to the North and East, but loyal Davidson is still in Tennessee, preaching those doctrines which energized him in 1930 (see *I'll Take My Stand*).

Professor Davidson has arranged his essays carefully. He begins by defending poetry and by mourning its demise; he moves through Yeats and Hardy and Stark Young, particularly praising Hardy's dependence on the tradition, which with Davidson is by now synonymous with the only enduring and worthwhile essense of life; and then he goes into the folk tradition itself. All these pages are enlightening and even convincing.

It is only when Davidson begins to comment on the modern South that he invites suspicion. His explanation of why America's greatest contemporary novelist, William Faulkner, comes out of (of all places) Mississippi is that tradition has made it possible for Faulkner not to be "confused by the division between head and heart." This is carrying a devotion too far. And by the time Davidson is ready to comment on W. J. Cash's great work *The Mind of the South*, there is a mood of ridicule.

The reasons for these excesses soon become apparent: an old-fashioned detestation of Negro progress, and a violent envy of the nontraditional North. Professor Davidson would, of course, deny both. At any rate, it seems a pity that such a fine literary hand must be governed by prejudice and bias, especially in a cause with which many historians and writers can sympathize.

Richard Walser.

North Carolina State College,
Raleigh.

The United States: The History of a Republic. By Richard Hofstadter, William Miller, and Daniel Aaron. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1957. Pp. xvi, 812. Preface, appendix, illustrations, maps, and index. $7.95.)

General histories of the United States come from the publishers in an ever growing flood. In recent years many of them have been the result of collaborative authorship; a practice with advantages and pitfalls. Too often, especially with collections of readings in American history, the method of collective authorship seems more designed to seek wider adoption than to present the cream of several men's special knowledge.

This book, the reviewer hastens to say, does fall into the latter category rather than the former. The authors present in a generally chronological fashion the progress of the United States from its origin in the stirrings of Europe's early commercial revolution to its role in the turbulence of the present cold war. The style of writing is fluid and easy, neither the academic jargon which might be expected from distinguished scholars nor the basic English so often fed to the television-conditioned reader. The lucidity of style is unmarred by apparent breaks as each of the three authors contributes his part. This is also a compliment to the over-all editing of the book.

The charts and maps are clear, well-chosen, and properly placed in the text. Many times readers of history books find it a wearing task to keep one finger continually marking the page where a map is placed as the text races pages ahead. The cartoons, prints, and photographs are fresh and properly illustrative. The only criticism of the latter group lies in the selection of certain pre-Civil War Negro scenes which the reviewer feels may furnish too much sympathy for the Abolitionist point of view to suit the Southern reader.

Actually, the book is a balanced portrayal of the various forces at work in the shaping of the United States. Nowhere is there an obvious attempt to present any special point of view, not even Mr. Hofstadter's Social Darwinism. For this

reason it is a good general account of the whole sweep of the history of the country, enlivened with personal vignettes which explain the political and social activities of the past and present. There is always an attempt to portray the political developments against a social background which makes this book superior to many general histories of the United States. The appendix contains interesting and helpful charts of the various presidential elections and important party victories to aid further the reader in assessing the sometimes tangled web of politicial activity.

The reviewer feels that this is one of the superior general histories which have come before the public in the past few years and one which may be read with pleasure by the average interested citizen.

Joseph Davis Applewhite.

University of Redlands,
Redlands, California.

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The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860. By George C. Groce and David H. Wallace. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. xxvii, 759. Introduction and key to sources. $15.00.)

This is a purely biographical dictionary, listing artists alphabetically and presenting as nearly as possible the following information: full name, dates, places of birth and death, subject matter of work (in some instances location), and places of residence and exhibition. It will be used primarily as a reference work by those students who are doing research in early American art.

The volume has a complete Introduction by the authors as well as a key to abbreviations and citation of sources. It not only includes painters and sculptors but also engravers; lithographers; wood-carvers; cameo-,seal-, and silhouette-cutters; and others in the many related fields. It supplies in a compact, comprehensive style the most complete data obtainable on more than 10,000 artists. Primary sources have been used in all possible instances, and each entry is documented. The

term "in America" includes artists who traveled or visited in this country as well as those who were born here or spent their productive years here. On the reverse side the term is also applied to artists who were born in America, who went abroad and pursued their artistic activity during the period selected.

Dr. Groce and Dr. Wallace state that this work cannot be considered "definitive"; nonetheless, it is an excellent dictionary. They are to be congratulated for their contribution to the New-York Historical Society's lenghtening list of superior publications.

Elizabeth W. Wilborn.
State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

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The Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets. Edited by E. G. Swem. (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc. For the Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, Williamsburg. 1957. 23 volumes. $11.50 for the set, $.50 per volume.)

1. A Selected Bibliography of Virginia, 1607-1699. By E. G. Swem, John M. Jennings, and James A. Servies. Pp. 72.
2. A Virginia Chronology, 1585-1783. By William W. Abbot. Pp. 76.
3. John Smith's Map of Virginia, with a Brief Account of its History. By Ben C. McCary. Pp. 11, folded map.
4. The Three Charters of the Virginia Company of London, with Seven Related Documents: 1606-1621. With an Introduction by Samuel M. Bemiss. Pp. 128.
5. The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624. By Wesley Frank Craven. Pp. 57, illustrated.
6. The First Seventeen Years, Virginia, 1606-1624. By Charles E. Hatch, Jr. Pp. 118, illustrated.
7. Virginia under Charles I and Cromwell, 1625-1660. By Wilcomb E. Washburn. Pp. 64, folded map.
8. Bacon's Rebellion, 1676. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker. Pp. 60.
9. Struggle Against Tyranny and the Beginning of a New Era, Virginia, 1677-1699. By Richard L. Morton. Pp. 80, folded map.

10. Religious Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. By George MacLaren Brydon. Pp. 51, illustrated.
11. Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century. By Henry Chandlee Forman. Pp. 79, drawings and photographs.
12. Mother Earth—Land Grants in Virginia, 1607-1699. By W. Stitt Robinson, Jr. Pp. 76.
13. The Bounty of the Chesapeake; Fishing in Colonial Virginia. By James Wharton. Pp. 78, drawings.
14. Agriculture in Virginia, 1607-1699. By Lyman Carrier. Pp. 41, drawings and appendices.
15. Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic in Virginia, 1607-1699. By Susie M. Ames. Pp. 76.
16. The Government of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. By Thomas J. Wertenbaker. Pp. 61, photographs.
17. Domestic Life in Virginia in the Seventeenth Century. By Annie Lash Jester. Pp. 91, photographs and index.
18. Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia. By Ben C. McCary. Pp. 93, drawings.
19. How Justice Grew. Virginia Counties, An Abstract of Their Formation. By Martha W. Hiden. Pp. 101, charts, photographs, and index.
20. Tobacco in Colonial Virginia; "The Sovereign Remedy." By Melvin Herndon. Pp. 53, drawings.
21. Medicine in Virginia, 1607-1699. By Thomas P. Hughes. Pp. 78.
22. Some Notes on Shipbuilding and Shipping in Colonial Virginia. By Cerinda W. Evans. Pp. 77, appendices.
23. A Pictorial Booklet on Early Jamestown Commodities and Industries. By J. Paul Hudson. Pp. 78, drawings.

The Virginia 350th Anniversary Commission (which published this series), Dr. E. G. Swem (the editor), the Committee on Publications, the authors of the individual booklets, and all others concerned have reason to be proud of this fine series on seventeenth-century Virginia, issued in connection with the 350th anniversary celebration of the first permanent English settlement in the New World. The purpose evidently has been to present in easily readable form a number of booklets that visitors at the celebration and others might purchase at reasonable cost and read in order to gain a good idea of Virginia life during that period. This purpose has been successfully achieved in a useful series of twenty-three separate publications, each selling for only fifty cents. Various phases of the subject are covered, giving a well-rounded picture.

Most of the booklets contain illustrations that enhance their value and interest. The over-all format is good.

Obviously in any series the different items vary in quality, but in the present instance it does seem that more uniformity might have been attained. Some of the authors are adequately identified, some are not. Some of the booklets have introductions, bibliographies, and indexes, while others lack one or more of these. A critical bibliography and an index, at least, would seem to have added to the value of all the booklets except one or two, which perhaps do not need these features.

Christopher Crittenden.
State Department of Archives and History,
Raleigh.

## HISTORICAL NEWS

The North Carolina General Assembly at its regular 1957 session made the following appropriations for the Department of Archives and History:

| | | 1957-1958 | 1958-1959 |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | Administration | $135,611 | $122,841 |
| II | Records Control | 47,994 | 36,664 |
| III | Historic Sites | 161,904 | 62,193 |
| IV | Cutten Silver | 14,234 | —— |
| V | Merit Salary Increments | 1,198 | 6,644 |
| Total Requirements | | 360,941 | 228,342 |
| Less Estimated Receipts | | 14,406 | 11,656 |
| General Fund Appropriation | | 346,535 | 216,686 |

The total budget for 1956-1957 was $200,133. The decrease in the appropriation for 1958-1959 under that for 1957-1958 is explained by the fact that a number of specific appropriations were made for Historic Sites for the earlier year but not for the later.

The new appropriation includes three new employees—a Public Records Examiner, an Archivist I, and a Photographer. The first two will be employed in the Division of Archives and Manuscripts and the last will work half-time for the Division of Archives and Manuscripts and half-time for the Division of Museums.

The appropriation also includes salary increases for all members of the staff according to a graduated scale set up by the State Personnel Department. The average increase for all state employees is 11 per cent.

Included in the appropriation for 1957-1958 is a sum to purchase the fine collection of Early American silver of Dr. George B. Cutten of Chapel Hill. The fund will supplement private donations, and the collection will remain in the Hall of History, where for several years it has been on exhibit as a loan.

The General Assembly also amended two laws sponsored by the Department which were reported on in the July His-

torical News section of *The Review*—one authorizing the setting up of a committee on the disposal of records in the custody of the Department, the other dealing with appropriations of non ad valorem tax revenues to local historical societies by the various counties and municipalities of the State.

The Department of Archives and History prepared an illustrated 4-page folder on North Carolina, "Land of Beginnings," which was used to welcome the visiting governors who were entertained by Governor Luther H. Hodges in Dare County on June 27 and 28. The folder, which was produced by the State Advertising Division, gave brief historical data on significant dates and events in Dare County with emphasis on the Lost Colony and the great "Firsts" which are so famous in the development of aviation and radio. Illustrations included a reproduction of De Bry's engraving of John White's water color of "Roanoke," the Zuccara portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh, a reproduction of the painting of the "Christening of Virginia Dare," pictures of the highway marker showing the site of the first English colony in America, the Wright Memorial, and the Hatteras Lighthouse, as well as a facsimile of the John White water color of an Indian chieftain and a model of an Elizabethan galleon.

On June 2 Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Director of the Department of Archives and History, spoke on "North Carolina in the War Between the States" at a meeting honoring Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America. The celebration, held at the John Graham High School in Warrenton, was sponsored by the Warren County Chapter No. 939 of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. On July 9-10 Dr. Crittenden lectured on state and local archives to the fourth annual session of the Institute on Historical and Archival Management in Cambridge, Mass., sponsored jointly by Radcliffe College and the Department of History of Harvard University. On July 23 Dr. Crittenden attended a joint luncheon meeting in Raleigh of the Board of Directors of the Calvin Jones Memorial Society, Inc., and a special committee of the Wake County Chapter of the Wake Forest College

Alumni Association. The committee and directors met to plan a campaign to raise funds for the restoration of the Calvin Jones House, the birthplace of Wake Forest College. The house has been moved from its original location and now stands on the 400 block of N. Main Street in Wake Forest. The goal which has been set is $20,000 and interested persons may write Dr. Crittenden, President of the Calvin Jones Memorial Society, Inc., Box 1881, Raleigh.

Mr. W. S. Tarlton, Historic Sites Superintendent of the Department of Archives and History, visited the Barker House and the James Iredell House in Edenton on June 5 and discussed plans for further restoration work on these two historic houses. On June 6 he visited the house of Revolutionary War General Isaac Gregory in Camden County and discussed with a local group the possibilities of restoring the house. On July 10 Mr. Tarlton spoke to the Caswell County Historical Society in Yanceyville on historic houses and sites in North Carolina. He represented the Department at a meeting on July 22 held at "Flossie's" in Pantego. The purpose of this meeting which was attended by a group of Beaufort County citizens was to continue the discussion and planning for the restoration of Colonial Bath. During the summer Mr. Tarlton and Dr. Jay Luvaas of Duke University have made exploratory trips to Bentonville Battleground to locate trenches, earthworks, and other remains, and to plan a series of markers for the battlefield.

Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, Museum Administrator of the Department of Archives and History, attended the opening June 24-26 of the Fireman's Museum in New Bern. While there she visited Tryon Palace to make plans to house the artifacts remaining from the original palace. On July 26 Mrs. Jordan, accompanied by Mrs. Martha H. Farley of the staff of the Hall of History, and Mr. Norman C. Larson, Historic Site Specialist, went to Hillsboro where they assisted the Hillsboro Garden Club in planning exhibits for the museum which is to be located in the old courthouse. On August 5-8 Mrs. Jordan and Mrs. Farley worked in the National Parks Laboratory

and at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C., where they studied the planning and techniques employed in arranging modern museum exhibits.

Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist of the Department of Archives and History, announces the acquisition by the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the personal papers of the late Governor R. Gregg Cherry. Totalling approximately 50 cubic feet, these papers include Cherry's personal correspondence from about 1914 to 1957, childhood and adult quotation books, political papers, World War I records, speeches and source materials, scrapbooks, and picture albums. It is expected that this significant body of papers will be arranged and made available for research in the near future. In addition, a quantity of Governor Cherry's personal possessions and mementoes, particularly World War I items, has been received by the Division of Museums.

*Historical Research in the North Carolina Department of Archives and History,* an eight-page leaflet, has been published by the Department. Copies of the leaflet, designed to give the scholarly researcher a general description of the main types of records in the Archives and statement of policies concerning their use, may be obtained without charge from Mr. H. G. Jones, State Archivist, Box 1881, Raleigh. Another leaflet, *Services to the Public,* is designed for the genealogist and copies may be obtained from the same address.

Mrs. Madlin M. Futrell assumed the duties as Photographer on July 1. She will work half-time for the Division of Archives and Manuscripts and half-time for the Division of Museums.

During the months of April, May, and June, 722 researchers registered in the Search Room. In addition, at least 572 persons were given reference service by mail and 32 persons were rendered service by telephone. These figures do not include matters handled directly by the State Archivist. In addition to the above services, 588 photostatic copies and microfilm prints, 69 certified copies, and 335 feet of microfilm were furnished.

Microfilm copies of the population schedule of the Census of 1880 for North Carolina, purchased from the National Archives, are now available in the Search Room. Microfilm copies of the special agriculture, industry, social statistics, and other schedules of the Censuses of 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880 are now available also for public use. These special schedules were filmed in the Department.

The following manuscript volumes which had been withdrawn from public use because of deterioration have been laminated, rebound, and readied for public use: Register of the North Carolina Line of the Army of America (copied in 1791); Northampton County Court Minutes, 1792-1796; Rutherford County Court Minutes (three volumes), 1779-1786, 1786-1789, and 1789-1793; and Duplin County Court Minutes, 1791-1793.

Mrs. Fannie Memory Blackwelder, Records Center Supervisor, has compiled a 34-page mimeographed pamphlet on the policies and procedures in the Records Management Program.

Miss Mollie Lukis, Archivist in the State Library of Western Australia, visited the Division of Archives and Manuscripts for a week in August. Her interest was in the policies and practices of archival institutions in the United States, and she also spent one day each visiting the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill and the Duke University Manuscript Department in Durham. Miss Lukis elected to visit only three state archival departments in the United States, those of North Carolina, Illinois, and Maryland. While visiting the Department Miss Lukis talked at a staff meeting about her work in Australia and presented a program of color slides which showed the geographical features of the country.

Dr. Fletcher M. Green, Chairman of the Department of History at the University of North Carolina, received the degree of Doctor of Letters at the spring commencement at Emory University. Dr. C. O. Cathey taught at the Summer Session at the University of Wyoming, and has been promoted from the rank of Associate Professor to Professor. Dr. Hugh

T. Lefler taught in the Summer Session at Syracuse University. Dr. James L. Godfrey replaces Dr. Corydon P. Spruill as Dean of the Faculty effective September 1. Dr. Spruill will return to teaching in the Department of Economics. Mr. Charles Hale resigned from the staff of the Department of Social Science to accept a position at Lehigh University, and Dr. Hugh Hawkins resigned his position as Instructor in the Department of History for a position at Amherst College. Other faculty promotions are: Dr. Frank W. Klingberg from Associate Professor to Professor; Dr. F. N. Cleveland from Associate Professor to Professor; and Dr. Elisha P. Douglass, Dr. J. R. Caldwell, and Dr. George V. Taylor from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor.

At the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina in Greensboro Dr. Richard Bardolph has been promoted to Professor of History, and Dr. Lenoir Wright has been made Assistant Professor of Political Science.

Dr. Rosser H. Taylor, Head of the Department of History at Western Carolina College, sends the following items: Mr. Ernest M. Lander, Jr., of Clemson College served as Visiting Professor of History at Western Carolina College during the first session of summer school; and Mr. Richard J. Barker, who received a B.A. from the University of Rochester and an M.A. from Duke University, has been appointed as Instructor of History.

The Department of History of North Carolina State College announces the following faculty changes: Mr. J. Leon Helguera has been appointed Instructor of History; Dr. Burton F. Beers has been promoted from the rank of Instructor to that of Assistant Professor; Dr. William J. Block has been appointed as Assistant Professor (formerly taught at The Citadel); Dr. Marvin L. Brown, Jr., and Dr. Abraham Holtzman have been promoted from Assistant Professors to Associate Professors; and Dr. Stuart Noblin and Dr. Philip M. Rice have received promotions from Associate Professors to Professors. Dr. Noblin has also been appointed College Archivist for North Carolina State College.

Dr. Julian C. Yoder, member of the Social Studies Department of Appalachian State Teachers College and Professor of Geography, has been promoted to Head of the Department of History. He succeeds Dr. D. J. Whitener, presently Dean of the college, who resigned from the position.

Dr. Bradley D. Thompson has been promoted to Professor of History at Davidson College.

Dr. E. Malcolm Carroll, James B. Duke Professor of History at Duke University and a member of the department since 1923, has resigned as Chairman effective September 1, 1957, and has announced his voluntary retirement from teaching as of September, 1958. During the interval he will be on sabbatical leave. Dr. John R. Alden has been appointed as Chairman of the History Department to succeed Dr. Carroll. He came to Duke in 1955 from the University of Nebraska and has written extensively in the field of American colonial and Revolutionary history. He is a member of the board of editors of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and a member of the Council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture.

Dr. Alexander DeConde has resigned from the department at Duke to become Associate Professor of History at the University of Michigan. Mr. J. Bowyer Bell, doctoral candidate, has accepted a position at Georgia Teachers College. Dr. George M. Addy and Dr. Arthur R. Steele, who received the doctorate in June, have accepted positions at Brigham Young University and the University of Toledo respectively. Dr. Ernest W. Nelson and Dr. Harry R. Stevens taught at the Summer Sessions of the University of Tennessee and the University of Cincinnati respectively.

Mr. Winston Broadfoot, formerly of Wilmington, has been appointed to succeed Dr. Jay Luvaas as Director of the George Washington Flowers Collection at Duke University. Mr. Broadfoot received his LL.B. degree from the University of North Carolina, lived in Texas for a number of years, and for the past several years has been collecting materials for his private collections.

Mrs. Sadie Smathers Patton, former member of the Executive Board of the Department of Archives and History and President of the Western North Carolina Historical Association (1956-1957), has written another pamphlet, *The Kingdom of the Happy Land.* The booklet tells the story of a band of freed Negro slaves who settled partially in Henderson County (North Carolina) and partially in Greenville County (South Carolina). The first group settled "The Happy Land" about 1864 and disbanded about 1900. Mrs. Patton presents new sidelights of this little-known effort in communal living with its King and Queen ruling their subjects who built their dwellings on a part of the Col. John Davis plantation, Oakland. Biographical sketches are included and a few pictures—one of these is of Ezel Couch who contributed his reminiscences to this story.

A pre-Revolutionary house, presumably built about 1760, has been moved to Tryon and has been sufficiently restored to be used as a museum. The general design of the house is similar to those restored in colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, and is open to the public for a small fee. Exhibits have included one of household utensils, quilts, clothing, childrens' toys, needlecraft, and a combination exhibit of old tin, glass, china, pottery, slipware, and rare "treen" ware. Paintings by local artists are displayed and offered for sale. Plans are in progress for future displays, some of which will be borrowed on a temporary basis.

A recent issue of *The Gaston County Historical Bulletin,* official organ of the Gaston County Historical Society, featured stories about the postal service in Gaston County, the ceremonies commemorating the beginning of the county and the Town of Dallas, and a list of topics for historical research to be published in the future. The editor stressed the necessity for accurate information but stated that it is not necessary that the data be submitted in story form.

The North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians sponsored a tour of Mecklenburg County on June 23, with the courthouse in Charlotte as a starting point. Points

of interest which were visited on the tour included: the birthplace of James K. Polk, 11th President of the United States; Providence Presbyterian Church which was organized before the Revolution by the Rev. Alexander Craighead; Philadelphia Presbyterian Church; Eli Hinson House erected in 1786 which has been restored; the Charlotte Mint Museum of Art erected in 1836; and the First Presbyterian Church erected in 1856. Behind this church is the oldest cemetery in Charlotte and tradition states that Dr. Ephraim Brevard is buried there. The graves of Governor Nathaniel Alexander, Thomas Polk, and many other noted persons are also to be found here.

The Society also sponsored a tour of McDowell County on July 23 beginning at the courthouse in Marion. The following places of interest were visited by those who participated: Gillespie's Gap and Monument; Cathey's Fort Marker; marker at the site of the home of Colonel Joseph McDowell; home of Jonathan L. Carson where the first Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions met; "The Glades" constructed about 1785 and used as a stage-coach stop; marker located at Old Fort commemorating General Griffith Rutherford and his expedition from that point across Swannanoa Gap; Arrowhead Monument; Old Carson Home; the Evans Cottage, Gowan's Point, and Lake Tahoma, where the group had lunch; and the last stop at Quaker Meadows.

The sixth joint summer regional meeting of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., and the Western North Carolina Historical Association was held in Cullowhee on August 16 and 17. The program included talks by the following persons: Mr. William D. McKee of Cashiers, who spoke on "The H Volume in Jackson County"; Mr. Paul Kelly, Superintendent of Fort Loudoun State Park, Vonore, Tennessee, who spoke on "The Story of Fort Loudoun"; Mr. Glenn Tucker of Flat Rock who spoke on "Some Aspects of North Carolina's Participation in the Gettysburg Campaign"; and a panel discussion on "Cultural Centers in Western North Carolina". Other events included a reception given by Western Carolina College and attendance on Saturday evening of the outdoor drama, "Unto These Hills," at Cherokee. Mr. Gil-

bert T. Stephenson of Pendleton is President and Dr. Christopher Crittenden is Secretary of the Literary and Historical Society; and Mr. George W. McCoy of Asheville is President and Dean J. J. Stevenson of Brevard College is Secretary of the Western North Carolina Historical Association.

The *History Bulletin,* official organ of the Western North Carolina Historical Association, in the July issue had the following articles: an account of the last quarterly meeting, the proposed program for the joint summer meeting with the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, Inc., local news items relative to county meetings, a notice of the publication of *Our Heritage,* a history of the people of Cherokee County by Mrs. Margaret Freel, and a report on the activities and plans of the association.

More than thirty members and guests attended the meeting of the Carteret County Historical Society held at Cedar Point on Bogue Sound on July 27. Hosts for the annual watermelon cutting were Mr. A. D. Ennett and Mr. John S. Jones. Mr. Thomas Respess, President, presided at the business session at which time reports were presented. A paper on the history of Plymouth prepared by Mrs. T. T. Potter was read by Mrs. F. C. Salisbury. One of the projects of the society for the year was to acquire records from markers in the various old cemeteries in the county and more than 400 markers from the Ann Street Cemetery in Beaufort were recorded and put in book form by the group.

The Pitt County Historical Society met August 1 in Greenville at which time a discussion was held to formulate ideas to be developed toward the completion of a program for the bicentennial celebration of Pitt County in 1960. Mr. Frank Brooks, Vice-President, presided, and Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History talked to the group. Mr. Herbert R. Paschal, Dr. Lawrence E. Brewster, Dr. Howard Clay, Dr. Paul E. Jones (State Senator from Pitt County), and Mr. Frank Wooten (State Representative from Pitt County) made brief talks. Judge Dink James read ex-

cerpts from a law establishing the Pitt County Historical Commission which is charged with the responsibility of staging the celebration.

*Favorite Recipes of the Lower Cape Fear*, edited by the Ministering Circle of Wilmington, is now available again. The cookbook has been reprinted and mail orders can be filled by sending $2.25 to The Ministering Circle, Box 1809, Wilmington.

A second edition of *The American Indian in North Carolina* by the late Douglas L. Rights has been published by John F. Blair. The volume, originally published by the Duke University Press, is illustrated and traces the history of the various tribes in North Carolina from the earliest records through the white man's wars and treaties. The author, a Moravian minister who became interested in Indians when he was a small boy looking for arrowheads, continued his search and research into his adult life. His book is considered one of the best works on the Indian in this state. It may be obtained from John F. Blair, Publisher, 404 First National Bank Building, Winston-Salem.

Dr. H. E. Spence, Professor Emeritus of Religious Education at Duke University Divinity School, is the author of a 36-page pamphlet, *McBride, A Mother in Methodism*. This history of Dr. Spence's home church in Camden County deals with rural Methodism from 1792 to the 1920's. Dr. Spence tells the story of the evangelistic and educational work of the church interweaving biographical sketches and reminiscences as the growth of the congregation expands. This booklet may be added to the increasing list of individual church histories which are being produced as a result of interest manifested by local groups.

The University of Chicago and the University of Virginia are sponsoring the publication of a new and complete edition of the papers of James Madison. The editors will appreciate information about the location of letters by or to James Madi-

son or his wife (Dolley Payne Madison, who was born in North Carolina), especially letters in private possession or among uncalendared manuscripts in the collections of public or private institutions. Please use the following address when writing: The Papers of James Madison, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The Society of American Historians, Inc., announces the Francis Parkman Prize of $500 to be awarded in the field of American history and biography. The book which will receive the award must be published within the calendar year 1957 and the award will be presented during the winter of 1958. Colonial history would admit of a treatment of the English, French, or Spanish background if definitely connected with the colonies. Literary, religious, economic, political, scientific and technological, legal and constitutional history, and the history of foreign relations would fall within the field. The purpose of the award is to stimulate the writing of history as literature, thus emphasizing literary distinction in historical writing. For further information address: Dr. Rudolf A. Clemen, Executive Vice-President, The Society of American Historians, Inc., Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

The American Council of Learned Societies announces the sum of $100,000 for fellowship grants not to exceed $7,000 each for tenure during the academic year 1957-1958. Candidates must have the doctorate (or its equivalent) at the time of application. These fellowships are to be used to provide opportunities for younger scholars to complete research projects in the humanities. A budget must be submitted by the candidates and they must spend six consecutive months on the projects with no other work permissible. Forms may be requested from the ACLS Fellowship Program, American Council of Learned Scholars, 2101 R Street, NW, Washington 8, D. C. Applicants should apply before October 15, 1957, and should be under 45 years of age.

An additional program with $100,000 for grants-in-aid (no grant to exceed $3,000) has also been announced by the

same group. Grants will allow applicants to do research in a wide variety of fields and may be used for travel, clerical assistance, relief from summer school teaching, etc. Candidates should have the doctorate (or its equivalent) and must submit a budget to show need. Judging for the grants will take place in October, 1957, and February and April, 1958. Inquiries should be made at the above address.

A Special Awards Program for 1958-1959 for distinguished work in the humanities has also been announced by the Council. These awards will be presented to mature scholars who are to be nominated by academic institutions, professional societies, and the like. Individual applicants will not be solicited. Awards will be in the sum of $10,000 to be used for at least eight months of uninterrupted work. Funds may be used for travel, research assistance, materials for research, and other similar purposes. All inquiries should be made at the above address.

Books received for review during the last quarter are: Sadie Smathers Patton, *The Kingdom of the Happy Land* (Asheville: The Stephens Press, Inc., 1957); Clifford Dowdey, *The Great Plantation. A Profile of Berkeley Hundred and Plantation Virginia from Jamestown to Appomattox* (New York and Toronto: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957); Douglas L. Rights, *The American Indian in North Carolina* (John F. Blair, Publisher, 1957); Otis A. Singletary, *Negro Militia and Reconstruction* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1957); and Laura Polanyi Striker, *The Life of John Smith, English Soldier* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Published for The Virginia Historical Society, 1957).

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